

Acknowledgements

I am very grateful to the ten delightful girls who were my informants in this study, who generously shared their time and their experiences with me. Asante sana! I also thank my research assistant for all his help with the field work, as well as his good humour and positive attitude. I also wish to thank all other people who helped me with my field work in Moshi. Many thanks go to my supervisor Dr. Tatek Abebe for his encouragement, helpful comments and contagious enthusiasm. The rest of the NOSEB employees also deserve thanks for a great master program in Childhood Studies. Thanks to my amazing classmates who made studying both interesting and a lot of fun! Thanks especially to Gro Pernille, Kristina, Simi and Matías for countless discussions and lots of laughter. And thanks to Anette for coming to Tanzania, and for being a fellow master-zombie.

My family also deserves lots of thanks for support and patience. Thanks to my father, Magne, who visited me in Tanzania and contributed with reflections about what he saw. Thanks also to my sister Kia for looking after me in Tanzania, for food and moral support. Thanks most of all to my mom, Laila, for spending countless hours reading and commenting on my paper, for support and encouragement.

Abstract

This master thesis explores the lives of young Tanzanian girls. The field work that the thesis is based on was conducted in the town of Moshi in Northern Tanzania in August and September 2011. The main informants in the study were 10 girls between 13 and 18 years. The girls lived in the outskirts of the town, in a neighbourhood which is part suburb, part rural village. The girls belonged to the less affluent part of the population, and none of them attended school. Tanzania has been the country in the world with the lowest attendance to secondary school. In recent years, enrolment to secondary schooling has increased, though 75 % of young people in Tanzania do not attend post-basic education, mainly due to economic reasons. Many of these young people, and girls in particular, have a hard time finding employment. With large amounts of unstructured time on their hands, young people like my informants spend much of their days ‘hanging around’ in the streets.

This study is based on central ideas within the *new social studies of childhood*, and views children as competent agents in their own right who are active in the construction of their subjective life worlds. As the informants in this study could also be categorised as adolescents, theory from *youth studies* has also informed the thesis. Focusing in part on the girls’ relations to places, the study also uses literature from the field of *children’s geographies*. Children and young people are both shaping and shaped by the culture they live within. By drawing on different approaches to the understanding of young people, the thesis sheds light on both the informants’ subjective experiences and the structures that shape their experiences.

Through various qualitative research methods the thesis searches to find out how teenage girls who do not attend secondary school perceive their everyday lives. The study also looks into the tension between “traditional” culture and “modern” ideas, and how new identities are created. It also seeks to explore teenagers’ aspirations for the future, and how they envision their transition to adulthood in the face of a ‘difficult life’. Some authors have argued that youth transition in the African context is more problematic for young men than young girls, as men are the traditional “breadwinners”. This study argues that girls’ desire to make a living for themselves should also be taken into consideration, and their youth transition is therefore no less difficult.

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Table of contents

Acknowledgements	I
Abstract	III
Table of contents	V
List of acronyms	IX
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
1.0 Choice of topic	1
1.1 The Kilimanjaro region	1
1.2 Aim of research	2
1.3 Research questions	3
1.4 Structure of thesis	3
Chapter 2: Background.....	5
2.0 Introduction	5
2.1 Tanzania: A brief history.....	6
2.1.1 Education in Tanzania	9
2.2 The Kilimanjaro Region and the Chagga people.....	10
2.2.1 Moshi.....	14
2.2.2 “The Village”	15
Chapter 3: Theory.....	16
3.0 Introduction	16
3.1 The new social studies of childhood	17
3.2 Places for childhood	20
3.3 Teenagers and “betweenness”	22
3.4 Children and youth in the Majority world.....	24
3.5 Youth transitions	26
3.6 Related studies.....	28
Chapter 4: Methodology.....	32
4.0 Introduction	32
4.1 Planning the field work	32
4.2 Getting access and finding a translator.....	34
4.3 The informants	35
4.4 The field work	38
4.5 Research tools.....	39
4.5.1 Photo essay	41
4.5.2 Focus group discussion.....	42

[Skriv inn tekst]

4.5.3 Sentence completion.....	43
4.5.4 Interview.....	43
4.5.5 Observation	45
4.5.6 Neighbourhood walk	45
4.6 Ethical considerations.....	46
4.6.1 Building trust.....	47
4.6.2 Informed consent.....	47
4.6.3 Research role, power and reciprocity	48
4.7 Challenges	51
4.7.1 Interpretation	51
4.7.2 Technical problems	52
4.7.3 Time.....	52
4.8 Data analysis.....	53
4.8.1 Validity and reliability.....	54
Chapter 5: Analysis I - Expectations of girlhood	55
5.0 Introduction	55
5.1 Girls' duties and responsibilities	56
5.2 Places for girlhood.....	59
5.2.1 "Girls should be in school.".....	59
5.2.2 "Girls are supposed to stay at home."	59
5.3 Non-places for girlhood.....	60
5.3.1 The town and the street.....	60
5.3.2 Bars and nightclubs	62
5.4 The "good girl" and the "cool girl"	64
Chapter 6: Analysis II - Aspirations and expectations	66
6.0 Introduction	66
6.1 Making a living and developing	67
6.2 Education.....	70
6.3 Moving out, moving away.....	72
6.4 Changing the environment	72
6.5 Starting a family	73
6.6 Dangers and challenges	75
6.7 <i>'I like this lifestyle'</i> : the good things in life.....	77
6.7.1 Friendship.....	77
Chapter 7: Discussion.....	79
7.0 Introduction	79

7.1 Four approaches to childhood studies	80
7.2 Good places and bad places.....	81
7.3 Education and identity.....	83
7.4 'Difficult life'	86
7.5 Coming of age in contemporary Kilimanjaro.....	87
Chapter 8: Conclusion.....	95
Bibliography.....	97
Appendices	103
Focus group discussion	103
Sentence completion.....	104

List of acronyms

AIDS = Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome

GDP = Gross Domestic Product

GNI = Gross National Income

HIV = Human Immunodeficiency Virus

IMF = International Monetary Fund

KCMC = Kilimanjaro Christian Medical College

NGO = Non-Governmental Organisations

NOK = Norwegian Kroner

NSSC = New Social Studies of Childhood

SAP = Structural Adjustment Policies

TSH = Tanzanian Shilling

UNCRC = United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child

UNICEF = United Nations Children's Fund

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.0 Choice of topic

This master thesis is about the experiences and perspectives of teenage girls in Moshi, Tanzania. To explain how this topic came about, I will first present my initial research topic and how this changed over the course of the field work. In my original research plan, this study was going to be about ‘street girls’ in Moshi. This was a topic I found interesting because of the idea that girls in public places can be understood as “occupying an ambiguous and often uncomfortable position of being the ‘wrong’ age, being the ‘wrong’ gender and being in the ‘wrong’ place” (Skelton, 2000, p. 80). I decided early that I wanted to go to a non-Western country for the field work, as I have a background in Development Studies and an interest in cultural diversity. The town of Moshi in Northern Tanzania was chosen because I had contacts there who had agreed to help me with the study. I had also read reports from local non-governmental organisations (NGOs) stating that there were hundreds of street children of both genders in the town.

When I arrived in Moshi in July 2011, I found the reality to be quite different from what I had expected. Due to a recent upsurge in NGOs, Western volunteers and perhaps also economic factors, the number of street children had reduced considerably. Street girls in particular had been placed in institutions or homes, and local people I talked to said they were “gone”. I came in contact with a young man who ran an orphanage, and he introduced me to ten teenage girls from his “village” in the outskirts of Moshi, whom he labelled “street girls”. These girls, however, did not actually live on the street; they lived in homes with their families. The reason he labelled them “street girls” was that they did not go to school. They were just “hanging around”. As this was the closest I came to exploring the lives of ‘street girls in Moshi’ I had to change my plan and instead explore the lives of ‘teenage girls in contemporary Moshi’.

1.1 The Kilimanjaro region

Moshi is a town of about 150,000 inhabitants, which is located in the Kilimanjaro district in Northern Tanzania. Due to coffee production on the fertile Mount Kilimanjaro, the region is one of the most prosperous in Tanzania. The tourist industry is also an important source of income for the region, as Moshi is a starting point for ascents to Mount Kilimanjaro, as well

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as for safaris to several national parks and wildlife reserves, including Serengeti, the Ngorongoro crater and Lake Manyara. The Chagga people who inhabit the area have been called “East Africa’s moderns” because of their early emphasis on education and their success as entrepreneurs. Despite the relative wealth of the Kilimanjaro region, many people live in poverty. Economic restructuring and neoliberal policies have contributed to an increasing gap between the rich and the poor. One consequence of this is that and many parents find themselves unable to send their children to school (Vavrus, 2002).

1.2 Aim of research

In this research I hoped to get more insight into the situation of teenage girls who do not attend school. I was curious to know how they spent their days while other girls their age were at school, and I wanted to gain knowledge on how they perceived their own everyday lives. Inspired by research done from the perspective of ‘children’s geographies’ such as Abebe (2008) Meinert, (2003) and Nieuwenhuys (2003), I wanted to look at the girls’ use of space, and particularly their view on which places were “good” and “bad”. Looking at the girls’ relationship to space, I also hoped to learn something about the local construction of girlhood. My main focus was to explore the girls’ own views and ideas, but I was also interested in looking at how social and economic constraints shape their lives. I found the interplay between the girls’ own agency and these structures particularly interesting.

Education is often necessary in order to get a job and make a living. For the poor, education is also often seen as a tool for social mobility and a way out of poverty. I was therefore curious to hear the girls’ ideas about the future. What kind of life did they envision for themselves? How would they earn an income without education? What hopes and aspirations did they have for the future, and how did they plan to achieve them?

I chose to do a qualitative, exploratory study, focusing on the girls’ own perspectives. By not having a specific theme to focus on, I hoped that the informants would tell me about what was important for them. I used a multi-method approach with various research tools including observation, photo essay and interview.

1.3 Research questions

As explained above, the topic of this research changed in the field. My new research question emerged after meeting the first informants. In the planned field work, I had intended to focus only on girls' everyday lives in the present. However, upon learning that the so-called "street girls" of the village were girls who did not attend school, I chose to also include a future-oriented perspective. The new research question therefore became:

How do teenage girls in contemporary Moshi perceive their everyday lives today and in the future?

This question is centred entirely on the perspectives of the girls. During the field work, this was also my main focus. However, after returning from the field work and examining the data, I decided to broaden the perspective. Since the context of the girls' experiences was so alien to me, I felt it was necessary to also focus on cultural, political and socioeconomic factors that shape their everyday lives – issues that the girls themselves did not necessarily mention, but that I found vital to the understanding of their situation. I therefore also formulated a second research question:

How do structural constraints shape the girls everyday lives and opportunities?

1.4 Structure of thesis

The thesis is divided into 8 chapters. In the background chapter I present the cultural and social context where my field work was done. I briefly describe national and local history with emphasis on changes in political and societal structures. I also give a presentation of education in Tanzania. The chapter then moves to the Kilimanjaro region, and the Chagga people who are the dominant ethnic group. Though the Chagga culture was dynamic also before Europeans settled down, the colonial influence dramatically changed their way of life. To this day, conflicts between the "traditional" culture and Western ideas and ways of living persist.

In chapter three I will describe the background for *the new social studies of childhood*. A main idea within this theoretical framework is that childhood is socially constructed and that young people are seen as competent social actors in their own right. Important contribution to

the understanding of childhood has come from scholars in ‘children’s geographies’ who have focused on how childhood is constructed in different places, and on how discourses of childhood shape children’s access to space. Scholars within this field have also looked at how the lives of children are influenced both by global processes and local manifestations.

In the methodology chapter I explain how I planned the field work and how I got access to the field. Thereafter I present my informants and the different research tools I used to gain knowledge about these teenage girls life worlds and experiences. Ethical considerations are also presented, and issues related to research role, power and reciprocity are emphasised.

The chapter then describes the process of data analysis.

There are two analysis chapters in my thesis, and a main focus in the analysis is related to *expectations of girlhood*. In the first analysis chapter I present the girls’ ideas related to society’s expectations of young girls. I look at girls’ duties and responsibilities, though the main focus is on the informants’ views on places for girlhood. In chapter six, the second part of the analysis, the girls’ expectations and aspirations for their own lives are in focus. Here I look at the informants’ hopes and plans for the future, including themes like making a living, education, moving away from home and away from the village, as well as starting a family. I also look at some of the dangers and challenges the girls identified in their everyday lives and their surroundings.

In the discussion chapter I will relate my empirical findings to relevant theories and studies with focus on education, places and non-places and youth transition. In the last chapter I summarise the findings in my thesis and present some concluding remarks.

Chapter 2: Background

2.0 Introduction

“Hakuna matata!” is a Swahili phrase known to children and adults alike in the global North, due to Disney’s Lion King. In English, the words mean something like “no worries” or “no problems”, and are usually among the first foreigners, or “mzungus”, hear or read when they arrive in Tanzania. The phrase says something about the Tanzanian spirit and attitude towards life, or at least the way it is presented to tourists: we Tanzanians might be poor, but we’re a peaceful, easy-going people. Tanzania is one of the few countries in East Africa that, despite great ethnic diversity, have had little conflict during the last decades. This achievement has been linked to former president Julius Nyerere’s politics that focused on an African socialism, universal primary education and the creation of a common national identity.

Tanzania is one of the poorest countries in the world, though there are relatively few people who are extremely poor. Most people are able to sustain themselves on a day to day basis, but for many, social mobility is very difficult. When Julius Nyerere’s presidency ended in 1985, socialist policies were abandoned and replaced by the International Monetary Fund’s (IMF) and World Bank’s neoliberal economic restructuring policies. Such policies have had great impacts on Tanzanian’s lives, and many argue for the worse. For the poorer part of the population, schooling beyond the 7 years of compulsory education has become less accessible, and social inequality has increased. For the young and poor it is very difficult to find employment without post- primary education.

The Kilimanjaro region in Tanzania is renowned nationally for its high density of schools. The Chagga people who inhabit the area have been more open to Western education than many other ethnic groups, and also girls’ education has been promoted. The traditional Chagga society was based on cattle holding, farming and on a strict gender and age-based hierarchy led by elder men. A gendered division of labour and the separation of feminine and masculine principles were seen as cornerstones in the maintenance of society’s order. Europeans’ arrival in the Kilimanjaro region led to great changes. German colonists bought land and introduced cash economy, taxes and coffee production. Missionaries brought Christianity and schools to the area. Though the European influence has led to changing gender norms, many of the traditional Chagga values persist.

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In this chapter I start with a short presentation of Tanzania's history from the Europeans arrived in East Africa. The next part contains a brief overview over the changes in education under and after Nyerere. Accounts of the Chagga culture before the Europeans came along as well as changed societal structures thereafter will be given much space in this chapter. The last part of the chapter is about the town Moshi and the "village" where I conducted my field work, a few kilometres outside the centre of Moshi.

2.1 Tanzania: A brief history



Map of Tanzania.

The United Republic of Tanzania is situated in East-Africa, with a coastline towards the Indian Ocean. The current capital is Dodoma, situated in central Tanzania, though Dar es Salaam is the largest city and the country's commercial capital. The name "Tanzania" is a composition of the names of the former British colony "Tanganyika" and the British protectorate "Zanzibar". The coastal region of Tanzania and the Zanzibar islands have been known by both Europeans and Arabs for centuries, and were organised into cities as early as about 500 A.D. The cities of the so-called "Swahili" coast and Zanzibar were important trading centres, trading with other societies along the Indian Ocean. The trade and interaction

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with Arab countries has had a great impact on the coastal culture, especially through the proliferation of Islam.

Less is known about the interior of Tanganyika before the Europeans explored it, but there is evidence that great migrations have taken place and caused a multitude of different cultures and languages, and that many of the inland societies have had some contact with the coastal Swahili people through trading. During the 1840's and 1850's, both German and British explorers journeyed to the inland, reaching destinations such as Kilimanjaro, Lake Tanganyika and Lake Victoria. By 1890, the land which was known as "Tanganyika" had become a part of German East Africa, and it remained under the Germans' control until the First World War, when Germany had to give up most of their Tanganyikan land to Great Britain. The British Colonial Rule lasted from 1916 to 1961, when the country became independent (Moore, 1977).

In 1964, the year after the independence of the Zanzibar islands, Zanzibar and Tanganyika merged and came to be known as "The United Republic of Tanzania". Julius Nyerere was the first president of Tanzania, and held the position until 1985. Nyerere's policies were based on his ideology of 'African Socialism', and had a significant impact on the country even beyond his own presidency. Nyerere's pro-poor, social equality-focused development strategy of *ujamaa* – "familyhood" (Nyerere, 1987), was the centre of his ideology. It entailed, among other things, nationalization of the industry, improving social services and establishing collective agriculture production villages (Vavrus, 2002). Nyerere also made a great effort in creating a common identity for the country's more than a hundred different ethnic groups, through introducing compulsory and free primary education for all, and making Swahili an official language (alongside English). The successful implementation of universal primary education is seen to be one of the reasons why Tanzania has had much less ethnic and religious conflict than other East African countries, as it emphasised the shared identity of being 'Tanzanian', rather than dividing people into Christians, Muslims and different tribes (Wedgwood, 2005).

When Nyerere's presidency ended in 1985, Tanzanian politics took a new turn. After two decades of highly regulated economy, Tanzania was one of the poorest countries in the world. The war with Uganda in the late 1970's had further worsened the economic situation. Socialist policies were now seen by many as the cause of the country's economic ruin, and

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with the support of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, the new government started implementing Structural Adjustment Policies (SAP)¹. In Tanzania, policy changes included devaluation of the shilling, opening up to foreign investment, cutting agricultural subsidies, reducing employment in the public sector and privatization of education and health facilities (Vavrus, 2005). This had profound impacts on the lives of Tanzanian people, as it “changed the rules of the game in political and economic life by giving individual actors more room to maneuver. With liberalisation, the boundaries shifted between the official and unofficial, or the legitimate and illegitimate” (Pietilä, 2007, p. 3).

Though the SAPs did improve the macroeconomic situation in Tanzania, there have also been many negative outcomes, especially for the poorer part of the population (Vavrus, 2005). After decades of structural adjustments, Tanzania is still one of the poorest countries in the world. The country has a high degree of dependency on support from international agencies, and in 2003, 40 % of government spending came from external support (Wedgwood 2005). Of the total Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of about 22,9 billion dollars, the agricultural sector makes up around 28 %, industry 24,5 %, and services 47,3 %. In 2010, the Gross National Income (GNI) per capita was 520 \$, which places the country in the low-income category (World Bank, 2012). About 60 % of the population have less than 2 \$ per day, but Tanzania has a lower percentage of people living in extreme poverty than many comparable countries, with only 20 % living on less than 1 \$ per day (Wedgwood, 2005).

Tanzania has about 44 million inhabitants, and an annual population growth of approximately 3 % (World Bank, 2010). The life expectancy at birth is currently around 57 years, and the under 5 mortality rate is 92 per thousand. The total fertility rate is 5,5 children per woman, and the adolescent fertility rate is 129 children per 1000 girls aged 15-19 (World Bank, 2010). About a third of the population are considered undernourished (World Bank, 2010), and almost half of the population lack access to an improved water source (World Bank, 2012). HIV/AIDS infection rates have been quite high during the 1990's and 2000's, with about 10 % of the population infected in 2003 (Wedgwood, 2005). However, recently there seems to have been a decline, and in 2009 the World Bank estimated that about 5,6 % of the population were infected by the virus (2010).

¹ SAPs are macroeconomic policies that are aimed at stabilizing the economy of indebted developing countries through structural changes, often as a condition for debt-relief, aid and further loans (Vavrus, 2005).

2.1.1 Education in Tanzania

Since the independence from Britain, there has been a strong emphasis on education in Tanzania. In *Education for Self-Reliance* 1967, Nyerere outlined his vision for the education system, focusing almost exclusively on primary schooling. In Nyerere's education program, the aim of schooling was to teach children practical skills that would be of use in a rural setting. Primary education was supposed to be available for everyone, regardless of gender, class and ethnicity. Regional disparities in access to schooling were attempted levelled out through closing private schools in areas where they were plentiful, and establishing new public schools where they were scarce. The program led to a huge increase in primary school enrolment and literacy. However, few were able to continue studying after finishing primary school. In Nyerere's view, the purpose of primary schooling should not be to prepare people for higher education, but it was meant to be the end point for the vast majority. Post-primary education was limited to a small percentage of the population, just enough to meet the country's need for skilled labour. The legacy of this policy has resulted in Tanzania having one of the lowest secondary school enrolment rates in the world (Wedgwood 2005). According to UNICEF, between 2005 and 2010, the net attendance for secondary school was about 25 % (2012).

During Nyerere's rule, the establishment of private schools had been restricted due to the fear that it would lead to inequality and lower quality in education. However, with the implementation of the SAPs in the 1980's, these restrictions were loosened. From the 1980's up to present time, the number of private schools has significantly increased. While it has led to better access to secondary schooling for many, privatization and "cost sharing" of school fees and related expenses have also created inequality in access to education, and widened the gap between rich and poor (Wedgwood, 2005). In 2001, primary school fees were once again abolished in Tanzania. This led to an enormous increase in the number of children attending primary school, and high enrolment rates for both girls and boys. However, only 80 % of those who start primary persist to the last grade, Standard 7 (World Bank, 2010).

In most regions in Tanzania there are gender disparities in school attendance. While the differences are not so significant in primary school, they increase in secondary school and higher education, where girls are outnumbered by boys. Today there are about 80 girls enrolled in secondary schools per 100 boys. However, considering that in 1995 there were only 19 girls per 100 boys (World Bank, 2010), the gap is decreasing. Still, girls generally

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score lower than boys in national exams (Vavrus, 2002). On the national level, 76 % of girls, and 78 % of boys between 15 and 24 years are today considered literate (World Bank, 2010). However, there are great regional differences. Kilimanjaro is one of the few regions where the secondary school enrolment rates for girls are higher than for boys (UNICEF, 2011).

2.2 The Kilimanjaro Region and the Chagga people

Due to lack of written material, it is very difficult to know exactly how the history of the Kilimanjaro region looked like before it was “discovered” by Europeans during the 19th century. However, descriptions from some of the first Europeans to arrive there, as well as accounts of the older generation, give us a certain idea of how society was organised before the colonial influence. Johannes Rebmann was the first European who reached the Kilimanjaro region, in 1848. He came by foot from the coast, in the footsteps of the Swahili trading caravans, who used Kilimanjaro as a resting stop on their way to Lake Victoria (1996). At that time, Kilimanjaro was inhabited by cattle-keeping agriculturalists, who lived in grass or banana leaf thatched houses on permanently cultivated plots of land, divided into local settlements on the slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro (Moore, 1977). These were the people who came to be known as the “Chagga”.

The Chagga people are the dominant ethnic group in Kilimanjaro, and make up about 5 % of the total population in Tanzania (Vavrus, 2005). In pre-colonial Kilimanjaro, the Chagga were a heterogeneous people, and were not united under the same chief before 1951 (Moore, 1996). Before this union, they were divided into different chiefdoms, and spoke different dialects of the bantu-language *kichagga* (Moore, 1977). The chiefdoms were often at war with one another, competing for territory on Kilimanjaro, as well as for control of the trade with the Swahili. The Chagga traded goods such as ivory and slaves in return for clothing, beans and metal. During the 1880’, the Germans made their first attempt to colonise the Kilimanjaro region. While they were met with military resistance from many chiefdoms, others were welcoming and cooperative. In 1885, Kilimanjaro was made a part of German East Africa, making Moshi town the administrative centre (Moore, Introduction, 1996).

In pre-colonial Kilimanjaro, the *kihamba* (*vihamba* in plural) - the banana grove - was central in the organisation of Chagga society. Each family had their own *kihamba* in the fertile, humid area around the mountain, where they lived, cultivated and harvested crops for subsistence. The produce of the groves was also used for building houses, in ritual

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transactions and in trade. The groves were symbols of the reproduction of the patrilineage, where forefathers, the living and the unborn lived together, as the land was passed on from generation to generation through the male line. Having children was extremely important in the Chagga culture, as it ensured immortality through the continuation of the lineage. If a man died without having a son, his lineage would be cut off and he would die forever (Moore, 1977).

The *kihamba* structured the division of labour within the household, and household members had different chores, rights and responsibilities based on a gender and generation hierarchy: “Within the *kihamba* regime, one maintained one’s social identity in a context of clear-cut interdependencies under the overall control of elder men and lineage heads” (Setel, 1999, p. 33). Conforming to gender norms, and maintaining an appropriate relationship between the feminine and the masculine, was understood to bring about life and prosperity. Improper mixing of the feminine and the masculine, on the other hand, would lead to destruction and death (Setel, 1999).

In this gender and age-based hierarchy, it was essential to be on good terms with one’s parents and the extended family, as they controlled the resources young people needed in order to marry and get access to land. Following social norms and learning one’s place in the hierarchy was important in acquiring these resources. Children learned this through songs, stories and ritual, as well as through imitation of older relatives of the same sex. The first born and last born sons in the family inherited their father’s land, and middle sons had to depend on their brothers’ or grandfathers’ kindness to get their own *kihamba*. Having own land was essential in becoming adult, as boys could not go through initiation rites or get married before they had their own *kihamba*. Girls also had to go through initiation rites before marrying. As they did not have rights to land themselves, their only way of acquiring land was through marriage, and girls were often betrothed to men while at very young age. However, women were not deprived of all decision making. They had much control over production and reproduction within the family, and were often able to negotiate marriage arrangements, cancel them and even initiate relationships with men themselves (Setel, 1999).

The first Europeans to arrive in Kilimanjaro saw the region as a sort of “Garden of Eden”, a lush, idyllic and timeless place where people lived simple, harmonious lives. However, the *kihamba* regime was anything but static and conflict-free. In reality, it was an unsustainable

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system, which was undergoing great changes even before the Germans' arrival. During the 19th century, the population on Kilimanjaro had reached a level that made it almost impossible for people to find enough fertile land to cultivate. The Chagga had previously avoided settling at lower altitudes due to limited access to water, higher prevalence of *tse tse* flies and because they feared attacks from other ethnic groups such as the Maasai who inhabited the surrounding plains (Moore, 1977). However, as the population increased, people were forced to move to the lower parts of the mountain. Land scarcity was especially problematic for middle sons, who did not automatically inherit their father's *kihamba*, and therefore could not marry and reach adulthood the proper way. Some men migrated, while others stayed and tried to find alternative ways of getting married and starting families, outside of the *kihamba*-regime. Land shortage therefore led to great cultural changes, as it made it increasingly difficult for young people to follow the norms of the traditional system (Setel, 1999).

The European influence further changed the Chagga culture. The Germans introduced coffee, cash crop production and imposed taxes. Some of the *vihamba* lands were seized or bought by the colonial powers and transformed into coffee plantations. This gave the *kihamba* land a new kind of value, as wealth had earlier not been measured in land, but in cattle holdings (Moore, 1977). The land that had previously passed from generation to generation within the same patrilineage was now turned into a commodity that could be sold and bought for money. The changes in the use and meaning of the *kihamba* land profoundly changed the Chagga culture: "By 1927, Chagga were commodifying and bureaucratizing the anchoring symbol of their cultural worldview through the sale, purchase and titling of *vihamba* lands" (Setel, 1999, p. 66).

After Tanzania was incorporated into the British Empire in 1916, coffee production intensified and became the region's most important source of income. In the 1920's the first Chagga-managed coffee union was started, which enabled Chagga farmers to earn money off their own land, rather than by working for European settlers on their plantations (Moore, 1977). Coffee production and the commodification of land led to economic growth and wealth in Kilimanjaro. However, it also led to greater social inequality among the Chagga, as those with land became much wealthier than those without. Chagga men started working for wages in the plantation economy, which often meant that they had to spend much time away from their families. Waged work also attracted migrants from other regions, and combined with increasing fertility and decreasing mortality due to improvement in health care, this caused

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the population to increase dramatically. In the 1920's, the population was already approximately 125,000, and during the 1960's it reached 400,000 (Moore, 1977), making Kilimanjaro one of the most overpopulated regions in Tanzania (Setel, 1999).

With the cash economy came shops and commodities like sugar and soap, and roads connecting Kilimanjaro to the rest of Tanzania (Moore, 1996). Catholic and Protestant missionaries brought Christianity to the region, and many Chagga quickly embraced the new religion. The region also became a popular place to establish schools, and most Chagga welcomed the Western style education (Stambach, 2000). A disproportionately high number of schools were built in the region during the 20th century. Their emphasis on education, combined with the wealth from coffee production, made the Chagga one of the most prosperous people in Tanzania. Their success has earned them a reputation for being very ambitious and entrepreneurial, and the nick name "East Africa's Moderns" (Pietilä, 2007). However, though Christianity, schooling and the introduction of cash crop production has had a great impact on society and culture, much of the cultural norms and values from the *kihamba*-regime remain important in the Chagga culture (Setel, 1999).

The Chagga have also been supportive of education for girls. However, while most boys and girls today attend primary school, many adolescents never get the chance to continue afterwards. High school fees and school related expenses are the most obvious reasons. During Nyerere's socialist rule, education was mainly state sponsored, but since the 1980's the expansion of private schools has been in focus. The privatization of schooling has led to more schools being built, but it has also made education more expensive. School fees have increased, putting a heavier burden on parents in sponsoring children's education. Combined with higher costs of living, declining wages and decreasing formal employment, this has made it very difficult for many families to send their children to school (Vavrus, 2002).

As early as in the 1940's and 1950's, adult Chagga in Kilimanjaro were worried about the impact of outsiders on their traditional culture (Setel, 1999). European influence and immigration to the area from other parts of Tanzania was seen as "polluting" Chagga values. Older Chagga felt that the younger generation, and especially young women, had started to behave inappropriately, for instance by spending too much time in the public areas. Girls and women had begun selling goods in markets and hanging around in the city and in clubs, far from their "proper place" in the home. To some degree, this "traditional" pre-colonial Chagga

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culture is an imagined idea about the past; Chagga culture before colonization was not timeless and static, but dynamic and ever changing (Setel, 1999). Still, it is evident that the enormous changes that have taken place in Kilimanjaro during the late 19th and 20th centuries have changed the Chagga way of life.

During the 20th century, a vast number of Chagga have left the increasingly crowded villages on Kilimanjaro to find opportunities elsewhere, in Moshi town or other regions of Tanzania. The migration from the *kihamba* land to Moshi town led to cultural changes, and especially in male/female relations. In the *kihamba*-regime, women's only access to land and livelihood was through marriage. Women who moved to Moshi now found work in coffee factories, earned their own income and were able to sustain themselves. Away from the control of their family, they found freedom to move around freely and enjoy the city life. However, they met much resistance from local leaders, who tried to pass legislations which would restrict women's movement in the city (Setel 1999).

2.2.1 Moshi

Moshi is the largest town in the Kilimanjaro region, with a population of about 144,000 (United Republic of Tanzania, 2002). It is also the region's administrative centre. It is situated at about 800 meters altitude, by the foot of Mount Kilimanjaro, the highest mountain on the African continent. It is well connected by road to many big cities in Tanzania and other East African countries, and buses depart daily to Dar es Salaam, Nairobi in Kenya and Kampala in Uganda. Moshi is connected to the rest of the world with Kilimanjaro International Airport only 40 km away. The nearest large city is Arusha, which is situated about 80 km west of Moshi, and can be reached by bus in 2-3 hours. Arusha is a major centre for tourism, international affairs and diplomacy, and is famous for hosting the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, which is still going on. In 2002, urban Arusha had a population of about 280,000 (United Republic of Tanzania, 2002). However, the town grows rapidly and the population is likely to be significantly higher today.

Moshi is also a centre for tourism, and countless safari agencies arrange trips to both Mount Kilimanjaro and national parks such as Serengeti, Tarangire and Lake Manyara. The central area is lively and busy, with large markets, shops, hotels and restaurants. In recent years, Moshi has become a very popular town for NGOs, which has attracted a great number of Western volunteers. Today there are at least a handful centres for street children, many

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orphanages of all sizes, vocational training centres for women and charity schools for underprivileged children. A few kilometres outside of town is the large hospital complex of Kilimanjaro Christian Medical College (KCMC), which houses students and researchers from all over the world.

2.2.2 “The Village”

The area where I conducted my study was located a bit outside of urban Moshi, where the landscape starts rising towards Mount Kilimanjaro. It is densely populated, though not an urban area, and not typically rural either. Locals referred to the large, densely populated area as a “village”, though it seemed to me like something in between a village and a suburb. Moore created the term “rururb” to describe the conditions in such parts of Kilimanjaro that are neither rural nor urban (Setel, 1999). However, I will stick to the term “village” here, as that is what the locals called it.

It took about an hour to walk from the city centre in Moshi to this village, or about ten minutes with a *dalla-dalla* (minibus). The *dalla-dallas* stopped in the village centre, but to reach the houses of my informants I had to walk for about 15 minutes from the main road. Many of the houses in the area were large, with high fences around and new cars in the driveway. My translator explained that these were the houses of wealthy businessmen. In between these big houses were smaller, more modest looking houses, without fences. The further one got from Moshi and the main road, the smaller the houses got, and the more the area seemed like a rural village. The nature got increasingly green and fertile, with banana trees, palms and small fields. Animals like chickens, goats and dogs were walking around freely on the dirt roads in between the fields and the houses.

There were small kiosks and bars scattered around in the village, and in the village centre there were a few restaurants, shops, a dispensary and a small market where fresh fruit and vegetables were sold. From the village centre one could see how the landscape elevated towards Mount Kilimanjaro, with lush, green hills. A river ran through the village, bringing fresh water from the mountain. The river was important to the villagers, as they caught fish, bathed and washed clothes and other items in it.

Chapter 3: Theory

3.0 Introduction

This theory chapter begins with a presentation of the main theoretical perspective of this study: the ‘new social studies of childhood’. This perspective emerged as a reaction to how children and childhood have been perceived in the fields of development psychology, education and sociology. Children have been understood as *human becomings*, rather than *human beings* in their own right. The chapter looks at Ariès’ contribution to the recognition of childhood as socially constructed, and at two contrasting discourses on children: the Dionysian and Apollonian. The chapter also presents the four main approaches to the study of childhood. As this study has aspects of all four approaches, I also look at how other scholars have combined them.

The chapter then turns to ‘places of childhood’, and how geographers have contributed to the ‘new social studies of childhood’. Scholars focusing on ‘children’s geographies’ have put emphasis on the spatiality of childhood, and looked at how childhood varies across space. The division between public and private spaces receives much attention, and is related to the Apollonian and Dionysian view of children. As the informants who participated in this study were their teens, I also look at the ‘betweenness’ of teenagers. This section gives a presentation of ‘youth studies’, and two contrasting views of presenting youth: ‘youth as fun’ and ‘youth as a problem’.

The chapter then moves the focus to the global South, or the ‘Majority world’. The Western view of childhood has become a ‘global standard of childhood’ through globalisation and institutions like the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child. However, the majority of the world’s children live lives that are far from this ideal. Many studies of children and youth in the majority world have focused on “crisis” situations. The chapter then presents concept of ‘youth transition’, and how it can be difficult to attain the social status of adulthood for young people living in poverty.

Lastly, I present three studies that I found relevant for this study. Vavrus (2002) and Stambach (2000) have both studied young girls’ lives in Kilimanjaro, looking both at girls who attend school and girls who have left school. Skelton’s (2000) study is from a very

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different context, but as she focuses in particular on girls' use of space, I still found it relevant.

3.1 The new social studies of childhood

The main theoretical framework of this thesis is what has been called the 'new social studies of childhood' (NSSC) (James, Jenks, & Prout, 1998). This perspective on childhood has developed through the last decades of the 20th century, and is a reaction to the way children and childhood have been understood and written about in previous academic literature. Until quite recently, the study of children and childhood was largely limited to the fields of psychology and education, where children's development was in focus. Childhood was seen as a natural phenomenon, and development psychologists such as Jean Piaget have attempted to show how children develop through stages of mental capacities until they reach the end point of adulthood. These stages were seen as universal and context-independent, and according to James, Jenks & Prout (1998), until children possessed a Western way of thinking and reasoning, they were not seen as fully human beings. There has therefore been a tendency to see children more as 'human becomings' rather than human beings (Qvortrup, 2005).

Nick Lee (2001) argues that the distinction between adults as human beings and children as human becomings is related to the stable adulthood that was dominant in the industrialised Western countries from the 1940's to the 1970's, as well as nation states' emphasis on children's well-being and education as a means to ensure good citizens for the future. This period was characterized by a standard model of adulthood in which there were few great changes in people's lives after they were married and had a stable job. Adulthood was therefore "journey's end". However, the standard adulthood was gendered, and women didn't have the same access to employment. Their job was more about *providing* stability in the home. Lee argues that due to such factors as economic changes and the feminist movement, the "stable adulthood" is no longer the norm. Today adulthood is more flexible, as both changing jobs and spouses are common. The distinction between children as becomings and adults as beings therefore makes less sense than it did before (Lee, 2001).

Also in sociology, children have been seen as incomplete humans. Research on children has not been seen as very important, and if children were mentioned, it was mostly in terms of how they were socialized into society and learned to conform to norms. The socialization processes were in focus, rather than actual children (Holloway & Valentine, 2000). Prout &

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James (1990) argue that earlier social sciences were not disinterested in children, but in children's voices.

In 1960, Philippe Ariès published a book called *L'Enfant et la vie familiale sous l'ancien regime*, later translated to English under the title *Centuries of Childhood*. This work was a landmark in the emergence of the NSSC, as it was among the first to claim that childhood in the Western world has not always been what it is today (Aitken 2001). Ariès claimed that in preindustrial society, children were not seen as conceptually different from adults or as having special needs. The idea of children as different from adults did not emerge until the late 16th century, and from then on two 'discourses'² on "the nature" of children have dominated in Western society.

The first of the two dominating discourses is the Dionysian view, in which children are seen as "little devils" (Holloway & Valentine, 2000). They are seen as evil and anarchistic, and need to be controlled and disciplined by adults. The other is the Apollonian view, in which children are seen as "little angels". Children are here understood as good and innocent, and in need of protection (Aitken, 2001). While these two views seem contrasting, they are both based on the relatively new idea that children are not the same as adults, and should be treated differently. In both views, children's behaviour is understood as natural rather than social. Ariès has been criticized for his generalisations (Aitken, 2001). However, his arguments have led many scholars to recognize that childhood is socially constructed rather than a natural phenomenon (James, Jenks, & Prout, 1998).

The view of childhood as socially constructed is fundamental in the NSSC. Scholars within this field argue that while it is clear that children are biologically immature, how this immaturity is understood varies in time and space (Prout & James, 1990). One of the central issues within the NSSC has therefore been 'deconstructing' taken-for-granted cultural assumptions of what children and childhood are, as well as of children's (lack of) competence and capabilities.

² Discourse is here understood as "a whole set of interconnected ideas that work together in a self-contained way, ideas that are held together by a particular ideology or view of the world" (Stainton Rogers, What is a child?, 2003, s. 21)

The idea that childhood is socially constructed is identified by Alan Prout & Allison James (1990) as one of the six key features of the NSSC. A second feature is that childhood is a social variable which must be seen in relation to other social variables, such as gender, class and ethnicity, and that these together create varied experiences of childhood. Furthermore, children's social worlds are worthy of study in their own right, not just in terms of adults' concerns. Children should be seen as social actors and as beings in their own right. While much previous research has treated children as passive subjects and as human becomings rather than human beings, researchers within the NSSC draw attention to how children are active in the construction of their own social lives and of the society they live in (Prout & James 1990). Still, it is also pointed out that the focus on children as having competence and agency should not make scholars overlook the structures of society which shape and constrain their lives. In addition, ethnography is emphasised as a good way of doing research with children. Lastly, childhood is a field of study where the double hermeneutics of social sciences are important: when studying childhood, researchers also contribute to the reconstruction of childhood (Prout & James 1990).

Within the 'new social studies of childhood' there are different approaches to and understandings of childhood. James *et al.* (1998) divide the field into four theoretical approaches: *the tribal child*, *the minority group child*, *the socially constructed child* and *the social structural child*. In the *tribal child* approach, the focus is on children's social worlds, their play, language and social relations. Researchers look at children's own culture, which is connected to, yet different from, adult's culture. In the *minority group child* perspective, children are seen as a minority group who are, like women, structurally discriminated against. The perspective challenges the power relations between adults and children, and sees children as indistinguishable from adults. From the *socially constructed child* perspective scholars aim at deconstructing beliefs about children and childhood which are seen as common sense. They argue that the Western contemporary way of perceiving children and childhood is not the only way, nor is it the "correct" way. The approach is linked to cultural relativism, and emphasises that we in the West should not judge other perceptions about childhood based on our own values and beliefs. In the *social structural child* approach, childhood is seen as a universal social phenomenon. The category "child" exists in all societies, though its meaning varies in time and space. Children are seen as active subjects and as citizens with rights and needs, who are constrained by the structures of society, such as the economic and political context (James *et al.* 1998).

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These four approaches are not exclusive, and many studies can be placed into more than one of them. The *socially constructed child* and the *tribal child* are closely related, as they both focus on diversity in childhoods at the local level. Closely linked are also the *social structural child* and the *minority group child*, which both see childhood as universal structural categories. However, James *et al.* (1998) argue that the perspectives of the *socially constructed child* and the *social structural child* are contrasting, even antagonistic, and so are the *tribal child* and *minority group child*. These perspectives therefore rarely overlap, and studies usually focus on either the structures of childhood on a macro level, or children's culture on a micro level.

Sarah Holloway & Gill Valentine (2000) argue that the split between the micro and macro level is artificial. They claim it is a product of a dichotomous thinking which should be overcome in order to get a better understanding of childhood. There is no clear division between for instance the local and the global; global processes are manifested in local areas, and are at the same time remade. Samantha Punch (2003) has shown how it is possible to get a more holistic picture of children's lives through combining the *tribal child* approach and the *minority group child* approach in her study of children in rural Bolivia. In the discussion chapter, I will return to this issue, noting that this thesis has borrowed perspectives from each of the four approaches.

3.2 Places for childhood

Previously, the 'new social studies of childhood' has been called the 'sociology of childhood' (Prout & James, 1990). The field was renamed because scholars of other disciplines also became interested in this way of understanding children and childhood. One such discipline is geography, which has had a great impact on the field by focusing on the spatiality of childhood. When arguing that childhood is a socially constructed category, researchers can look at the different meanings of childhood in different places and at different times. However, Holloway & Valentine (2000) argue that the focus has more often been on "time" than on "place". One of the main tasks for geographers has therefore been to show how childhood has different meanings in different places, that Western ideas are not universal, and what is normal in the West is not necessarily normal in the global South (Holloway & Valentine, 2000). As an example, childhood is considered a time of dependency in Western societies, while in many other cultures childhood is also a time of responsibility. Another

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important contribution geographers have made is to connect the global with the local through showing how global processes are manifested locally; how children's lives are influenced by global forces, but also how they respond to them (Holloway & Valentine, 2000).

In the Western world today, children usually have their own spaces which are separated from adults' spaces. Children are either in these special, insulated spaces, or they are seen as "out of place". For instance, the home and the school are children's spaces, but the space in between is not. Constraining children's movement in this way is legitimized by concern for their well-being, and the assumption is that if they are outside adult control and supervision they are in danger. Public spaces such as city streets are seen as particularly dangerous for children, and children in such spaces are also seen as dangers themselves (James, Jenks, & Prout, 1998).

The idea of the public space as out of bounds for children has not always existed. Stuart Aitken (2001), drawing on the work of Ariès, argues that in the pre-industrial Western society, children were not spatially separated from adults. People of all ages and both genders participated in a collective public life together. There was no room for a private sphere, and children participated in society alongside adults. As children were not seen as conceptually different from adults, they didn't need special places either. However, with the idea that children are different from adults came the idea that children should be physically set apart from the adult world. Between the 16th and the 19th century, the public/private distinction was created. It was connected to changing ideas of childrearing, motherhood and femininity. Urbanisation and industrialisation created new spaces. In the emerging middle class ideology, the public sphere was seen as a masculine space, while the private was seen as a feminine space. As childrearing was women's job, children were also confined to the private sphere, and later to schools, but banished from the public sphere (Aitken, 2001).

The philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau had a great impact on the changing image and status of childhood from the 18th century and up till today. In his view, children had a natural goodness. He saw the child as a person with needs and rights, and childhood as an important period in itself, not just in terms of the end product of adulthood (James, Jenks, & Prout, 1998). This romantic view of childhood became dominant in the West during the latter part of the 19th century. However, it was in great contrast to the lived childhoods of many children. Many children worked in factories or begged in city streets. During periods of rural hardship,

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children were sent to the city to earn money as chimney sweeps, street traders and street artists. These poor, dirty working children became objects of pity and concern, as they were seen as having lost their childhood. They apparently lacked all of the characteristics that had come to be associated with children; they were independent of adults, unconstrained and they had lost their “childish goodness”. The only way to save them from ruin was to give them a place in a family or in institutions like orphanages, where they could become “real children” again - domestic, dependent and under adult protection (Cunningham, 2005).

Seeing public places like the city, streets and workplaces as “no place for children” is a central idea in the dominating discourses of childhood. The understanding of children as different from adults “resulted in the creation of spaces that are intentionally designed to regulate behaviour by offering the interpretations, prohibitions and examples of adults” (Aitken, 2001, p. 123). It can be seen in relation to both the Apollonian and the Dionysian discourses of childhood. From an Apollonian, romantic view, children are innocent and vulnerable, and should be protected from the harmful, contaminating adult world: “Today’s notion of ‘stranger danger’ and the ‘corrupting public’ suggest that supposed safe havens – the private, in which home, school and some commercially secure environments - are the only seemingly proper places for children” (Aitken, 2001, p. 124). Children’s movement should therefore be restricted to special places that adults have made for them, like playgrounds, kindergartens and schools. Children who are outside these special places are “not only deemed to be out of place, they are also perceived as being outside childhood” (Nieuwenhuys, 2003, p. 99). From a Dionysian view, children in public spaces are perceived as a danger, and a threat to social order (Aitken, 2001).

The public/private binary is both gendered and aged (Skelton, 2000). Public places can be understood as both masculine and adult, while private spaces are feminine and for children. Girls in public places can therefore be seen as “occupying an ambiguous and often uncomfortable position of being the ‘wrong’ age, being the ‘wrong’ gender and being in the wrong place (Skelton, 2000, p. 80).

3.3 Teenagers and “betweenness”

In the United Nations Convention of the Rights of the Child (UNCRC, 1989), as well as in the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (Organisation of African Unity, 1990), a child is defined as any person below the age of 18. This is also the age of majority in

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Tanzania (Government of the United Republic of Tanzania, 1996). With one exception, the informants in this study were legally defined as children. However, the category of “children” is very wide, and includes everyone from new born babies to teenagers. There are naturally great differences between the experiences of very young children and of those who are almost adult. Furthermore, the boundary between childhood and adulthood is not so clear cut: “The limits of the category ‘child’ vary between cultures and have changed considerably through history within Western, capitalist societies. The boundary separating child and adult is a decidedly fuzzy one” (Sibley, 1995 in Valentine, Skelton, & Chambers, 1998).

Susie Weller (2006) argues that the way the terms “children” and “young people” are often used interchangeably in the literature should be problematized. She argues that there has been too little focus on the special position of teenagers as being both within and “in between” childhood, youth and adulthood. This “betweenness” is an important feature of adolescence, and while teenagers might be legally defined as either children or adults, they are socially defined as being different from both (Skelton, 2000). The construction of binaries such as adult/child and male/female is so central to Western cultural meanings that people who fall between these categories are often seen as problematic and disturbing (Skelton, 2000).

Ariès claimed that like childhood, adolescence is also a quite recent Western “discovery”. According to him, it can be traced back to the early 18th century, when education for the middle class started to expand, and a gap or a ‘quarantine’ period for maturation emerged between childhood and adulthood (Valentine, Skelton, & Chambers, 1998). During the 19th century, this period was expanded, and “youth” and “adolescence” became increasingly associated with social problems and lack of discipline. The term “teenagers” originated in the Western world in the 1950’s, when young people gained more economic and cultural freedom. The teenagers became an important market, with consumer goods and services that were aimed particularly at this age group. Youth was now portrayed as a period of fun and carelessness, with its own cultures, styles and behaviour. However, youth became an ambiguous category, as the view of “youth as a problem” continued to exist alongside with the view of “youth as fun” (Valentine, Skelton, & Chambers, 1998).

The terms “teenager”, “adolescent” and “youth” are also often used interchangeably. While “teenager” refers to 13-19 year olds, the other categories are wider and less fixed. Moreover, which category young people are defined as can vary between individuals, and individuals

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can also themselves negotiate this by ‘performing’ the identity of someone younger or older than their biological age. This can also vary from situation to situation, so that a young person might be regarded as an adult in one situation, and as a child in another (Valentine, Skelton, & Chambers, 1998). Similarly, young people can perform their identity differently in different situations (Skelton, 2000), for instance by emphasising a teen identity with their friends and behaving more like a child in the home with their family.

Much literature on youth has focused on youth sub culture, rebellion and opposition (De Boeck & Honwana, 2005). When youth became an academic interest in the 1950s and 1960’s, it was first from within the field of criminology. Research was focused on delinquency, and often reproduced stereotypes of immoral, criminal and deviant youth (Valentine, Skelton, & Chambers, 1998). The early studies were mainly about young men in urban gangs. During the 1960’s and 1970’s, different youth sub cultures like Mods, Skinheads and Punks were in focus and studies emphasised their opposition to dominant cultures and meanings. Researchers looked at how youth subverted and transformed norms and created new meanings, expressed through behaviour and styles that were offensive to adults (Valentine, Skelton, & Chambers, 1998).

De Boeck and Honwana (2005) argue that until recently, youth rebellion in Africa was a part of the social dynamics through rites of passage. While in the West, youth rebellion has challenged adult norms, and initiated cultural change, the rites of passage in African cultures have worked to strengthen the existing social system. They therefore argue that “a social category of ‘youth’ or ‘adolescent’ did not exist in the African context until recently” (De Boeck & Honwana, 2005, p. 6). However, through globalisation and Western influence, the category of “youth” has emerged also in Africa, with youth subcultures and rebellion. In many societies, this new category has replaced the traditional rites of passage that marked the transition from childhood to adulthood (De Boeck & Honwana, 2005).

3.4 Children and youth in the Majority world

The term ‘Majority world’ refers to the part of the world that has been called “the Third world”, “the developing world” or “the global South”. The term draws attention to the fact that the majority of the world’s people live in these regions. In contrast, the people who inhabit the “Western world”, or the “global North”, are a minority. Therefore, they live in the ‘Minority world’ (Punch, 2003).

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During my field work I explained to my informants that my choice to go to Tanzania was motivated by an interest in learning about out how childhood is experienced in a society which is very different from where I come from. Even though there are great variations in children's experiences also in the Minority world, there are some dominant ideas concerning what childhood is and should be. These ideas are related to the Apollonian view of childhood, which sees childhood as a time of innocence, dependence and freedom from responsibility. Children should be protected from the harsh realities of the adult world by being in controlled, mainly domestic spaces; they should play and go to school, and stay far away from (commercial) work (Boyden, 1997).

This ideal childhood, born out of the American and European middle class, has become somewhat of a 'global standard of childhood' (Boyden, 1997). Minority world organisations, corporations and commercial products have found their way to most parts of the world and have brought with them certain ideas and values, for instance concerning how a proper childhood should look like. The power imbalance between countries of the Majority world and the Minority world has made it hard to resist the influence of these ideas. For instance, countries which refuse to comply with the policies of organisations such as the United Nations, the World Bank and IMF face punishment, often through being denied aid and debt relief (Montgomery, 2003). The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) has played a particularly important part in the globalization of the Western ideal childhood, through establishing a universal standard for childhood which the lives of all children should be measured against (De Boeck & Honwana, 2005). However, this ideal is far from the reality for most children in the world (Boyden, 1997).

While it can be argued that the ideal childhood is a fantasy rather than a reality also in the Minority world, much literature has compared the lives of children around the world with this ideal. Children whose lives do not fit into this standard, such as street children, child beggars and working children, are often perceived as problems, because they are "unnatural children"; they are 'outside childhood' (Ennew, 2002). They are either seen as victims, neglected by their families, or as delinquents who themselves break the rules of childhood (Boyden, 1997). Children in Africa and elsewhere in the Majority world have been understood in terms of what they lack compared to the ideal childhood, and the focus in research has been on the problems they face rather than children's strategies to overcome these problems.

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Though many children in the Majority world face difficulties and hardship, the portrayal of them as victims ignores the fact that they are active social agents who play important roles in society and who participate in the construction of their own identities. They are both being shaped by, and shape, socio-political and economic forces. De Boeck & Honwana (2005) call African children and youth both “makers” and “breakers”, arguing that they are both participating in reproducing and shaping social norms and structures, as well as in breaking them. At the same time, they are being “made” and “broken” by these structures: children are shaped by their families and communities, tradition, the state and the global economy, and destroyed by unemployment, lack of education, war, poverty and exploitation.

Recent studies of children in the Majority world from the ‘new social studies of childhood’ perspective have sought to challenge stereotypical images of “crisis” childhoods that have been prevalent in academic literature, the media and aid and development industry. Some research has focused on the phenomenon of “street children”, which has been perceived as a serious problem in many countries of the Majority world since the 1980’s (Ennew, 2000). Such studies have looked more into the capacities, skills and livelihood strategies of street children rather than seeing them as passive victims (Abebe, 2008) (Beazley, 2002) (Evans, 2006). Studies of youth in Africa have often focused on a particular group of young people, consisting of child soldiers, rebels and township gangs. Because of the violence these groups have faced as well as missing out on education, they have been called a “lost generation”. However, the tendency to focus on the most extreme situations often obscures the fact that most children and young people live more “normal” everyday lives (Hansen, 2005).

3.5 Youth transitions

Much recent research on youth has focused on how youth transition has become more diversified, and that the traditional life changes that lead to social adulthood occur in a different order and at different times than before, or even not at all (Langevang, 2008). From a Global North perspective, Valentine (2003) argues that during the last decades, social change and economic restructuring has made youth transitions more complex. The process of moving out, finding employment, getting married and having children is not as linear today as it was a few generations ago. There is more room for individual choice, though the options available vary with gender and other social identities. Furthermore, life changes such as marriage, getting a job and moving out away from parents’ homes can be reversed.

Thilde Langevang argues that in Africa, youth transition today is no less complex than in the global North (2008). Based on a study of youth in Accra, Ghana, she argues that people born in the late 1970's and after are coming of age in ways that are markedly different from the generations before. Economic decline, SAPs and globalization have contributed to complicate and diversify the process of coming of age. The future prospects of young people in Africa today have become more uncertain compared to previous generations. Though there may be more opportunities available to middle class youth today, for the majority of young people transitioning to adulthood can be a big challenge (Langevang, 2008). Many young struggle with finding employment and earning a living, and therefore have a hard time reaching the social status of an adult. Having a house or a flat, getting married and having children is often a prerequisite for achieving a "respectable" adulthood, but without a job and a stable income this can be very difficult (Langevang, 2008). This is particularly hard for young men, as they are often expected to pay bride wealth and be the breadwinners.

Also in Zambia, many young people have limited education and few employment opportunities, and therefore might never become socially defined as adults (Hansen, 2005). Men therefore risk being socially defined as "youth" forever. Hansen argues that this is different for young women, as for them, child bearing is often enough to be socially defined as an adult (Hansen, 2005). Despite many young people face, Langevang argues that youth are "managing"; they make the best out of their situations and navigate their way towards adult positions (2008). Henrik Vigh (2006) studied urban youth in Guinea-Bissau, and argues that while in the North, youth is a status which is sought after, in Africa, young people desire adulthood. As the elder generation control the majority of the resources, youth are a marginalised group. Similarly to Langevang, Vigh looks at *social navigation*; the interplay between structure and agency, and how young people maneuver extremely difficult situations.

Having education can increase young people's chances of finding formal employment, but for many families the cost of sending their children to school is too high (Vavrus, 2002). Many African countries have made great investments in making primary education free and accessible for all, and have come quite close to achieving this goal. However, continuing to secondary school is often very difficult, as there are often very few spaces available. The competition to enter secondary school is therefore often extremely high. Robert Serpell (1993) argues that in Zambia, having completed primary school is not seen as sufficient. In order to have academic success, young people need at least a few years of secondary school. As the

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majority never make it through the bottleneck from primary school to secondary school, they are seen, and see themselves, as failures (Serpell, 1993).

Other authors have shown that many who have completed secondary school also struggle with finding work. In Ethiopia, unemployment rates are highest among young people who *have* completed secondary school (Mains, 2011). In a study of young unemployed men in Jimma, Ethiopia, Daniel Mains found that many men struggled to find high-status jobs that they thought were fitting to their level of education, and preferred to stay unemployed over taking jobs that were “beneath” them. For the previous generations, having secondary education would almost guarantee white collar formal employment. Today, however, there are many more educated people than there are available jobs. Young people still expect finding well paid, high status jobs, and after completing their education they are often surprised to find that these jobs are unavailable. When the hopes and aspirations for these youth don’t match with the economic realities, “the period during which one exists in the ambiguous stage between childhood and adulthood expands” (Mains, 2007).

3.6 Related studies

In *Lessons from Mount Kilimanjaro: schooling, community and gender in East Africa* (Stambach, 2000). Amy Stambach writes about her ethnographic research on the Chagga people and their relationship to schooling. I found the study very relevant and useful as it took place in the same region as my research did, and because it focuses on girls’ education, gender norms and the tension between the traditional and the modern. Stambach found that even though schooling has been strongly supported in Kilimanjaro, people’s attitudes towards education were varied. Many Chagga saw schooling as a means for social mobility and progress, and as having the potential to lift people out of poverty. Others, however, saw it as a Western interference with the local tradition which disturbed the social structures and gender norms. Girls’ education in particular was seen as destructive, and some perceived it to cause economic decline as school girls neglected their domestic duties.

Stambach argues that schooling in Kilimanjaro has created a dichotomy between “traditional beliefs” and “modern practices”, and also a great gap between the educated and the uneducated (2000). She found that schooling has created two contrasting identities for young women: “stay at home-mothers” and “big sisters of the city”. The “stay at home-mothers” were women who didn’t have formal education beyond primary school, who got married and

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stayed at home with their children, following traditional gender norms. The “big sisters of the city” were women who had at least a few years of secondary education. They often waited to get married and would rather focus on their careers and becoming independent, and they were more oriented towards the modern, urban life. However, these identities were only ideal; most girls were not exclusively one or the other. Girls often found themselves somewhere in between these two. Furthermore, Stambach found that some girls had shifting identities, depending on where they were or who they were with. For instance, she observed that some of the girls in her study would sometimes put on loud Western music and dance around when they were home alone. This was condemned by some of their neighbours, who claimed that girls who behaved like that were out of control and would never get married. The girls’ interest in Western music was associated with European influenced education, which the neighbours thought ruined Chagga women. The girls themselves, however, saw their critics as backwards and unable to adjust to modern times. For those who were sceptical to “Western education”, Western music and clothing were symbols of immorality and materialism. For the girls, on the other hand, they were symbols of development and progress (Stambach, 2000).

Another study from the Kilimanjaro region also focuses on girls’ education. Frances Vavrus (2002) looks at how the Structural Adjustment Policies (SAPs) and particularly privatization policies have affected girls’ education in the region from girls’ perspectives. The adolescent Chagga girls participating in the study were either in secondary school or had left school before secondary. The article argues that privatisation of education has created more opportunities for many girls to go to school and have greater control over their own futures, but it has also created more inequality. Privatisation has put a heavier burden on parents, as school fees and other costs related to schooling have increased. Though in recent years, girls secondary school attendance has increased considerably (UNICEF, 2011), gender disparities still persist in higher levels of secondary school. While the World Bank and the Ministry of Education blamed this gender inequality on the “traditional” values of parents, the Chagga girls themselves have other explanations (Vavrus, 2002).

Girls who didn’t have secondary school education said that the problem was their fathers’ inability to pay school fees and other school-related expenses. In their account, it was “difficult life” that made them drop out of school. The girls who did attend secondary school, on the other hand, meant the problem was the school leavers’ bad moral character and lack of intelligence. While they acknowledged that they had difficult lives, they meant that the

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inability to *plan* for this difficult life was the girls' own fault. They claimed that the other girls were ignorant towards family planning and contraceptives, they would hang around in town and be deceived by men, have sex at early age and become pregnant. Consequently, they would have to leave school, and would not find employment. Furthermore, they would marry men who did not respect them, as they were uneducated and ignorant. The girls, in their ignorance, would be unable to control the size of their family, which would lead to more hardship (Vavrus, 2002).

Like Stambach, Vavrus argues that schooling, and privatization of schooling in particular, has caused a greater gap between the educated and the uneducated. It has produced two contrasting identities; the educated girl and the uneducated girl. Education has become a kind of 'symbolic capital' which can be converted into economic capital. It is not education in itself that leads to a good life, but the identity one gets as an educated person. Having the identity of the educated gains the girls respect and power to take control of their own lives. Being educated, the school girls claimed that they would be able to find better husbands, have the power to negotiate with them, and manage their household resources better (Vavrus, 2002).

In contrary to the perceptions of the school girls, Vavrus argues that there were clear economic differences between the educated and the uneducated girls. Though Kilimanjaro is a prosperous region, the resources are distributed unevenly, and there is still much poverty. Many of the girls who had left school did not live with their biological father. As it is usually the father's duty to pay children's school fees, this is likely an important factor that affects girls' chances of going to school. Furthermore, the parents of girls who had quit school had fewer years of education compared to the parents of girls who did attend school. There were also differences in household economy and material wealth. A significantly higher proportion of those who attended school had piped water, electricity, cars, TVs and radios compared to those who didn't go to school. Vavrus argues that having such resources in the home reduces the need for household labour. Consequently, families that did not have access to these resources might be more dependent on domestic labour. This burden usually falls on girls rather than boys, as housework is seen as a feminine activity. Therefore, there are both economic and cultural reasons for why girls don't attend post-primary education (Vavrus, 2002).

Tracey Skelton (2000) did a study on teenage girls and public space in the Rhondda Valleys, South Wales. Though being a teenager in Wales is undoubtedly very different from being a teenager in Tanzania, I found certain similarities. Skelton's study took place in an "economically neglected" area, with high unemployment rates and little resources for public services. There were few commercial leisure time activities, so parks and streets were the only public places available for girls. However, their presence in these public places annoyed many adults, who often threatened to call the police on them. Even though streets are free and open spaces, the girls' behaviour was condemned. Their laughter, shouting and 'hanging around' was seen as a nuisance. Having nowhere else to go, the girls resisted adults attempts at controlling them and refused to leave (Skelton, 2000).

Part of the reason why the teenage girls spent so much time in the streets was that they didn't like spending time at home. They had little space for themselves, and had a heavier burden of housework than boys their age. Economic decline and low wages had made it difficult for families to survive on one salary; so many women who had previously been homemakers had to find employment. However, housework was still considered a feminine task, so teenage girls were often expected to take much of their mothers' load. The girls in Skelton's study found this unfair and often got into conflicts with their family members. Fleeing the home and hanging on the street was partly a way to avoid housework and confrontations (Skelton, 2000).

Chapter 4: Methodology

4.0 Introduction

As explained in the introductory chapter, the focus of this thesis changed when I arrived in Moshi. The methodology chapter starts with a presentation of the original project, and describes how I adapted it to what I found when I came to the field. I then show how I came in touch with the man who became my research assistant, and how he introduced me to the informants. As the girls were difficult to categorise according to common notions about children and young people in the Majority world, I will give a short presentation of each of my informants, in order to provide the reader with some idea of who they were. I then briefly explain how the field work unfolded.

I then turn to the research tools I used, which were influenced by the ‘Mosaic approach’ and the ‘rights based approach’ to research with children. The tools I chose were photo essay, focus group discussion, sentence completion, interview, observation and neighbourhood walk. I particularly focus on the interview, as I found it very challenging, but also very interesting.

The chapter then moves to ethical considerations, where I discuss challenges related to confidentiality. I also describe trust building and how I attained informed consent. The majority of the chapter is dedicated to issues of research role, power and reciprocity, which I found were interrelated and connected to my inescapable position as “mzungu”. “Mzungu” is the Swahili name for white foreigners, and is often related to wealth and privilege.

I then discuss some general challenges of language and using a translator, technical problems and trying to do research in “mzungu” time. The last part of the chapter discusses the validity and reliability of the data.

4.1 Planning the field work

The initial title of this project was “The experiences and perspectives of street girls in Moshi, Tanzania”. This was decided after having read several articles about street children which sparked my interest on the topic, and in particular Evans’ (2006) article on street children in the northern Tanzanian city of Arusha, which focuses on, among other things, gender. After considering doing my field work in Arusha, I decided to go the neighbouring town of Moshi

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instead. Moshi was a convenient place to do the research because I had some connections there that could help me get in contact with gatekeepers, informants, interpreters etc. Furthermore, the number of NGOs in the town that were dealing with street children gave me the impression that it was perceived as a vast problem. I read several reports and surveys which stated that there were very high numbers of street children in Moshi, a town with a population of about 144,000. In a 2005 census by an NGO who works with street children, 1416 children were identified as either part-time or full-time street children (Mkombozi, 2005). Part-time here refers to those children who spend most of their days on the street but live at least partly with their family, while full-time means children who also are homeless and have little or no contact with their families (McAlpine, Henley, Mueller, & Vetter, 2010). The surveys showed that street boys greatly outnumbered street girls, but there were still several hundred girls that were identified as street children (Mkombozi, 2005).

Preparing for this field work, I sent emails to several different NGOs which focused their work on street children. Since street children are such a difficult group to reach, I was hoping to establish contacts with an organisation which could help me get access, perhaps through doing some volunteering. I had much contact with one of the larger organisations, and I got a lot of information and tips about how to go forth. They also repeated that there were far more boys than girls on the streets of Moshi, but made it clear that it was difficult to have an overview of the situation because the girls were more difficult to reach. They reported that there was a group of very young prostitutes in Moshi, and that in order to reach them I would have to go to bars and night-clubs after dark. However, none of the organisations I contacted were able to help me with the research, for various reasons. Some had strict policies on the involvement of outsiders, and others said the timing was not right. Luckily I had a few other options for how to go about with the research. The first was through the hostel I had booked my stay at, which hosted volunteers and connected them to different NGOs. I had communicated a lot with the woman who ran the hostel, and she said that she could help me get in contact with organisations and social workers that might be able to help me. The other possibility was a woman whom I got in contact with through a friend who had been in Moshi previously. This was a teacher and the founder of an orphanage, and she assured me that she would be able to help me with the research.

4.2 Getting access and finding a translator

When I arrived in Moshi late in July 2011, I contacted this woman, and we arranged to meet. As she was very busy she sent a friend of her to help me. Her friend was a 26 year old Moshi native who worked partly as a taxi driver, safari guide and as a teacher, and he had started his own orphanage with a friend. He said he could help me with my research, getting permission from local leaders, finding informants and translating. As most people spoke Swahili, a language I did not speak, having a translator was necessary. In the beginning I was hesitant to make any agreement with this man, because his English skills were a bit limited, and I had hoped to have a female interpreter. However, I saw that this was my best option, as he had many contacts and was a very friendly and social person. He was also very positive to the project, assuring me all the time that finding informants would not be difficult and that he would be able to help me with the permissions I needed to do the research. Therefore we agreed on working together, and he became my research assistant and translator.

I quickly discovered that my assistant's definition of street girls was a bit different from my own. At one of our first meetings, he said that there were some "street girls" in his "village" that we could talk to. I tried to explain that I was mainly interested in researching girls who hung around in the city centre, but when he replied that he didn't think there were any street girls in urban Moshi, I realized that there had been some miscommunication. Perhaps I had not been clear enough when I explained what I was looking for, or maybe something was lost in translation. Either way, I found that I had to adjust my research to what seemed to be the reality: there were no street girls (by any standard definition of the term) in Moshi. My research assistant explained to me that there were many boys who slept on the street in Moshi, but no girls anymore. He said that this was because the streets was such a bad place for a girl to be that when people saw a street girl, they would take her off the street and place her in an orphanage. Several local people I talked to said that there had been an enormous increase in the number of local NGOs and western volunteers in the area recently, and many of them focused on housing street children and orphans.

Since my only option was to change the focus of my field work and my problem statement, I decided to meet the girls who lived in in my research assistant's village, to see who they were. My assistant had explained that they were girls he would see wandering around in the streets of the village where he lived, whom he therefore had classified as "street girls". He informed me that they were not in school, and didn't have any work, so they spent their days just

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“hanging around”. We arranged to go to the village and meet one girl first, and I bought a disposable camera to give to her so that we could try one of the tools I had planned as a sort of pilot project. My research assistant got the necessary permission from the village leaders, the girl and her family. We then met a fifteen year old girl called Rebecca³ in my assistant’s apartment in the village. I first presented myself and told her why I was there. Though she didn’t speak much, the meeting made me very curious to find out more about who she and the other girls were. What was different about these girls, which made my assistant classify them as “street girls” rather than “normal” girls? And what were they doing all day if they were neither going to school nor working? What kind of future was waiting for these girls? And, most importantly, what did they themselves think about their own situation, about not going to school like the other girls at their age, and about the life ahead of them? I decided that even though this was quite different from what I had planned, I wanted to meet the other girls that were in Rebecca’s situation, and try to do a modified version of the planned research with them. In the end, 10 girls aged 13 -18 agreed to participate in the study, and became my main informants. My new research objective then became to *explore the everyday lives of girls coming of age in contemporary Moshi*.

4.3 The informants

The main informants in this study were ten girls from the age of 13 to 18. They all belonged to the less affluent part of the population in the village, though none of them seemed to be severely poor. They all had roofs over their head and did not appear undernourished. However, their living conditions and material goods were quite basic. Most of the informants lived in small, fenceless houses quite far from the main road. The majority lived with their families in very plain rented rooms in long one storey houses. There could be everything from two to perhaps fifteen households per house. None of the houses I visited had electricity, but some had a source of water outside the house, and a toilet which they shared with their neighbours. The indoor areas seemed to be used mostly for sleeping, and most activities, including cooking, took place outside the house. Apart from what I have already mentioned about my informants, it is difficult to say much in general about them. It was a group of girls that were difficult to classify, as they didn’t fit any of the typical categories that literature on children in the developing world often uses. They were neither “orphans”, “street children”,

³ All the names of the informants are pseudonyms. Most names were chosen by the informants themselves, though some were changed by me because they were too similar to the girls’ real names.

“working children”, “children in armed conflict”, nor the more general “children in difficult circumstances”.

Not being able to successfully categorise the informants has troubled me; how can the reader understand who they were if I don't put any familiar label on them? What seemed to be the common denominator was that the girls were seemingly idle: they didn't go to school like most other girls, and they were unemployed – at least formally. My assistant said they just “hung around” in the village streets with nothing to do, though during the research I found out that this was only half true, and that they had chores, work and other obligations. They could be described as poor, as they were certainly not wealthy and had very few material goods. However, they were not extremely poor, and were in possession of at least some luxury goods like cell phones and make-up. Though they often described their lives as hard and difficult, they also expressed contentment with their situation. It was also difficult to determine whether they were “urban” or “rural”, as they were living on the outskirts of town, in a village-like suburban area. Furthermore, even though all but one of the girls were below 18 years old and were therefore defined as children in Tanzanian law (Government of the United Republic of Tanzania, 1996), calling them children did not seem entirely correct. It is perhaps more appropriate to call them teenagers or adolescents, or seeing them as on the threshold between childhood and adulthood. I therefore found that one way to describe them was to say that they were *in-between*: they fell *in-between* familiar social categories, they lived *in-between* the rural area and the urban area and they were *in-between* childhood and adulthood.

There were many differences between the informants, both in terms of their everyday lives, their family background and their opinions. What they had in common was that they did not attend formal education, while many other adolescents at their age went to school. To give the reader some idea of who the different informants were, I will here give a brief presentation of the information I gained about the girls' families and everyday life activities.

Rebecca (15) was the first girl I met, and she participated in all the research methods, and focus group discussion 1. She was a shy and quiet girl who lived with her mother, her stepfather, a younger sister and an older brother. Her father died when she was around 2 years old. Her mother earned a living by producing and selling *dadii* (local beer made from maize and millet), and her stepfather built houses. Rebecca graduated from primary school, but was

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not able to continue to secondary. Instead she worked as an apprentice at a small tailor shop in her neighbourhood.

Karen (17) was the only one of the girls who spoke enough English to have a conversation with me without the interpreter present. When the translator was not present, she would sometimes take the role as a translator. She participated in all of the research methods, and focus group discussion 1. She lived with her mother and her sister. Her parents were divorced, and her father lived with his new wife and Karen's brother in Dar es Salaam. Karen's mother had a small stand by their house where she cooked and sold food. Karen often helped her mother in the stand, and also took a course in "hotel management" at a vocational training centre where she learnt to speak English and to cook.

Anna (17) participated in focus group discussion 1, but did not show up for most of the other methods. However, I met her occasionally in the village and chatted with her, as she knew a little English. She lived in a small one room apartment with her 1 year old son. The father of the child was not present. She didn't go to school, but sometimes worked in a fruit stand by the road to Moshi.

Rita and Glory (14) were twin sisters. They participated in all the methods, and focus group discussion 2. The twins had moved to the village from Dar es Salaam quite recently. When I visited them, they lived in a two room apartment with their mother, who worked as a cook in the nearby hospital. Their older sister also lived in the village and worked in a small kiosk. The twins' father lived in Arusha where he worked as a DJ. Rita and Glory didn't attend any kind of schooling, but they sometimes worked in cafés when they had need of extra help.

Sarah (16) participated in all the research methods, and focus group discussion 1. She lived with her mother and her stepfather, and a young sister. Her father was dead. The family lived on a small farm, where they grew crops like maize and beans, and kept two pigs. Sarah's mother also produced and sold *dadii*, while her stepfather also built houses. Sarah worked along with her mother and her stepfather on the farm. She did not go to school.

Shanila (13) was the youngest of my informants, and participated in all of the methods except from the focus group discussions. She lived with her 20 year old sister in-law in a small one room apartment. Her parents lived in Arusha, where her father worked as a primary school

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teacher and her mother stayed at home. Shanila also had four older siblings, some of whom lived in Moshi, and some who lived in other regions of Tanzania. Shanila's grandmother lived nearby, and Shanila often helped her selling firewood in the village. She did not go to school. Feti (17) participated in all the methods, and focus group discussion 1. She lived with her mother, father and older sister in a small two room apartment. Her parents were seldom at home, as they worked all day buying and selling fruits. Feti had two younger siblings who didn't live at home, one who stayed with her aunt and one who went to boarding school. Feti herself did not go to school, but occasionally worked as a waitress in town.

Lilyu (18) only participated in the sentence completion method. I therefore know little about her life and her family background, other than that she didn't go to school.

Mary (16) participated in the sentence completion method and focus group discussion 2. She lived with her mother, but whether she also had a father and siblings is unknown. She didn't go to school.

4.4 The field work

The field work took place between the 20th of August and the 3rd of October in 2011. During these weeks I met the informants 14 times for pre-planned methods, and about five more informal or random meetings. In addition, I spent at least ten more days in the village walking around with my translator, alone or waiting for an informant who didn't show up. The research took place in different locations in the village. The first meeting with Rebecca took place in my translator's apartment, and the first focus group discussion took place in a classroom that belonged to an orphanage. Most of the sessions, however, took place in a house that belonged to my translator's brother. The house was under construction, so it was little more than a concrete shell. At times there would be people working outside, digging a huge hole in the ground which was going to be a toilet. There was no door and the windows did not have glasses, so there was often a lot of noise. At the end, we started doing the sessions in another room that was attached to the same house, which was more comfortable. Some days were also spent walking around in the village with two or more of the informants, visiting places they liked to go to or visiting the homes of the informants. One day I also met some of the informants in Moshi town, bought them dinner at a restaurant and got a tour around the town to the places they liked.

The duration of the sessions varied from 1 hour to 4 hours. The two focus group discussions each took about 45 minutes, while the average length of the interviews was about half an hour. The sentence completion sheets were given to the informants to complete in their own time, and while some finished them after 30 minutes others handed them over after a couple of days.

4.5 Research tools

In this study I chose to have a multi-method approach. According to (Ennew *et al.* 2009), using several methods or research tools often leads to better data than using only one. I chose to use several research tools because this can help shed light on different aspects of the informants' lives, and it gives them the opportunity to express themselves in different ways. In a wide use of the word, the research can be seen as ethnographic. While previously ethnography entailed a long-term stay and participant observation in the context of the lives one was studying, today it can also mean research over shorter periods of time and include other methods (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). The important thing is that it takes place in "the field", in the everyday context of the people that are being studied, rather than in an artificial "laboratory" setting.

The choice of methods was influenced by the 'Mosaic approach' and the 'rights-based approach' to research with children, which I explain below. Both of these approaches advocate the use of particular research tools that are seen as especially useful in research involving children. The tools I chose were semi-participant observation, focus group discussions, interviews, sentence completion exercise, photo essays and neighbourhood walks, all of which were described in either of these approaches. I had also planned to use drawings, but as the informants did not like to draw this tool was cut out.

The Mosaic approach was developed in England during a research about services for children and families, with the aim of including young children's views on the matter (Clark, 2005). It is influenced by 'the new social studies of childhood' and its view on children as competent social actors, as well as Participatory Appraisal research techniques in development aid research, where the aim is to include the voice of the least powerful in society, and also those who cannot read or write. The Mosaic approach is also greatly inspired by the pedagogy of the Reggio Emilia schools, in which children are viewed as competent and active. In the 'Mosaic approach', children are seen as having different languages or 'voices'. A variety of

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methods or tools should be used in research to hear children's different voices, and each of these used can be seen as pieces in the Mosaic which together provide a more complete picture of children's perspectives. The approach is seen as 'participatory' in the sense that it treats children as experts in their own lives and gives them an active role in the research (Clark, 2005).

In *The right to be properly researched: How to do rights-based, scientific research children* (2009), Ennew *et al.* present a manual for how to research with children in accordance with the United Nations Convention on the Rights on the Child (UNCRC). The rights-based approach is grounded in the interpretation of article 3.3, 12, 12 and 36 in the UNCRC. The approach stresses the importance of protecting children from harm and exploitation during the research process, as well as enhancing children's participation and including children's own views in research that in some way affects them. This involves using research tools that make it easier for children to express their views, and giving children the opportunity to participate at all stages of the research process. In addition to influencing my choice of tools, this manual also inspired my ethical strategy.

Below I will present the different research methods. The table beneath shows what tools the different girls participated in.

Informants	Photo essay	Focus group 1	Focus group 2	Interview	Neighbourhood walk	Sentence completion	Home visit
Rebecca (16)	X	X		X	X	X	X
Feti (17)	X	X		X	X	X	X
Karen (17)	X	X		X	X	X	X
Sarah (16)	X	X		X	X	X	
Shanila (13)	X			X	X	X	X
Glory (14)	X		X	X	X	X	X
Rita (14)	X		X	X	X	X	X
Anna (17)		X					X
Mary (16)			X		X		
Lilyu (18)						X	

Table 1: *Informants' participation in research tools*

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4.5.1 Photo essay

Visual methods, like photography, can add other perspectives to research. When using more traditional research methods, like talking and writing, the researcher may ask the wrong questions. The photos give the informants an opportunity to choose their own focus, and the pictures can be stimulating visual tools for a discussion (Ennew *et al.* 2009). In my research, the informants were taking turns on using an analogue camera which I had bought and showed them how to use. I then gave them the task of taking pictures of things and places they liked and disliked. One by one, they borrowed the camera for one or two days to take about fifteen pictures each. I then developed the films and took the pictures back to the informants, with copies that they could keep. The combination of low quality films and inexperienced photographers resulted in only about half of the pictures on each film turning out good. In the end I had on average around 6-8 pictures from each informant. When I had developed the photos, I met up with them individually. I asked them to tell me about each picture, where it was, who or what it portrayed and if this was something they liked or disliked. Even though the image quality was not the best, the pictures provided very interesting data. The informants often had much to say about each picture, and it gave me a good insight into the environment they lived in from their point of view.

I chose to begin with the photo essay tool because I thought it would be a fun and unintimidating start to the research. I also wanted to use the insight I got from this method in other methods, such as the individual interviews. Though in the end I got good data from this method, it did not go smoothly – which I will elaborate on later. The pictures showed objects, places and people, and I got good explanations to why they liked or disliked them. The informants' explanations were far more informative than the pictures themselves, and it was often what the pictures represented rather than what they actually depicted which was of importance to them. For instance, one informant had taken a picture which she told me she didn't like. The picture showed a woman sitting outside a house, and while the woman herself was a person my informant liked, she represented something my informant didn't like because of the situation she was in. Another informant took a picture of a pile of bricks, which she said she didn't like. However, it turned out that it was not the bricks she disliked, but the snakes that often hid under such bricks. This illustrates the importance of focusing of the informants' explanations of the pictures, rather than relying on the pictures to speak for themselves.

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4.5.2 Focus group discussion

A focus group discussion is “a formal, facilitated discussion on a specific topic” (Ennew *et al.* 2009). I did two rounds of focus group discussion. The first session took place in the beginning of the research, and five girls participated. The aim with this discussion was to get an idea of what the girls had to say about some broad themes which I thought would be interesting to explore. For instance, I was interested to hear their ideas and reflections about being young girl in this area, compared to being a young boy. It was also a way for me to ask questions which I thought might be too personal to ask directly. By asking general questions to the whole group, I hoped to create some distance to potentially sensitive or embarrassing themes, so that the informants wouldn't feel like I was prying into their personal lives. For instance, I was very curious to know why they didn't go to school, but instead of asking them directly one by one I asked them in plenum what they thought were the most common reasons why young people or young girls did not go to school.

The second focus group discussion group took place at the end of the research. In this only three girls were able to join. I thought it would be a good idea to do a second group discussion to see if the girls who did not participate in the first one agreed or disagreed with their peers. In more informal conversations or observations during the research, issues had emerged which I felt conflicted with what was stated in the first focus group discussion. I therefore wanted to see if another group of girls would say the same as the first, or if they had a different view on matters. In addition, a few of the girls were a bit dominating in the first discussion. By doing another discussion I could increase the chance that the findings represented more than just a few of the girls. Having two discussions made me realise that the informants didn't agree on all matters, and in some cases they directly contradicted each other.

I found it quite challenging to do a focus group discussion with a translator. In a way the translation inhibited the natural flow of the conversation which is required to have an actual discussion. It was completely impossible for me to know who was saying what, and I suspect that a lot of information was lost because my translator had a hard time remembering everything which was said. It was therefore difficult to know whether what he translated was the view of the majority of the group or just the most dominating individuals. Despite this problem, I felt the method worked quite well. It seemed like group discussions were a form of communication which they were familiar and comfortable with, compared to for instance the

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interviews, which some seemed to find difficult. The focus groups can perhaps be compared to what the girls called “talking about life” – conversing and exchanging ideas and opinions, which the majority of the girls said was what they did when they met their friends.

4.5.3 Sentence completion

The sentence completion tool is a “particularly good method for exploring sensitive issues” (Ennew *et al.* 2009). I wrote 14 sentence stems on sheets of paper, which were translated into Swahili. I asked the informants to finish these, writing as much as they pleased. I also pointed out that it was not a test and that everything they wrote was of interest to me. The method was conducted about half way into the research, after I had made sure that all the informants knew how to read and write. The sentences were open and left much room for interpretation, such as “*I like...*” and “*I don't like...*”. The aim of the method was to give the informants the opportunity to express themselves in writing. My assumption was that it might be easier for them to be open about subjects they might find difficult if they could write it down instead of saying it out loud. By using very open sentences, I hoped to let the informants decide what they wanted to share, rather than dictating the subject myself. I found the method very useful, as the informants brought up several themes that we hadn't talked about before.

4.5.4 Interview

In the final stage of the research, I conducted interviews with seven of the informants. I used a semi-structured interview, and had prepared an interview guide with a set of questions beforehand. I also asked follow-up questions according to what the informants decided to talk about. The interviews were tape recorded by their permission, so that I could focus more on them rather than on writing everything down. Though the interviews gave me valuable insights into the informants' perspectives, it was very challenging to interview through an interpreter. My interpreter was very eager to share his own ideas as well as the informants' ideas, so when transcribing the interviews, I spent much time trying to figure out what was his own views from the informants' replies. Thanks to the little Swahili I understood and notes I took during the interviews, I felt that I was somewhat able to distinguish between the two. At times it was obvious, like when he would start “interpreting” even before the informants had said a word. I would then ask him to ask the question to the informant. When in doubt, I credited the replies to my translator and excluded them from the analysis, to minimize his impact on my data.

I started the interviews with concrete questions about my informants' family and friends, to "warm them up". Then I would pose more open questions about memories and their views on the future. My ambition had been to pose questions that would lead to rich, narrative replies. According to Gudmundsdottir (1996), informants often organise memories and experiences into narratives. I hoped that questions like "can you tell me about a happy day in your life?", I would invite the informants to tell stories from their lives. However, I quickly discovered that many found it difficult to answer questions which were not very specific. Some of the informants seemed to find the questions very difficult, and chose not to answer certain questions, which I told them was fine in the beginning of each interview. When this happened, I moved on to the next question. My translator would sometimes start explaining the questions to them, even giving examples of what they could talk about. At times I had to stop him and ask him to let the informants think for themselves, but I also realised that his examples made it easier for them to understand the questions and triggered replies.

The qualitative research interview is one of the most common methods in the social sciences. It is useful as it "attempts to understand the world from the subject's point of view" and "to unfold the meaning of their experiences" (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, p. 1), which was the aim of this study. The aim of the interview is not to discover some truth about how the world is, but to try to get a better understanding of how it looks from the point of view of the respondent. As it is impossible to see the world through someone else's eyes, knowledge produced in an interview should be seen as created in the interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee, who are both active parts in the interview (Holstein & Gubrium, 2004). In the interview, the researcher depends on his own experiences to make sense of the knowledge that is produced in the interview (McCracken, 1988), which can be challenging when the respondent's world is very different from the interviewer's. This was indeed a challenge in this study, as the context and the culture was foreign to me, and even though I myself was a teenage girl once upon a time, my experiences were quite different from the informants'. However, there were many themes and situations that the informants described which I could relate to, and as the interviews took place at the end of the research, I already had some knowledge about the informants' world.

It has been argued that the interview is not a "child centred" method which might not always be appropriate to use with children (Ennew *et al.* 2009),, because of the great power imbalance between the adult interviewer and the child respondent, and because children are not always capable of expressing themselves verbally in adult terms (van Blerk, 2006). Anne

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Solberg (1996) on the other hand, argues that there isn't necessarily a marked difference between interviewing children and adults. She argues that it is the researcher's assumptions about children's competencies that make age significant, and that ignoring the age of the respondents, researchers can focus more on what children actually do instead of what we think they are like.

It appeared to me that they were not used to reflecting in the way that I hoped they would, and there are several possible reasons for this. It might be that the questions I asked were very "Western" and not culturally appropriate, or that some meaning was lost in the translation. Perhaps they were not used to being asked to reflect on different themes, especially not by adults. I don't think it was due to immaturity or lack of capabilities, it rather seemed like they found it strange that I asked them about their own perspectives. It might also be that they thought I was looking for a particular reply, and they were afraid to give the "wrong" answer.

4.5.5 Observation

Observation is an essential method when doing ethnographic research (Ennew *et al.* 2009). The observations I did can be called *semi-participant*, as I was too different from my informants - being adult and "mzungu" - to be accepted as one of them. Still, I interacted with the informants and tried to behave like them when eating or just "hanging out" with them. Through observation I found out a lot about my informants' life, their surroundings, their behaviour and the way they interacted with each other and other people. As most of the data collection took place in the village where they all lived, I was there almost every day in periods of the research and got a good impression of the kind of life people led there. There were many things I saw that puzzled me, and I'm sure I would have understood much more if I had stayed there for a longer period of time. However, I felt that much of the information I got *between* the planned and organised methods such as interviews and sentence completion was just as valuable as those methods themselves. I learned a lot about my informants from just walking around in the village or in Moshi with them, eating with them and visiting their homes. Sometimes when we sat down I would make a few field notes, though most of the time I waited until I got home and wrote about my impressions in a research diary.

4.5.6 Neighbourhood walk

'Neighbourhood walk' is a tool described in Ennew *et al.* (2009). It involves walking around with the informants, exploring the places where they spend much of their everyday lives. I did

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several neighbourhood walks with my informants, some more planned than others, some together with my translator and some without him. On one occasion, five of the girls, my translator and I walked together from house to house, visiting some of the girls' homes. Another time I asked a couple of the girls to show me places they used to go in the village, and once some of the girls asked me if they could show me around in Moshi town. During these walks they would show me places they liked and disliked, and I frequently asked questions about our surroundings and anything else I was curious about. From the neighbourhood walks I learned much about the places the informants used, and they revealed some conflicts between where they said girls should be and where they liked to be.

4.6 Ethical considerations

In all social research, the first concern for researchers should be to protect participants from harm (Ennew *et al.* 2009). Prior to the field work, I had prepared an ethical guideline, based on ideas about ethical research from a Global North perspective. Skovdal & Abebe (Skovdal & Abebe, 2012) argue that it can be difficult to apply ethical standards which have been created in the Global North when doing research in the Global South. In the field work setting, I found it quite difficult to comply with some of these ethical standards. Standards related to confidentiality, which is seen as central in ethical research, were especially difficult to fulfil. For instance, interviews took place in a building that was under construction. There were no doors, and often many people around, so eaves dropping was quite easy. While I would have preferred a more private place to do interviews, the location of this building was convenient for the informants and my research assistant, and the girls themselves did not seem to mind the people outside.

Skovdal & Abebe (Skovdal & Abebe, 2012) argue that rather than blindly following ethical rules, ethical research should involve reflexivity and dialogue. Reflexivity entails critically reflecting your own practices as a researcher, looking at how you are shaping the knowledge that is being constructed, and on the power relations between yourselves and the people being researched. What is seen as ethical and not varies between cultures. When doing research in an unfamiliar cultural context, dialogue with research participants can be a good way to agree on ethical guidelines (Skovdal & Abebe, 2012).

In this research, I found myself very dependent on the advice of my research assistant. As he knew the culture and what was considered appropriate or not, I would often ask him what he

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thought was the best thing to do. While I did not experience any serious ethical dilemmas, there were a few things that I found a bit problematic but my translator thought was fine. For instance, while I wanted to keep the research and the data from my informants confidential, my translator didn't think this was very important. There would therefore often be other people – friends and family – around us when we did interviews and other methods with the informants. On a few occasions I asked if they could step away a bit, but as the informants didn't seem to mind I often allowed them to be there.

4.6.1 Building trust

Gaining at least some degree of trust was relatively easy. As my research assistant was the one who contacted the girls and asked them if they wanted to meet me, they first had to trust him. Since they lived in the same “village”, I believe he automatically earned much trust. Just by walking through the village with my assistant I could see that he was a social, friendly and popular man, he greeted almost everyone he met and was very polite to older people. He would also small talk a lot in Swahili with the informants, and that bothered me a bit in the beginning, but after a while I understood that he was just trying to make them feel comfortable in a strange situation. He often made jokes, which made the informants smile and laugh. I think that since they trusted him they also trusted me. I also visited the homes of 7 of the informants, and I brought some rice, sugar and soap for their families, which I think contributed to showing that my intentions were good.

4.6.2 Informed consent

Informed consent involves letting the participants know about the purpose and content of the research, as well as what it will be used for and who will read it. When they have been given this information, they can either agree to participate or not. It shows respect for the informants, and is a human right (Ennew *et al.* 2009). Informed consent can be obtained either in writing or orally. When the informants are unfamiliar with the academic terminology, like children often are, it is important to explain it in a way they can understand, using a straight forward language. If the informants speak a different language this becomes even more important. Before the first meetings with the informants, I sat down and told the translator what I was planning to say to them, in order to prepare him and make the translation go smoother. As only one of the girls knew more than just a few words in English, it was very important that he got the translation right.

When I met new informants for the first time, I spent some time introducing myself and explain the study. I told them a bit about myself, a bit about Norway, and explained that I was a student taking a course about children and young people. I said that being a young girl in Norway is different from being a young girl here, so I had come there to learn about how they lived, and to hear about both good things and bad things in their lives. I tried to explain my motivation for studying this, saying that I believed that sometimes adults forget how it was like to be young, so therefore it is important to listen to what young people have to say. I explained that I had to write a report about what I found out when I got back home, which would be read by my teachers and maybe some other people who might be interested.

Furthermore, I made it clear that what they told me would be confidential, and that they could chose nicknames for themselves so I didn't have to use their real names in the report. When I was finished explaining this, I asked them if there was anything they were wondering about, and said that they could ask me anything they wanted about the research, myself, Norway or anything else. Sometimes the girls would ask me questions, for instance about the difference between Norway and Tanzania, which I tried to answer as well as I could. In the end I asked each of them if they would like to participate, making it clear that it was perfectly alright if they chose not to.

4.6.3 Research role, power and reciprocity

I spent a lot of time wondering about what the girls thought about me and if they understood why I was there. From the beginning I was very worried that they thought I was there to help them, either through giving them money or through teaching them something that would improve their lives. I emphasised many times both to my research assistant and to the girls that I was not there to change their lives and I would not give them any money for participating. In our first meeting one of the girls asked me what they should do to improve their lives. All I could reply was that I didn't know, that I was there to learn from them, and that they were the experts in this place. This answer induced some laughter, but they appeared to accept it. After discussing with my research assistant, I decided to give the girls some small gifts. I felt this was appropriate because they were spending their time helping me, and I wanted to show that I appreciated their participation.

From the beginning of the research I was aware of that no matter how hard I tried, I would not be accepted as "one of them". I was a "mzungu", a white foreigner. Most other white people

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in Moshi were there either to volunteer at one of the NGOs, or to climb Kilimanjaro and go on safari. Therefore many locals thought white people were there either to help them out of poverty, or were extremely rich, and sometimes both. However, I hoped that by making sure I dressed modestly and properly according to local standards, learning the appropriate Swahili greetings and being easy going, I might appear a little bit less “*mzungu*”.

In any research, there is a power imbalance between the researcher and the researched. The researcher decides the topic, plans the research, usually decides the methods and the questions being asked, interprets and presents the data (Tingstad, 2007). In addition, the researcher is often more educated than the informants, which can also increase the power imbalance. When the research participants are children, this imbalance becomes even greater, as adults are often perceived as superior to children and have the right to tell them what to do and not do. Many children are used to adults, whether they are parents, grandparents or teachers, making decisions for them and commanding them. In this case, there was another dimension to this power imbalance, as I was a *mzungu* and therefore perceived wealthy, powerful and knowledgeable. In Moshi, many other white people were involved in the aid industry, and were seen as having answers to how the local people should lead their lives in order to become prosperous and “developed” like them. I therefore often emphasised that I was not one of the volunteers or aid workers, that I didn’t know what people could do to improve their lives and that I was a student and therefore not as wealthy as other white people. I also tried to focus on what the informants and I had in common, which was being (relatively) young and female, and that we therefore could talk and interact like equals.

Being an adult “*mzungu*” researcher, one can definitely say that the power imbalance was in fact quite big between me and the informants. I was older, wealthier and more educated than them. The research was planned by me, and the topic was chosen by me. However, during the research, I did not feel very powerful at all. Because the research took place in the informants’ own village, in their own culture and when they had time, I felt that the informants had a lot of power. They were in their “right element”, with family, friends and familiar things around. They knew the environment, the language, the culture and how things worked around there. I actually felt quite powerless since I was so far away from what I knew and was used to, and I felt a bit “out of place” and vulnerable in the strange environment. I didn’t know their language, and sometimes I had a strong feeling that they were talking and laughing about me. I also felt a bit out of control not knowing the local culture and the social rules. I had to accept

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being an outsider and “socially awkward”, and try to laugh at myself along with them, reminding myself that I might very well be the first *mzungu* they had ever spoken to. No wonder they found me a bit strange. Though it felt uncomfortable at times, I also found it a great asset to be perceived as a bit awkward and out of place, precisely because I think it made the informants more relaxed around me. It was also a way to demonstrate what I told them several times: that in this setting, I was their “clueless” student and they were my teachers, and the experts who possessed the knowledge I wanted to learn.

While I had initially imagined this study to be more in line with so-called participatory approaches, I found that in the field my best option was to “go with the flow”, take the opportunities I got and not focus so much on what I had planned in advance. Most of the methods I had planned worked in a sense, though often not how I had imagined. Other methods were rejected by the informants, such as drawing, which they didn’t want to do because they claimed they were bad at it. Other events were initiated spontaneously by the informants themselves, like when they invited me to take a walk through Moshi town with them. Within the NSSC, involving children as participants in research rather than objects or subjects has become popular, as it is connected to the recognition of children as competent social actors. Participatory research means that “the people whose lives are being studied should be involved in defining the research topic and also take an active part in both collecting and analysing the data” (Ennew *et al.* 2009). Participation therefore involves giving up much of the power one has as a researcher to the informants in a study.

Some authors are critical to the way such “participatory” research is often assumed to be better and more “empowering” than other types of research. Gallacher & Gallagher (2008) question whether power is something that can be given to someone else, and argue that participatory research can inhibit children’s room to express themselves in research, as it is usually the adult researcher who decides how children are allowed to participate. They claim that children have their own ways of actively challenging adult power in research. Children acting in unexpected ways or refusing to participate on adults’ terms can also be seen as forms of participation, and might lead to valuable insights. Gallacher & Gallagher therefore advocate approaching research with a “methodological immaturity”. Rather than blindly following specific methods and techniques that are regarded as “participatory”, researchers can benefit from coming to the field as “immature”, or novices and allow the unexpected and unplanned to happen (Gallacher & Gallagher, 2008). In this study, I found that by being

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awkward, out of place and non-authoritarian, I had a natural “immaturity” that allowed the informants to take more charge of the course of the research.

4.7 Challenges

4.7.1 Interpretation

Though I had expected to have challenges with interpretation and had tried to prepare for this by carefully explaining my intentions to my translator, there were many situations I found very difficult. The translator I used was not as fluent in English as I had hoped him to be. His vocabulary was quite limited, and he often found the words I used difficult to understand. However, I told him the questions I wanted to ask ahead of the focus group discussions and the interviews, so I could explain to him what I meant if there were words he was wondering about. Still, there were a few times where I had to rephrase my questions during the interview before he understood what I wanted to ask.

In the beginning, I was a bit hesitant to employ a translator whose English skills were limited. However, I was not in a position to pick and choose. Besides, as mentioned earlier, he had other qualities which I found were equally important as language skills. He lived in the village where the research was conducted, he got me in touch with the informants and gained permission to do field work from the village leaders. In addition to this, he was a very friendly, likeable guy who people trusted. He had a nice tone with my informants, made them feel at ease and made them laugh. I think that the fact that people trusted and respected him reflected on me too, which was a great advantage.

What I found most problematic was that my interpreter kept on talking in Swahili between the translations. At times he would small talk with the informants, and I was left completely in the blue. I felt that I lost control, and had no idea what they were talking about. Sometimes I asked him to tell me, and though he often did, there were also times when he just said that they were talking about people in the village. I found this quite frustrating in the beginning, but after a while I realized that he was just trying to make them comfortable. Though some information may have been lost to me because of this, I think that it made the informants relax and enjoy the research more. However, I suspect that he sometimes took a few “shortcuts” in the translation, only telling me about half of what the informants said. This was particularly evident in the sentence completion replies that he translated, where I could clearly see that parts of sentences were sometimes missing.

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4.7.2 Technical problems

It can be hard to imagine what kinds of problems you might face when planning the field work in an unfamiliar setting. Though it was not my first time in the developing world and I was aware that for instance power cuts might occur, I had underestimated the importance of technology in my field work. When preparing to do the photo essay method, I had planned on buying disposable cameras to give to my informants and develop the films in Moshi. However, when I got there, it turned out that there was only one store in town that sold disposable cameras, and they only had three left. What's more, they had expired three years ago. Therefore, I had to buy an analogue camera that each informant borrowed in turn. This was not such a big problem in itself, the real challenge came with the development of the film. Firstly, due to frequent power cuts, it was only possible to develop films at certain times. In addition, the quality of the films was quite bad. Though my assistant and I explained to all the informants how to use the camera, many films turned out blank. Therefore several girls had to take more than one film before they got any pictures. This delayed the research quite a bit, which I feared would challenge my informants' patience. Luckily they seemed to like taking pictures, so they agreed to try again – and again.

4.7.3 Time

In a field work, time becomes really important. I had made a flexible schedule for my time in Moshi, but it was difficult to keep because of the before mentioned technical problems, and because everything seemed to take much more time than I had anticipated. It took time to get to the village, and it was sometimes difficult to find a time to meet with the informants. Furthermore, many Tanzanians have a more flexible way of perceiving time than westerners. As my translator told me several times, there's a difference between “*mzungu-time*” and “*mbongo-time*” (*mbongo* here refers to Tanzanians). I therefore often had to wait for hours for informants to show up. Though I didn't mind waiting, it meant that sometimes I only had the time to do half of what I had planned for the day, before the sun set and I had to get home before it got dark and dangerous to walk around alone. There were also days when I showed up to an arranged meeting and no one came. At the end I wished that I had a few extra weeks to do more observation and a few more interviews.

4.8 Data analysis

Analysis of empirical data is a process of going back and forth between the data and theory (Nilsen, 2005). The analysis process is not a specific stage of the research, but starts with the phrasing of a research question and continues through the whole research (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). In this research, my data was documented in various ways. I wrote down observations and reflections in a research diary in the field, which I typed into the computer when I got back to my hostel. Interviews and focus group discussions were tape recorded. The informants' sentence completion replies were collected and translated by my research assistant. Photos were collected in a book, with transcripts of the informants' explanations below.

When I returned to Norway after the field work, I transcribed the interviews and the focus group discussions. I then gathered all the data I had from all of the methods, including my observations, and read through them several times. I began a process of "sorting and re-sorting the data in different ways so that the trends, links, similarities and gaps are identified" (Ennew *et al.* 2009). I sorted the data in different ways, for instance by gathering all the information I had about each of the girls who participated in the study. As I read and re-read my data, I would write down every new theme that emerged. This led to quite a long list of very diverse themes, including schooling, work, family, clubbing, Christianity and marriage. I then started coding the data, which means identifying and marking words, concepts and themes that occur often (Ennew *et al.* 2009). I colour coded the themes I had identified, which gave a good overview of which themes were most frequently brought up. After that, I started searching for more general themes, and ended up with four categories: places for girlhood, non-places for girlhood, expectations and aspirations. Having done this, I started relating my findings to theory.

Qualitative data can be analysed either from a top-down or a bottom-up approach, where the first approach involves relating findings to existing theories, and the second refers to the creation of new concepts (Nilsen, 2005). In this study I have used both approaches; a top-down approach when using existing concepts like 'youth transition', and a bottom-up approach when using my own concepts of "the good girl" and "the cool girl".

4.8.1 Validity and reliability

The issue of reliability in social research is related to how trustworthy the empirical data is (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). This can be quite difficult to judge when the researcher is not looking for objective truths, but the experiences and perspectives of a certain group of people. Informants might have their own agendas in the research, and say things they don't necessarily mean. In this research I was aware of that because of the role many "mzungus" play in Moshi as volunteers and aid workers, the girls might present their situation more desperate than they actually perceived it, hoping that I would take pity on them and help out. As stated previously, I emphasised to the girls that this was not why I was there, though it is difficult to know if I got through to them. In addition, the fact that I did not understand most of what the informant were saying and had to use a translator might also be decreasing the reliability of the research. Much meaning could be lost in the process of translation, as it is difficult to find words and phrasings that exactly capture the original meaning. The translator might also have interests in presenting his own version of the informants' experiences, or wish to share own views.

Validity relates to how the research actually investigates what it claims to investigate (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). This was a great concern for me in analysing my data, and I constantly questioned my own interpretation. As my main research question focused on the girls' experiences and perspective, I did not want to end up with a presentation of the informants that they themselves could not relate to. I have therefore tried to be cautious about drawing conclusions, but instead focus on how things *seemed* or *appeared* to me. This has been a concern all through the analysis process, but I have also kept in mind that knowledge is constructed in the interaction between the researcher and the people being researched (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). This thesis is therefore my way of making sense of what I observed and reflected on in the field, and is inevitably shaped by my own personal experiences and interests.

Chapter 5: Analysis I - Expectations of girlhood

5.0 Introduction

My intention with this field work was to do an exploratory study. Rather than asking questions around a particular theme decided by myself, I wanted to have an open approach. What I was interested in looking into was the informants' experiences of being young girls with uncertain futures in this particular context. I therefore asked questions about many aspects of their lives, about their family, friends, everyday lives, hopes, fears and future plans. I wanted to let the informants determine the direction of the research through the themes they chose to talk about. My main interest was simply trying to get as full a picture of these girls' lives, experiences and perspectives as I could.

As a consequence of this exploratory approach, the themes that emerged from the data were quite diverse, stretching from household chores and friendship to concerns about women's rights and gender equality. When I started the process of analysis, I identified more than 30 themes in my data which I thought would be interesting to look further into. I found that most of these themes were in some way connected to *expectations*: the expectations the girls experienced from society, their community and family, and the girls' expectations to themselves, their own lives and the future.

My analysis is divided into two chapters. The first chapter deals with *external expectations*; what the girls believed was expected of them from society, their local community and their family. It also looks into how they acted upon these expectations, and how they adhered to them or challenged them. The second analysis chapter focuses on the girls' own expectations and future aspirations. Looking at their plans, hopes and anxiety for the future, I particularly focus on education, transition to adulthood and the girls' desire to earn a living for themselves and move away from the hard village life.

In this chapter I focus on the expectations the girls faced from their families, their community and society. These expectations involve domestic duties and other responsibilities to family and relatives, and the informants' own perspectives on what girls should and should not do. As the informants' experiences are in focus, the emphasis is their own presentation of the local cultural ideas of what is proper and improper for young girls.

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The chapter also relates this to spatiality, and the girls' perceptions of places that are good and bad for them to be in. This part also points to the ambiguity in the girls' relation to spaces, and the contradictions between which spaces they thought they should go to and where they actually went. I also discuss how the girls perceived a tension between their "traditional" village culture on the one hand and the "modern" urban culture on the other hand. I show how they dealt with this tension through negotiating two different identities that I have called the "good girl" and the "cool girl", the first being characterized by following cultural gender norms and a rural lifestyle, the other by being more oriented towards Western culture and an urban lifestyle.

5.1 Girls' duties and responsibilities

Many of the girls in this study had a great deal of domestic duties in their homes, and some of them also had responsibility for contributing with income and financially supporting other family members. On the other hand, it seemed that the girls also had a lot of freedom time to spend as they pleased. In the focus group discussions, I asked the girls what duties and responsibilities young girls had to their families. The informants mostly listed household chores such as cleaning, washing clothes and dishes, cooking and fetching water, but also being clean, playing and reading. In the first focus group discussion the girls stated that boys at their age had many of the same responsibilities as themselves; "Even boys, if they are still at home, they are supposed to do the same thing".

However, the girls in the second focus group discussion had different view on the matter, and claimed that boys don't really do anything in the home: "They just hang around, and when they come back they see that food is ready" and "Boys don't do anything, they just hang around and come home to eat. When they finish their meals they go out again." It seemed like the girls in the second discussion group thought that boys at their age had fewer responsibilities than themselves, and the girls expressed that they found this division of labour unfair. They argued that boys should help out in the household as well, for instance by fetching water and finding firewood. Though it is difficult to know why the two groups of girls were so divided on this topic, it could be that they had different experiences because of differences in the family composition, or that the second group did not value boys' activities.

The girls in the two focus groups also had different opinions on who decided what young girls were allowed to do or not do. The first focus group consisted of girls aged 16 and 17 and they stated that family members were the ones to decide what young girls were allowed to do:

Ida: Who is it that decides what young girls like yourselves are allowed to do and not to do?

Inf: The family. The father. Parents, or relatives.

Ida: And what happens if you don't want to do what you are told to do?

Inf.: You feel bad. For example prostitution, if someone told me to do that, I would feel very bad. But if someone told me to be a house girl, I will say, if I do this I get this, it's good for me.

This answer seems to imply that even if the girl did not approve what she was asked to do, she would do as she was told, but that she would feel bad about it. This was not exclusive to girls, however:

Ida: Is it the same for boys? Is it the fathers who decide what boys should do?

Inf.: Yes.

The younger girls in Focus group 2 (14, 14, 16) had a somewhat different reply to the question:

Ida: Who decides what girls like you are allowed to do and not do? Do you decide for yourself, is it your parents or someone else?

Inf: We decide for ourselves.

However when going further into the question the girls in Focus group 2 also emphasised that the parents were the ones in charge, and the ones to define what was good and what was bad:

Inf: My parents tell me what is good and not good.

Ida: And you always agree with your parents?

Inf: Yes.

The girls therefore seemed to trust their parents' decisions, and do what they were told to do. In addition to domestic chores, some of the girls had other responsibilities to their families. Seventeen year old Sarah lived with her two year old sister, her mother and stepfather on a

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small farm. They grew crops like maize and beans, and had two pigs. Sarah's mother also had a small business producing and selling *dadii*, a kind of beer made from maize and millet. Like most of the other informants, Sarah did not get any kind of education. Instead, she helped her mother on the farm. Though she would have preferred having an education and the work was hard at times, Sarah said she enjoyed it. Karen sometimes helped her mother with her business, a small stand in the village where she cooked and sold food such as fish and banana. Shanila was in a different situation than the other girls. Her parents lived in Arusha, but she was sent to Moshi a few months before I met her, in order to help her pregnant sister-in-law. She did not seem very pleased with that situation, and stated in the sentence completion that the worst thing about her life was being denied her right to education.

Feti did not get to go to school herself, but she worked as a waitress now and then to financially support her younger sister so that she could go to school. The work was hard, but having a hard job was better than having no job, she said. Her parents were unable to provide much money for her: "They don't have money, so there's nothing to give". Feti herself could earn about TSH 1500 (5 NOK) per day, which was barely enough to buy food for. Still, she was expected to put some aside for her sister's school fees. Nevertheless, at the end of a long working day, she often went to the bar to drink *dadii* with her friends. It therefore seemed that even though she worked hard to support her family, she also had the possibility to have a good time with her friends.

Anna had a special kind of responsibility. She didn't participate that much in the research, but she was in the first focus group discussion. I went to visit her home one day, and discovered that she had a 1 year old son. I did not stay in their small one room-apartment very long, as both mother and child were feeling ill and needed to rest. Anna did not talk about the father of the baby, but it didn't seem like they were married. Anna told me she lived there alone, and my translator categorized her as a "girl" like the rest of my informants, rather than calling her a "mama", which was what he called married mothers. I only met Anna once more, when I ran into her selling food with an older woman by the main road. I figured Anna probably had become pregnant in young age and that the father had disappeared leaving her to care for the baby alone, a scenario my assistant told me was quite common.

5.2 Places for girlhood

One of the questions I asked in the two focus group discussions was: *What is the proper place for a young girl to be in?* Good places and bad places were issues we talked about in other tools as well, such as the neighbourhood walks and in informal conversations. What I found particularly interesting here, and will discuss below, was the contrast between what the girls said was the right place to be and where they actually went.

5.2.1 “Girls should be in school.”

The importance of schooling and education was emphasised by most if the informants in many methods. In the first focus group discussion, the informants said that the school was the best place for a girl to be, because

“In the school they study good things for the future. Girls should be in school to have a good life.” (Focus group discussion 1)

The informants agreed that going to school was important in order to get a good job, which would lead to a good life. If you go to school, you can become an engineer, a policeman, a teacher, a nurse, a doctor or a judge, which were all seen as good professions. If you don’t go to school on the other hand, it will be difficult to get a job, and you will therefore have a “difficult life”. In the sentence completion exercise, four girls stated that the most important thing for a young girl was to be educated. The school was clearly a place which was associated with a bright future, opportunities and improvement of living conditions, but also with national development and human rights. Five of the seven girls I interviewed said that if they were the president of Tanzania, they would ensure that everyone could go to school. Many said that they would lower fees for education and support those who couldn’t afford it. Feti said that she would “Make all kids go to school.(...)I will tell the schools to reduce their fees.”

5.2.2 “Girls are supposed to stay at home.”

In the second focus group discussion, when the girls were asked what they thought was the best place for a girl to be, they answered “In a good environment”. A good environment was here associated with a place where you have: “access to education, clothes, food, exercise, rest, shower, discipline”.

The girls stated that the home had the best environment and was the best place for a girl to be. Even though these girls also emphasised education as important in young girls' lives, they said that for some, the school could also be understood as a dangerous place: "Some parents think girls will get pregnant if they go to school." It was therefore safer to keep girls at home, within parents' sight. Glory said that children should be at home, helping their parents. However, the parents of most of the girls were rarely at home during daytime. I visited 7 of the girls' homes, and Karen's mother was the only parent I saw. Feti's parents both worked from early morning till the evening selling fruits by the University College. Glory and Rita's mother worked as a cook at the hospital, so the twins were home alone most of the time as well. Though the girls had various domestic responsibilities such as cleaning and cooking, it seemed like they actually spent more time hanging around in the village streets with their friends. Some of them, such as Shanila and Karen, also helped parents and relatives selling for instance food and firewood in the village. Feti, Glory, Rita and Anna also had part time jobs outside the village. So even though being at home under parents' supervision was seen as the ideal place for a girl to be, in reality they were outside the home most of the time.

5.3 Non-places for girlhood

There were many places which were seen as bad for girls. Many girls spoke of "bad environment", which I understood to be places that look unappealing, where the nature is not nice, and where there's garbage and health hazards. In the photo essay exercise, many of the girls' pictures of places they don't like were of places they thought looked bad, such as garbage dumps and deserted farmland. These places were associated with dangers, which could be everything from hazardous waste and polluted air to poisonous snakes. In addition to this general "bad environment", the town, the street, clubs and bars were seen as especially bad places for girls.

5.3.1 The town and the street

In both the focus group discussions, the informants talked about the town and the street as bad places:

"If you go to town, sometimes you meet bad guys who lie to you and say they will give you money if you have sex with them."

(Focus group discussion 2)

“There are a lot of bad things you get from the street.”

(Focus group discussion 1)

The street and the town were associated with dangers and bad people. Though the town was seen by some as especially risky for girls because of “bad men”, some of the informants thought that these could also be bad for boys:

“Bad places for girls are also bad places for boys. It depends on the environment.”

(Focus group discussion 1)

“Environment” here seemed to be related to what company one was in, rather than the physical environment. The girls emphasised that depending on the situation and the company, any place could potentially be bad:

“A bad place for a street girl is any place, even home, if her company is bad.”

(Focus group discussion 1)

Feti, however, said that it’s worse for a girl to hang around in the street than for a boy. She said that even the streets in the village could be dangerous, and took a picture of a man she was afraid of. She explained that he was “crazy”, and that he sometimes hit people or stole from them. He once stole from her, so every time she saw him afterwards, she would run away.

The informants pointed out that hardship in the family sometimes forced girls to go to bad places like the city. They said that some girls were told that they had to go to the city and work or find money in other ways and bring it home to their parents. At least three of the girls took occasional jobs in the city in order to get some income. Feti sometimes worked as a waitress in town in order to support her younger sister’s education. It therefore seemed that in some cases the need for income led girls to the town, even though they knew it could be bad for them.

Though the town was seen as a bad place, several of the girls said that they liked going there, shopping or just looking at things. They usually went there together with their friends or family members. One day I invited the girls to eat lunch with my interpreter and me in town,

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and five girls showed up at the restaurant. My translator had to leave during the meal, but luckily Karen who knew some English was there, so I was able to communicate with the other informants in a mix of Swahili and English. After we had eaten, one of the girls said that they wanted to show me the places in town that they liked. They took me to a part of town where I had never been before, and to a loud, busy market area where everything from Western style clothes and shoes to vegetables and fruits were sold. They told me this was where they usually went shopping, and if I needed to buy anything they could help me bargain. It struck me that even though they claimed that the town was a dangerous place, they seemed very at home there, and they appeared to enjoy walking around in the chaotic environment. They laughed and joked, and did not seem insecure or scared at all. It made me wonder if the view they had expressed in the focus group discussion and the idea of the town as a dangerous place was something they had been taught by their parents or other adults. For the girls, it was also a place of fun and excitement.

There might be an element of temporality to the distinction between “good places” and “bad places”. It was daylight when I walked around in Moshi with the girls, but if it had been in the evening after dark it would probably have been quite different. I never walked alone after dark, as the power often went out and the town became pitch-black. A few of the girls, such as Feti and Karen said they didn’t go around much after dark, and they would probably not have felt safe walking around town in the evening. Other girls, however, such as Mary, Sarah and Lilyu did not seem too scared of the dark, which I will elaborate on below.

5.3.2 Bars and nightclubs

In addition to the town and the street, nightclubs and bars were seen as bad places for girls. As one informant said in the second focus group discussion, “If you go [to the bar] and have some beers you get drunk and use bad language.” Karen told me she never went to the clubs in town, because she was afraid of bad men, and she had heard many stories of girls going to such places being abused by men. However, she sometimes went to the local bars to celebrate her friends’ birthdays and such, but she stayed away from boys and alcohol. Rebecca also told me she stayed away from clubs. Feti said she sometimes went to a local bar after work, and in the photo essay one of her pictures showed her sitting in this bar, drinking the local beer *dadii*. She said she only went there during daytime. Some of the informants said it was more dangerous to go to the clubs in town than to the local bars. Clubs were seen as bad for minors of both genders:

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“The club is not a good place for the youngest, boy and girl. If you are under 18, it is not good to go to a club. But if you are over that, it is OK.”

(Focus group discussion 1)

Five of the informants, however, told me in informal conversation and during the neighbourhood walk that they used to go to the nightclubs in town. There were especially two clubs they liked going to, both of which had a reputation among locals for being bars where underage prostitutes would go. However, prostitution in the bars was not something any of my informants brought up at all, and I did not want to ask about it because I did not wish to seem like I accused them of this, or questioned their morality.

Those of the informants who went to these places said they only went there a few times a week, usually on Thursday and Sunday when there was free entrance for girls and cheap drinks. They said they went there to dance and be with their friends. Mary said she usually drank energy drinks or soda, while at least three of the girls said that they used to drink beers. They explained that their friends, both girls and boys, usually bought beers for them, but they didn't drink that many. Some of them said that they thought four beers were a lot, but one girl claimed that:

“If I drink four, I don't get drunk. But if I drink like ten, I get drunk” (Focus group discussion 2).

The twins Rita and Glory told me one day that they had been to a nightclub in town the night before, and were tired because they had stayed out until 5 a.m. Giggling, they told me that they had drunk ten beers each. Though Feti said she never went to bars after dark, Rita and Glory said they would sometimes walk all the way from the nightclubs in Moshi to their home in the village. They preferred to take taxi, but if they didn't have the money they would have no choice but to walk. The village was about an hour in walking distance from central Moshi, and walking around at night was seen as dangerous also by the local people. A friend I made in Moshi illustrated how dangerous it was to walk around in the dark by telling a story of how he had been attacked and robbed on the way to the village where the girls lived. The road to the village was dangerous even for him, an adult *maasai* who walked around with a sword in his belt.

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5.4 The “good girl” and the “cool girl”

One of the observations I found most interesting in this research was the contradictions and ambiguity in the statements and the behaviour of the girls. There were disagreements within the group, but in addition, the individual girls would also often contradict themselves. There were great disparities between what the girls described as good and bad to do and what they said they actually did. Most of the girls agreed that the school and the home were the proper places for girls to be, while the street, clubs and bars were bad places. However, none of them were in school, and they were spending much of their time outside of the home, in places that were described as “bad”. Though girls like Rebecca and Karen seemed to think such places were decidedly bad, the majority of the girls were more ambiguous.

Furthermore, bars and nightclubs were not only “bad”, they were also associated with fun. In the second focus group discussion, one girl said:

“I think it’s normal to go to bars for both girls and boys.”

About half of the informants said they liked going to clubs in town. On some occasions they talked about the dangers of places like the street and the town, and on other occasions they would talk about how much they enjoyed being there. This contradiction could perhaps be seen as a tension between the “traditional” Chagga culture and the “modern” culture. What was identified as “good” for girls in the focus group discussions and what they told me they did in less formal conversations was often quite different, and sometimes contradictory. It seemed that in some ways the girls had two different; that of the “good girl” who stayed mostly in the village and behaves according to Chagga tradition, and the “cool girl” who was drawn towards the city and the modern life.

By going to clubs and hanging around in the city, the “cool girls” were challenging expectations of proper girl-behaviour. Whether or not the parents of these girls knew what they were doing and approved of it is unknown. However, it is likely that their parents’ views on what was proper behaviour for girls influenced the girls’ behaviour. For instance, Karen said that her parents did not drink alcohol, so she also stayed away from it. Karen also firmly stated that she stayed away from the places where some of the other girls went to drink alcohol. Sarah on the other hand claimed that her parents did not mind her going to clubs and staying out late. Rita and Glory’s father worked as a DJ in Arusha, so it could be that he was

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more urban-oriented than other parents, and didn't mind his daughters going to clubs, drinking and dancing.

Even though some of the girls were behaving in a way that contradicted the social norms, they also seemed in some ways to want to live up to the expectations of girlhood. Girls such as Glory, Rita, Mary and Sarah were also "good" girls in the sense that they respected their parents and stayed in the village most of the time. But they were also drawn to the urban life, and towards being "cool". This "coolness" was expressed through both their behaviour and their appearance. Glory and Rita dyed their hair, wore elaborate nail polish and in the photo essay they took several pictures of each other posing in different outfits. They also listened to Western pop music, and their constant giggling reminded me of some of their peers in the Western world.

Chapter 6: Analysis II - Aspirations and expectations

6.0 Introduction

This second analysis chapter deals with the aspirations and expectations of the girls in my study; their plans, hopes, wishes and concerns about the future. This was one of the main issues I wanted to explore in this study, which I found interesting because of the apparent economic and cultural constraints they faced, being disadvantaged young girls with little education. In this chapter, I will therefore present an analysis of the girls' future aspirations and expectations. I also relate this to the cultural and economic context, as it gives a better understanding on the girls' perspectives of what opportunities they had and didn't have. While expectations and aspirations were themes that surfaced on various occasions during the field work, much of the empirical data I analyse here comes from the answers I got when I asked the girls this question in interviews:

If you could see yourself ten years into the future, what would you see?

When I posed this question to my informants, I did not know what to expect. Was it too optimistic to think that a 14 year old girl from a low-income family, with little formal education and few employment opportunities, would even be able to answer it? The answer is both yes and no. Some of the girls did indeed struggle with this question. Rita's response was an extended silence, and her twin sister Glory simply said: "I don't know, maybe I'll die soon". However, most of the girls surprised me with quite detailed and thought through visions of the future. Though many regretted the opportunities they missed out because they didn't have post-primary education, they still seemed to believe that there was hope of having a happy, prosperous life. Most of them were focused on becoming independent from their families, through earning money in the informal economy and moving out from their natal homes. Some saw themselves getting married and having a family of their own, and had even decided how many children they would have. A few girls, on the other hand, did not seem particularly interested in getting married, and were more drawn to the idea of being independent and self-sufficient. However, their view of the future was not completely optimistic. There was some ambiguity, and many were anxious about what lay ahead, aware of the many challenges they had to overcome in order to get the lives they were hoping for.

6.1 Making a living and developing

“Right now, life is very tough. It’s hard to imagine how it will be in ten years. I don’t have education, so my life will be very difficult.” (Sarah)

In the focus group discussions, the informants explained that without education, it was difficult for girls to get a good job. The girls said that people who have education could become doctors, nurses, teachers, engineers and police officers – jobs that are “good”. For the uneducated the list was much shorter. However, they said that boys had more options than girls:

“It’s easier for young boys to find a job. There is some work that young boys are doing that is difficult for young girls to do”. (Focus group discussion 1)

For instance, boys could work as builders, diggers or mechanics, or become porters who carry the bags of tourists climbing Mount Kilimanjaro. These jobs were all seen as unsuitable for girls, as they involved physically demanding “hard work”. A few of the girls said that they wished they had been boys, so they could do these kinds of jobs and work hard. In the second focus group discussion, one of the girls said:

“I want to be a boy because I want to do hard work and work a lot, be a farmer” (Focus group discussion 2).

Manual labour was therefore seen as masculine activities that girls were unable to do, though some of the informants revealed that some girls actually did these jobs anyway. However, this was seen as “bad”.

The girls claimed that the best prospects for uneducated girls were in the informal economy; they could either be housekeepers or start a small “entrepreneurship”. This often involved buying and selling goods either in the village, the town or the market. In the first focus group discussion, the girls said that starting an entrepreneurship was expected of unmarried girls when they reached a certain age. For those who failed at this, marriage was always an option:

“If you reach the age of 20, and you don’t have anything to do, you’re supposed to marry” (Focus group discussion 1).

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Karen was the only one who expressed hopes of getting formal employment, and said she wanted to be a police woman. However, this was probably her dream job, rather than what she thought was going to happen, as she was already staking out a quite different path for herself. During much of the field work, she was attending some kind of vocational training program, where she learned to speak English and how to cook.

Sarah hoped that she could get some money to start her own business of selling *kanga*- the traditional patterned fabric used for clothing. She figured that since there are more people in Arusha, the market there would be better. Her plan was to travel to Kenya and buy kanga there and sell it in Arusha. Rebecca, who was learning how to tailor, wanted to start her own tailoring business in the village. However, she was also thinking about moving to Arusha, where “business is better”. She also hoped to acquire her own small plot of land and cultivate it, and grow her own vegetables. Feti wanted to start a business selling fish. She planned on buying fresh fish from people who caught it in the nearby river, and sell it in the village. These plans illustrate that even though the girls’ livelihood opportunities were limited, they were able to think of something to do which they thought would be both practically achievable and worthwhile.

Shanila saw starting a small scale business as a good way for unemployed women to make a living. She said that she wished that all women who didn’t have any work would start their own entrepreneurship. However, some of the girls also pointed out that this was easier said than done. Sarah knew that in order to do that, one needed some start capital. With no waged employment or immediate prospects of getting hold of such money, she said she put her faith in God to provide it. Even the girls who had some form of employment earned barely enough money for food, which made saving any very difficult. It therefore seemed like they found themselves in a poverty trap⁴: in order to *earn* money, it was necessary to *have* money.

Another difficulty the girls faced in trying to start their own entrepreneurship was that the market for selling goods was quite limited. It almost seemed to me that in Moshi and around there were more people involved in selling goods than were buying them. I often wondered how people were even able to survive off what they earned selling food, clothes and other

⁴ ‘Poverty trap’ is a term used by Jeffrey Sachs (2004) to describe the economic situation in sub-Saharan African countries: they are too poor to achieve economic growth. Here I use it on a micro-level to describe a situation where poor people are stuck in poverty because social mobility requires money.

goods on the street and in the markets, as the prices were very low and the competition was high. The aspirations that some of the girls had of moving to Arusha to find a bigger market implies that they were aware of this, though after visiting Arusha myself I became doubtful whether the prospects there were much better, as the competition there actually seemed even fiercer and the prices lower.

Though Sarah said that she hoped to start an entrepreneurship, she also said that she would take “any kind of work”. The important thing was just earning money. Glory also said she would take “any work that gives me income”. Many of the girls appeared to have a strong desire for more money, and said that they would work very hard to get it. Even though they said it was difficult to get money, many appeared to have faith in their own abilities, and a belief that hard work would get them far. They seemed to hope that if they worked hard enough, they would be able to develop and prosper, reaching a more desirable condition. Some of the girls talked about working hard and earning money for the purpose of “developing”, which seemed to mean improving their financial situation and standard of living. Some even hoped to earn so much money that they could help their friends:

“I hope to have a lot of money to make my life good and enjoy with my friends”
(Lilyu)

“I wish to have a good work so I can help my friends who have a bad life to get a good life” (Sarah)

A few of the girls even hoped that they would have the resources to help strangers in need. Shanila, who was clearly concerned about girls’ rights, wanted to “advocate the rights of women and girls” and “visit young girls at my age and encourage them”. Lilyu wanted to “help orphans”. Their motivation for earning money was not only improving their own lives, but also being able to help others improve their lives.

While most girls had some kind of plan for the future, the twins Glory and Rita both had difficulties picturing their own futures. It seemed there was too much uncertainty in their lives at the moment, which made it difficult to plan anything. They had only just moved to Moshi from Dar es Salaam, and were not sure whether they would stay there long or move somewhere else. Their mother worked as a cook at the hospital in Moshi, but their father lived in Arusha. In one of our first meetings, they told me that they actually planned to move to

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Arusha, go to school and learn to be a cook, like their mother. Later, however, it seemed like this plan had been cancelled, and they said they wanted to get away from the village, but they didn't know where to move to.

6.2 Education

As explained in the previous chapter, schooling and education were often mentioned in positive terms. The school was seen as a good place for young girls to be, and education was often referred to as important for young girls. Schooling was important in the present, as it was mostly seen as a safe and good environment. However, it was more often related to the future and ideas about what makes a good life. Education was obviously something the girls were very concerned about, as the theme often popped up in unexpected ways. One such example was the photo essays, where several girls took pictures that were not obviously related to schooling or education. However, when they explained the pictures, the connection became clear. Feti took a picture of a small boy standing on the dirt road in the village, saying this was something she didn't like. My first assumption was that she disliked the boy, but when I asked her to explain more about the picture, she said that this boy was just walking around in the village during school hours, and this was something she didn't like because children were "supposed to be at school". Glory took a picture of children collecting firewood, saying that she disliked this. She said that this was bad because the children should have been studying instead of working. One of the pictures Rita took that she disliked showed two small children. She said that they were supposed to stay in school, but were skipping class and just playing around instead.

In the sentence completion exercise, six out of seven girls mentioned education, either as something they aspired to get, as something that they regretted not having, or as something they wished all children could have. Four girls stated that education was one of the most important things for a young girl. Shanila wrote that the worst thing about her life was being denied her right to go to school, while Feti wrote about education in more than half of her sentences, stating things like "I [will be] very happy when I'm going to school and have a good life" and "The worst thing about my life is lacking education". The constant mentioning of school and education shows how important schooling was for the girls. Education was presented as a kind of panacea – a cure for everything, and a key ingredient in a "good life" ("maisha mazuri"). It was linked to the future and the perceived possibilities it created: if you have secondary education, you can proceed to the university, which will open a whole world

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of options for learning a profession and getting a good job, and consequently a good life. In the focus group discussion the girls explained that if you have education, you could become an engineer, a policeman, doctor or nurse, which were all seen as desirable professions. The assumption seemed to be that having such a job would lead to social mobility, prosperity and development.

Though it seemed that education was first of all the key to improvement of their own lives, many of the girls also stated that it was something that all children should have. Rebecca wrote that she wished to “give education to young girls”, and Feti hoped to “see all kids go to school”. In the interviews, I asked the girls what they would do if they were the president of Tanzania for one day. Three of the girls I interviewed said they would do something about poverty. Sarah said she would “i would give support to all poor people, people who have hard lives”. Both she and Karen mentioned “giving education” as a way to help poor people.

Five of the girls said they would have made sure that all children went to school. Feti even had a plan for how to achieve this: “I will tell the schools to reduce the fees”. These girls therefore presented lack of education as not just a personal problem, but as a problem that affected the whole country. They also seemed to think that the government were neglecting their responsibility. Some girls expressed that they thought the Tanzanian government should do more to improve the lives of poor people and give everyone the opportunity to go to school.

Feti and Rebecca both said that the day they graduated from primary school had been the happiest day in their lives, because, as Rebecca put it: “I thought I would continue to secondary [school]”. They had both wished and anticipated that they would continue, but they had not been able to. They never told their individual stories of why they weren’t in school, but in the second focus group discussion, “difficult life” and the need to earn money were mentioned as reasons why some children did not go to school.

Ida: Why do you think some children go to school and others don’t?

Inf: Because they have hard lives. And they don’t want to go to school because they would rather earn money.

6.3 Moving out, moving away

In the individual interviews I had with some of the girls I asked them if there was anything they would have liked to change in their lives. In this excerpt Karen answers:

Ida: If you could change one thing about your life now, what would you change?

Karen: I would find a place to live.

Ida: For yourself?

Karen: Yeah.

Ida: Not live at home? Not live with your family?

Karen: No. I want to be by myself, find a place to stay alone.

Ida: So if you could move out and find a place to live now, would you do that?

Karen: Yeah! (laughs)

This extract from my interview with 17 year old Karen illustrates a wish expressed by the majority of the informants. Though Karen later moderated her statement, saying that she probably should wait a few years, it was clear that moving away from home was something she looked forward to. Many of the girls said they would like to move out from their parents' house and get their own place to live. Some, including Karen, wanted to remain close to their parents and find a house within the village, while others wanted to move to a different town. Feti wanted to move to a particular area – a nice neighbourhood close to the hospital compound - which she thought was a “cool place”. Some girls also dreamed about owning their own house, and the twins Glory and Rita even wanted to build their own house.

6.4 Changing the environment

The girls often spoke about “changing the environment”, which it took me some time to figure out what meant. I initially thought that they meant improving their surroundings, as some of the girls expressed concern about environmental problems in the village. Rita, for instance, explained that there were many problems with the environment. She didn't like particular places, such as patches of dry wasteland. She also complained that there was a lot of dirt many places in the village. She also thought the houses in the village were a problem. This view was shared by other girls too. Karen took pictures of places where people put garbage and burned it, explaining that she didn't like such places because they were health

hazards and made the neighbourhood look bad. Glory complained about the river being polluted.

After a while I found that “changing the environment” also had another meaning. When I interviewed Rebecca, she said she would like to change her environment, and explained that she wanted to move somewhere else. Likewise, Rita said she would like to change the environment and move away. Changing the environment thus actually meant *leaving* the environment they were in, and moving to a different environment. It seemed like there was something bad with the environment that they found themselves in, which could only be escaped by moving somewhere else. The “bad” in the environment was perhaps both the actual physical surroundings - the garbage, pollution and dirt - and the poverty and hardship that it was associated with. Karen and Sarah both took pictures of environments they found good, which showed “nicer” parts of the village, with painted, larger houses and well-kept gardens.

It was as if the environment was somehow holding them back and inhibiting them from achieving the kind of life they wished. It was not a definable problem that could be fixed, but more about what they associated with the village. Sarah expressed this clearly when she talked about why she wanted to move away from the village: “I don’t want to stay with my family because their life is difficult”. The idea was that if they remained in the village, their lives would be just as hard as their parents’ lives were. The term “changing the environment” therefore seemed to mean escaping the living conditions and the “difficult life” of the village and going somewhere with more opportunities and hopes for a “good life”. For some of the girls, Arusha was the preferred destination, as this big city was associated with opportunities and “better business”. Lilyu, on the other hand, had more ambitious aspirations: “When I grow up I want to be rich and live outside Tanzania”.

6.5 Starting a family

Many of the informants saw themselves having a family of their own in the future. Feti mentioned on several occasions that she wanted a good family. In ten years, she thought she would be married and have her own family: “I will be a mother, have a family and have a husband. I will have a good life.” She thought she would have two children, and she had even decided who she wanted to marry, though the man himself did not know this yet. Shanila also had a clear picture of what kind of family she would have in the future: like Feti, she would

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have two children and a husband. She thought her future husband would be a businessman, whom she would run into one day in the street, start a conversation with and then marry. Karen and Rebecca also thought they would be married and have children. Glory and Rita, however, did not mention anything about having neither children nor a husband in the future. Sarah didn't think she would have a husband, but she said that she might have a baby if she had enough money to support the child. However, she had received clear instructions from her home to not get pregnant yet:

“My mother told me that if I get pregnant, it will be difficult for me to stay with them, because even now it is difficult to find something to eat. They say that if I get pregnant, I have to feed my baby *dadii* (local alcoholic drink).” (Sarah)

In the first focus group, the girls started discussing the problem of people having many children even though they're not able to support them:

Inf: “The big problem here, when you're married you get like 9 kids, 10, 11.”

Ida: Why do you think that's a problem, that there are so many kids?

Inf: “For example, [taxi] drivers. Maybe they marry this year. They get like one kid, they stay with their wife and have a good life, but maybe they try to have another kid. So it's difficult for him to take care of them, to feed them, so sometimes he disappears, leaves the family. That's why, here in Tanzania, we have a lot of orphans and street boys and girls.” (Focus group discussion 1)

The informants agreed that having children without access to the resources needed to support them was bad, and could cause further poverty and social problems. Some of them also expressed concerns about young girls getting pregnant. Sarah was afraid of getting pregnant in young age. As already mentioned, one of the girls, was already a mother. 17 year old Anna only participated in the start of the research, as she was busy looking after her one year old child. She also had to work a lot to support herself and the baby, and I encountered her once in the village selling fruits by the road. It seemed like she raised the child alone and she never mentioned the boy's father. However, when I visited her tiny apartment an older woman was helping her, as both Anna and her child were sick. Though Anna seemed like she was coping, the other girls seemed to dread ending up in her situation.

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6.6 Dangers and challenges

Youth transition and becoming an adult was a great concern for the informants. They wanted to move away from their parents, earn money for themselves and start families of their own. It seemed that becoming less dependent on their family was very important for many of the girls. This might have something to do with not wanting to be a burden for their families. In the focus group discussions, the informants expressed that girls are expected to become independent around the age of 20. Girls should then either have their own income and be self-sufficient, or they should get married and be supported by their spouse. Being older than 20 and still at home, relying on parents' support, was probably seen as shameful. Feti demonstrated this view through one of the pictures she took in the photo essay, which showed a woman sitting outside a house. Feti said that the woman was about 30, and still lived with her parents. She said that even though she liked the woman, the picture represented something she didn't like: the woman was unmarried and didn't have any work, so she received money from her father. This was clearly not the sort of life Feti wanted for herself.

The main obstacle to achieving the adult lives they hoped for was poverty. Several of the girls referred to themselves as "poor". In the sentence completion, Rita wrote that "The worst thing in my life is poverty". Many of the girls said they wished they had more money, or that they hoped to become rich in the future. Lilyu hoped "To have a lot of money to make my life good and enjoy with my friends". The girls also explained that poverty often caused people to make bad decisions for themselves and their children, thinking short term gain rather than planning for the future:

"If the parents say their life is bad and the girl is grown up, they say "you have to marry" because they get something. You get something from the people who marry your girl. The big problem here in Tanzania is that they see today but they don't see tomorrow." (Focus group discussion 1)

This problem of "seeing today but not tomorrow" was stated several times in different versions. The problem seemed to be related to poverty and desperation, but the girls also related it to lack of knowledge and education. Several dangers that the girls identified in the village were related to ignorance; not knowing how to avoid them. Most of the girls expressed concern about some kind of danger in their surroundings, many of which were related to poverty and not having the means to protect oneself. Karen took several pictures that were

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somehow related to snakes. One picture showed a place she didn't like because she had once seen a snake there. Another showed a pile of bricks for building houses, where she explained that snakes used to hide. She also spoke about people she knew who had been bitten. Karen was also concerned with hazardous waste that people dumped some places in the village. She related both of these dangers to ignorance, not knowing how to handle garbage and inadvertently creating a hiding place for snakes.

A few of the girls said they were afraid of catching diseases. Glory feared diseases in general, while Rebecca was especially afraid of HIV/AIDS. She was also concerned that so many people around her were becoming sick. When asked about what she would do if she was the president of Tanzania, she said she would "tell about the dangers of HIV, because everyone is dying now because of HIV". She would also inform about malaria, and instruct people to use mosquito nets. From the way she spoke about this, it appeared that she found these diseases to be connected to lack of knowledge and education rather than to the resources needed to avoid infection.

Most of the girls did in one way or another speak about dangers related to "bad men". For instance, the girls who frequented bars and nightclubs said that sometimes there were bad men there. One day I met Glory and Rita, they had been to a nightclub the day before. When I asked them if they had met some nice people, they said that there were both nice and bad people, but yesterday there had been mostly bad people there. Karen thought it was very dangerous to go to nightclubs because of all the bad men who were there. She had heard many stories that had made her afraid, for instance about girls being raped. She had become so afraid of boys that she didn't even want to be friends with them, she said. Feti was especially afraid of thieves and rapists. She was also clearly afraid of the violent "mad man" described in analysis chapter one. Other girls were also afraid of violence, and some mentioned that they feared being beaten. Lilyu wrote "I am afraid of being beaten", and Shanila wrote "I am not happy when someone beats me".

Becoming pregnant in young age was also a concern for some of the girls. In the sentence completion, Sarah wrote: "I am afraid [of] getting pregnant in young age". Also in the second focus group discussion, the girls spoke about becoming pregnant "too young". The way they talked about pregnancy made it seem like it was something that might suddenly happen, and

was out of their control. It was as if the only way to avoid it was to stay clear of places where there were “bad men”.

6.7 *I like this lifestyle': the good things in life*

Despite the difficulties they faced, the girls were in many ways happy with their lives the way they were. Though they regretted not having work and going to school, they also seemed happy “hanging around” with their friends, either in the village or in town. Some of the girls said that there was nothing they would change about their lives right now, and said things like “I like this lifestyle. I don’t want to change anything” (Feti) and “I have a good life” (Glory). Though they had little money to spend on goods and services that were available for wealthier teenagers, it seemed like they had many joys in life. Most of the girls liked going to church on Sundays, and many of them seemed to take pride and comfort in their Christian belief. Some stated that they prayed to God, like Sarah, who prayed for money.

Many of the informants desired more money so they could have more fun and enjoy life with their friends. However, they all had hobbies or activities they were able to do, even with limited resources. Feti enjoyed reading and working, and many liked singing, dancing and listening to music. Lilyu said. “I am very happy when I’m at the disco”, while Shanila liked playing and dancing. Karen would sometimes go to a basketball court and play with friends. Rebecca enjoyed spending time at home: “I am very happy when I am with my family”.

6.7.1 Friendship

Friendship was clearly important to all of the girls, and they frequently stated things like: “I am very happy when I am with my friends and talk” Shanila and: “The best thing about my life is being with happy people and exchanging ideas” Lilyu. When they were with their friends, they would play, go out dancing or just stay at home and talk. They would turn to their friends for advice and moral support: “[My friends] give me good ideas on how to do everything” Shanila, or help each other with practical things: “We help each other work” (Rebecca). Speaking about their best friends, Glory explained: “We help each other. We give each other advice on how to do things”, while Sarah said: “I love her because if I have worries she comes and gives me advice”.

The most popular way to their time seemed to be simply hanging out and talking. As they didn’t have much structured time, this was something they could do quite often. Often when I

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asked what the girls had done recently, they would say something like “nothing, just hanging around, talking”. Feti explained that: “If we don’t have anything to do, we just talk...[about] life”. The phrase “talking about life” was commonly used, and seemed to mean talking about what they had been doing, about their work, friends and family, but also about their plans, hopes and fears for the future. They often turned to each other for support, advice on the problems they faced. If they had chores to do, such as cooking, they would often do it with a friend. Some of the girls would also help each other working. For instance, Feti often helped Shanila and her grandmother with selling firewood.

In the first focus group discussion, the five girls who participated agreed that “life here is difficult, but everywhere here is peace”. This sentence was often repeated by Tanzanians. They contrasted their country with other African nations by emphasising that even though they were poor, at least they were not fighting each other. The informants also pointed out that in Tanzania, people always supported each other. Hungry people would always be given food. By helping and supporting each other, it seemed like the girls were able to have fun and stay optimistic even when life was difficult. Rebecca expressed this clearly when she finished the sentence stem *I hope...* with “Yes, I have hope”.

Chapter 7: Discussion

7.0 Introduction

As I did not have a specific theme in focus when I started the field work, the data that was produced was very diverse. The study was exploratory, and my aim was to gain insight into how the teenage girls perceived their own everyday lives. There are therefore many aspects of the girls' lives that I could highlight and discuss. As previously stated, I also felt the need to connect the girls' experiences and perspective to structural constraints, including cultural norms of girlhood and socio-economic conditions. I quickly discovered that lack of education was one of the main concerns for my informants, so this is one of the main themes of the discussion chapter.

The discussion starts with reflections around how to place this study within the framework of the 'four approaches to childhood studies'. Drawing on the arguments of Holloway & Valentine (2000) and Punch (2003), I suggest that this study might be placed within either of the approaches.

I have then chosen to discuss the girls' perceptions of "good places" and "bad places", and their ambiguous and conflicting views. I relate these to the tension between traditional Chagga norms about gendered division of labour and space, and the Western influence of the Kilimanjaro region. I discuss the public/private distinction as gendered and aged, and look at how girls who are in places like nightclubs are "out of place". I relate this to the Apollonian and Dionysian view of childhood, and argue that while the girls themselves saw "bad places" as dangerous, other locals questioned the morality of young girls in clubs.

The discussion then turns to education, and the different ways in which it relates to girls' identities. I discuss how the girls did not seem to find having attended primary school as being "educated". Furthermore, I discuss how the girls linked education to the notion of "difficult life". I argue that "difficult life" is a poverty trap, a situation where poverty reinforces poverty and income is required to earn an income.

The remainder of the discussion looks more generally at coming of age in Kilimanjaro. I discuss what I have called the "good girl" and the "cool girl" identities, and how they were 'performed' in different contexts. Focusing in particular on youth transitions, I look at how poverty and hardship can complicate and prolong transitioning to social adulthood. I argue that youth transition should not be seen as less difficult for girls than for boys.

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7.1 Four approaches to childhood studies

When trying to relate my study to the “four approaches” to the understanding of children and childhood described by (James, Jenks, & Prout, 1998), I have found it difficult to see which approach was the most relevant. As mentioned in the theory chapter, the four approaches are *the socially constructed child*, *the tribal child*, *the social structural child* and *the minority group child*. The approaches are differentiated by dichotomies such as agency/structure, universalism/particularism and local/global (Holloway & Valentine, 2000). Though the different approaches can overlap to a certain degree, some are seen as contrasting. For instance, *the social structural child* views childhood as a universal social category which exists in all societies, while *the socially constructed child* argue that no such universal childhood exists, there are instead different ‘childhoods’. Similarly, *the tribal child* approach views children as different from adults, while *the minority group child* sees children as indistinguishable from adults (James, Jenks, & Prout, 1998).

However, Punch (2003) has shown in a study from Bolivia that the seemingly conflicting approaches of *the tribal child* and *the minority group child* can be combined. While research in the Minority World often focuses on children’s own cultures and play from a *tribal child* perspective, research in the Majority world often focuses on working children from a *minority group child* perspective. By combining these two approaches, Punch was able to highlight that the children she was studying were combining work and play (Punch, 2003). Holloway & Valentine (2000) argue that it is also important to try to overcome the gap between the local and the global in childhood research. For instance, through combining the *social structural child* and the *socially constructed child* researcher can get insight into how “global processes” shape the lives of children in a particular local setting (Holloway & Valentine, 2000).

In this discussion, I look at my field work from several of these four perspectives. While this was not a conscious choice from the beginning of the research, I found it important to try to highlight the various aspects of the girls’ lives. The girls’ own perspectives were my main focus and point of departure, and while much of the focus is on their marginalisation from a *minority group child* approach, I also emphasise that they elements of the playful, fun-loving “teen culture” that is often associated with young people in the West – in other words, a *tribal child* perspective. However, I also found it necessary to relate their experiences to the local culture and the norms and values of the “traditional” Chagga culture. I therefore took the

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perspective of the *socially constructed child* approach. However, I also realised that the Chagga culture is not isolated or static – it has changed considerably during the last century, and is increasingly affected by globalisation. Economic restructuring and the import of Western products and culture are some examples of such changes, and were also part of the everyday lives of my informants. The girls' views also seemed to be influenced by “modern”, Western ideas that have become spread to most of the global South through music, movies, internet and fashion. I therefore also have the *social structural child* in mind.

7.2 Good places and bad places

The girls who participated in this study spent much of their time in places that they themselves defined as “bad”. Though the school and the home were seen as the best places for young girls to be, none of the informants went to school, and many spent most of their time away from home. Some were working in town, many went to bars and nightclubs, and most of them spent much time “hanging around” in the village streets. There was some ambiguity about exactly how bad it was to go to such places, though most of the girls seemed to agree that it *could* be bad. However, the girls also pointed out that whether a place was good or bad also depended on the company, and if a girl was in bad company, any place would be bad. There were also some places that were alright in day light, but became bad after dark.

For the girls who participated in this study, it seemed like the domestic sphere was the only good place to be in. Public places were at best ambiguous, and potentially very bad for young girls. This seems to correlate with the idea that emerged in the wake of the industrialisation of the Western world: that the public space is masculine and adult, while the private sphere is feminine and for children (Aitken, 2001). Initially, I assumed that the private/public division in Kilimanjaro was a product of globalisation and the spreading of Western ideas through missionary work, schooling and development projects. Though this might have had an influence, from ethnographic accounts of the Chagga people it seems like a similar spatial division already existed in the pre-colonial *kihamba* system. The *kihamba* system was a highly gendered and aged hierarchy, and the separation of the feminine and the masculine was central in the Chagga people's worldview. This entailed that activities, as well as the space where the activities took place, was divided based on gender and generation (Setel, 1999).

The urbanisation of Kilimanjaro and the establishment of Moshi in the first half of the 20th century created a very clear distinction between the public and the private sphere. In the beginning, many Chagga saw the town as an unfit environment for women, and especially the younger women. Their presence and behaviour in city streets and other public places disrupted the rules of femininity and masculinity that was so central to their belief system (Setel, 1999). The idea of the town, the street and other public places as masculine spaces that are unsuitable for girls is also found elsewhere in the global South. Evans (2006) studied street children in Arusha, a city located not far from Moshi, and argues that girls in the street were subverting norms of girlhood. Girls in city streets are seen as out of place, both in terms of their gender and their age. Public places are often associated with ‘dangers’ that are particular to girls and women. In the Indonesian city of Yogyakarta, Beazley (2002) found that girls were from an early age taught to stay away from the city. Girls were instructed to stay close to home and do their domestic duties. When girls reached puberty, their mobility was often restricted even more, because they were seen as in need of guidance and protection sexually. Those who refused to stay within the “safe” environment of the home, were stigmatised as “bad girls”, women without morals or even prostitutes (Beazley, 2002).

In contemporary Moshi, women’s presence on the streets in general did not appear to be a problem. However, I rarely saw women “hanging around”, like many men did. Furthermore, there were very few women in the city after dark. Though this might partly be because it was dangerous, it might be that the fear of stigmatisation was an equally important factor. Evans (2006) argues that in Tanzania, as in many other countries, gender norms say that girls should be at home, doing their domestic duties. Girls who don’t conform to these rules, and spend too much time in public places, are easily labelled as prostitutes. Numerous locals that I spoke with said that girls who go to certain named nightclubs were engaged in prostitution. Incidentally, the clubs most often mentioned were the places that my informants said they liked to go to. In one of the clubs the girls mentioned, I sometimes saw elderly Western men in the company with young local girls. Whether my informants were engaging in some sort of prostitution is unknown, but it is clear that by being in such places they were breaking the norms of girlhood. In such nightclubs, they were definitely the wrong age, the wrong gender and in the wrong place (Skelton, 2000).

The places that my informants described as “bad” were associated with both dangers and immorality. The girls’ claim that bars and nightclubs were “bad” can be compared with the

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Apollonian view of public places as corrupting and harmful for children, and girls in particular (Aitken, 2001). Nightclubs were dangerous because there might be dangerous people there, such as the “bad men” described by my informants: thieves, rapists and men who lie and say they will give money in exchange for sex. Informants like Karen meant that girls should stay away from these places to protect themselves from such men. Adult locals also seemed to view the matter from a Dionysian perspective, by questioning the moral of young girls who were there. Setel (1999) and Stambach (2000) both found that even in contemporary Kilimanjaro, many people saw girls’ presence in such public places as a sign of the destruction of Chagga culture and values. However, like Skelton’s (2000) informants in Wales, the girls in my study had few other places to go than to be in “bad” places. The school and the home were the only places that were seen as “good”. They had no ‘safe havens’ to be in. As my informants didn’t go to school, and lived in very small houses, they had few other options than to be in the streets. They didn’t have enough money for the few leisure time activities that were available, so hanging around in streets, and going to clubs and bars were their only options outside the domestic sphere.

7.3 Education and identity

Rebecca and the other girls were singled out as “different” from other girls by my translator/research assistant. He categorized them as “street girls” because they did not attend school, but were just “hanging around” in the village all day. The “ideal” therefore seemed to be that children, both boys and girls, went to school. This was also confirmed by the informants themselves when they said that all children, young girls like themselves included, should be in school. Stambach (2000) found that schooling has contributed to cultural and social changes in Kilimanjaro and for the Chagga people who inhabit the area. These changes included reshaping gender- and age norms. The local population themselves were divided on whether this was a good thing or a bad thing.

In Tanzania, as elsewhere in Africa, there has been a strong emphasis on making primary education free and accessible for everyone. Serpell writes that “The project of ‘universal primary education’ has captured the imagination of politicians and social planners as a major contribution to national development in many if not all nations of the Third World in the twentieth century” (1993, p. 10). He argues that this project has created a ‘moral trap’, where the majority of young people become “failures”. Based on research from Zambia, he argues

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that having completed primary school is not enough to be seen as an academic success; having at least a few years of post-primary education was necessary. However, most of the students who finish primary cannot continue because there are simply not enough spaces for them in secondary. Many young people blame themselves for not doing well enough in school, or not “having the brains” (Serpell, 1993). Serpell’s findings partly correlate with what I found in my study. The girls did not see themselves as “educated” having only primary education. Feti and Rebecca talked about the day they finished primary school as the happiest day of their lives, but not because they were pleased with having completed their education. They were happy because they thought they would continue to secondary school. They wished to become educated girls.

Vavrus argues that the importance of schooling for young girls in Kilimanjaro is not just about getting a job and an income, but about identity and what education symbolizes. The secondary school girls in her study claimed that having an education meant that they gained more respect; that they would be respected and listened to by their future husband, and even their future children. This was partly because they thought that having a job and an income would give them equal say in matters of how to manage the household finances, but also because their identity as “educated” girls would give them more power to express their views on family planning and other household decisions (Vavrus, 2002). However, many locals also saw educated girls as a threat, because they would become too independent and stubborn. For this reason, most Chagga men marry women with lower education than themselves (at least not higher), as this makes it easier to maintain the proper power balance in the household. Women who are highly educated are often seen as difficult to control and therefore undesirable as wives (Stambach, 2000).

Vavrus (2002; 2005) writes specifically about the impact of Structural Adjustment Policies and neoliberal economic restructuring on girls’ education and identities. She argues that such policies have created a big gap between the “educated” and the “uneducated”. During Nyerere’s socialist rule, education was mainly state sponsored, but since the 1980’s the expansion of private schools has been in focus. The privatization of schooling has led to more schools being built, but it has also made education more expensive. School fees have increased, putting a heavier burden on parents in sponsoring children’s education. Combined with higher costs of living, declining wages and decreasing formal employment, this has made it very difficult for many families to send their children to school (Vavrus, 2002). One

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consequence of this has been that many young women seek elsewhere for money to support their education, for example in finding male “sponsors”: men who pay their school fees in exchange for sex (2003).

Even if they did not attend school, the informants in my study saw education as an exclusively good thing. It was something they regretted not having, and some of the girls still hoped for. Most of the girls, and perhaps all of them, had finished primary school. However, this did not seem to count as having an education. In Vavrus’ (2002) study of girls’ education in Kilimanjaro, the girls who attended secondary school drew a sharp distinction between themselves and those who had left school after primary. They saw themselves as “educated”, and the girls who did not go to secondary school were seen as “uneducated”. It therefore seems that also in Kilimanjaro, being admitted to secondary school is a criterion for academic success. The line between “educated” and “uneducated” seems to go between primary and secondary school.

In Vavrus’ study, the girls who attended secondary school also saw themselves as more intelligent and morally superior to those who had left school. The perceived reason why they dropped out after primary school was not economic hardship, but “bad moral character” (Vavrus, 2002, p. 534). Girls who were not in school did “bad” things such as roaming around in the streets, getting pregnant in early age and having children outside of marriage. Economic hardship, poverty and lack of education were seen as the *effects* of this immoral behaviour, rather than the *causes*. The school leavers, however, meant it was the other way around. They did not see themselves as having bad moral character. If they were hanging around in the streets and becoming pregnant outside of marriage, this was a result of economic hardship, rather than the cause. The girls in my study did not seem to view themselves as lacking in moral either. They had not left school because they would rather hang around in the streets, go to clubs and have fun. It seemed like the “hanging around” was a result of not having the structured daily lives that schooling provides. They were “hanging around” because they didn’t have anything else to do. That is not to say that they had no responsibilities, however. They had many duties in the home, but when they had done these, they still had a lot of time on their hands.

None of the girls in my study seemed to connect education with moral. Not having education was rather presented as bad luck or injustice. Some of the girls stated that they had expected

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to move on to secondary school, and problems that were outside of their control were the reason why they couldn't. Shanila said she was being denied her right to go to school, which implies that she felt it was someone else's fault that she didn't attend school.

7.4 'Difficult life'

So if it was not due to lack of moral, why did the girls in my study not go to school? I never asked this question directly to the informants. I figured that if they wanted to talk about that, they would have brought it up. None of them did, so I assume it was a sensitive subject for them. However, when I asked why some children in general don't go to school, *maisha magumu* was named as a reason. *Maisha magumu*, or "difficult life", is a very vague term. The way my informants used it, it seemed to mean poverty and economic hardship. The informants obviously belonged to the poorer part of the population, and the high costs related to schooling is perhaps the main reason why they were unable to continue to secondary school. However, Vavrus (2002) argues that the term "difficult life" can also imply something more. She found that it was related to an inability to plan for the future and prepare for hardship. It was therefore not just about poverty, but also about not being able to manage the little resources one has in a good way. Whether my informants meant that their parents were to blame for not planning for the future by sending them to school, I cannot say. But the girls expressed some general concern that many Tanzanians are not capable of making good decisions for the long run. This was particularly evident in the phrase of one of the girls in the first focus group discussion: "The big problem here in Tanzania is that they see today but they don't see tomorrow".

Difficult life was presented by my informants as both the cause and effect of not going to school: it's what prevents children from getting an education, and also what is waiting for those without education, who will fail to get a good job and a steady income. In other words, "difficult life" is a poverty trap, or a vicious circle, that makes social mobility very difficult. For those who are lucky enough to get education, however, schooling is seen having the potential to move them from an undesirable condition to a better one (Stambach, 2000). Meinert (2003) similarly found in her study of rural schoolchildren in Uganda that the children's main motivation for going to school was the hope of social mobility.

When Vavrus (2002) compared the social and economic condition of the families of school attendants and school leavers, she found that there were clear differences between the two groups, suggesting that social class and economic hardship were important factors that prevented girls from going to school. For instance, many of those who left school early did not live with their father. This correlates with the findings in my study, as the majority of the girls did not live with their biological father. Sarah and Rebecca had both lost their fathers. Karen, Glory and Rita's parents were divorced, and the girls all lived with their mothers. Shanila's parents lived in another city. The only girl I know for certain lived with her father is Feti. As it is usually the father's duty to pay for children's education, it is likely that this was a contributing factor for why they didn't go to school.

Furthermore, Vavrus found that the parents of the girls who attended school had significantly higher education than those who did not. I did not specifically ask about the education of my informants' parents, but I doubt that they had much education, as none of them had jobs that required it. Most of them were involved in petty trading or small scale entrepreneurship. In Vavrus' study, there were also clear material differences in the girls' households. School girls' households were much more likely to have electricity, indoor toilets, tap water, cars and household helpers. Similarly, none of the girls in my study had these goods. Vavrus argues that having such resources in the home reduces the need for household labour, while families who don't have these might be more dependent on their children's help. As these chores are culturally seen as "feminine", this means that the burden of housekeeping often falls on daughters. The opportunity costs of sending boys to school are therefore lower than of sending girls to school. Vavrus argues that there are both economic and cultural reasons for why girls don't attend post-primary education (2002). I am not certain if lack of household labour was an important factor for the girls in my study, as they had a fair amount of spare time for "hanging around". However, it might have been that this was the reason why Shanila did not attend school, as she had been sent from her parents' home in Arusha to take care of her pregnant sister-in law in Moshi.

7.5 Coming of age in contemporary Kilimanjaro

Both Vavrus (2002) and Stambach (2000) argue that education has played an important role in producing new identities for girls. Stambach argues that schooling has created two contrasting identities for young girls coming of age: the "stay at home mothers" and the "big

sisters of the city". From my study I came up with the identities of the "cool girl" and the "good girl" to make sense of some of the differences and contradictions within my group of informants. The "cool girl" and "good girl" identities can be compared to the "stay at home mothers" and "big sisters of the city" identities. In Stambach's study the categories were connected to education, in the sense that those who did not have post-primary education were more connected to the "stay at home mothers" identity, while those who had more education were linked to the "big sisters of the city" identity.

In my study, however, the informants had equal levels of education, so education was obviously not what divided them. Still, the "stay at home mothers" identity can be compared to the "good girl" identity, as they are both connected to the rural village life and adhering to traditional gender roles. However, the "good girl" identity was not necessarily related to a wish of becoming a housewife. In fact, the two girls who were most focused on being "good", were also the two only girls who attended any form of education or training, and who seemed to have the clearest ambitions of a career. Rebecca was learning to become a tailor in a local tailor shop, and Karen attended a course which she called "hotel management", where she said she learned to speak English and to cook. The "cool girl" identity can also be compared to the "big sisters of the city" identity. Both were more preoccupied with being urban and "modern", and cared less about traditional gender norms than the "good girls". However, while Stambach's "big sisters of the city" were educated and career focused, the "cool girls" in my study did in fact seem less focused on this than the "good girls".

As previously stated, the two identities of the "good girl" and the "cool girl" are not clear-cut. However, some of the girls seemed to relate more to one of these categories than the other. Rebecca and Karen seemed to be most concerned about being "good girls" as they avoided bars, alcohol and boys, dressed modestly and were very polite. The majority of the girls, including Sarah, Lilyu, Mary, Rita and Glory, seemed to be very "cool girls", who went to nightclubs, drank alcohol and stayed out late. However, they did not seem to relate this to immorality. Sometimes it was almost as if they boasted about it, for instance when talking about how many beers they had the night before and how late they stayed. Still, there was a lot of ambiguity about this, and some of the girls sometimes contradicted themselves. In one instance, they would say that it was bad to go to clubs, and in the other they would say that it was normal.

There were also differences within the group. Karen, who seemed to self-identify as a “good girl”, expressed some disapproval of the other girls’ clubbing and drinking. She took pride in staying away from the town and going to church on Sunday evenings rather than to the bar. She would also show her disdain if the other girls asked me to buy something for them, saying that they were “crazy”. The “cool girls” also seemed to spend more time on their appearance, for instance by dyeing their hair and polishing their nails. The rest of the girls seemed to be somewhere in between. Feti, for instance, went to bars and drank *dadii*, but she never went clubbing. However, all the girls seemed to be concerned about obeying their parents. In the focus group discussions, they stated that the parents decided what young girls were and were not allowed to do. In that sense, all the informants were also “good girls”.

Evans (2006) uses Judith Butler’s concept of ‘gender performativity’ in exploring the identities of street girls in Arusha. Gender is seen as something that is performed and negotiated, and Evans found that girls constructed identities for themselves that were both conforming to and subverting the dominant gender norms. Van Blerk argues that “people construct and present different identities across a range of spaces”, and that “identities are not fixed but changing and often multiple and conflicting” (van Blerk, 2011, p. 219). Girls like Rita, Glory and Sarah seemed to perform two different and partly contrasting identities that were related to where they were and who they were with. As youth are in an ambiguous, “in-between” position, they can sometimes perform the identity of different age categories in different situation (Valentine, Skelton, & Chambers, 1998). The identity of “cool girl” seemed to be related to the position of “youth”, and it was performed in the club, in the town and in the company with their peers. The “good girl” identity seemed to emphasise the position of child, and was performed at home, in the village and with their family.

Several recent studies have focused on the challenges young Africans face in attaining social adulthood (Hansen, 2005; Langevang, 2008; Mains, 2011; Vigh, 2006). The economic and social changes that have taken place on the African continent over the last decades have had a great impact on young people’s lives. In Tanzania, the transition from the socialist economy of Nyerere to neoliberal policies has changed the opportunities that young people have for getting education, employment and becoming adult. The girls who participated in my study are coming of age in a Tanzania that is quite different from the one their parents knew as young. On one hand, there are more opportunities available. Education has become more widespread, and there is a greater variety of employment available. In Moshi, the tourist

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industry has expanded and created many jobs for young people. On the other hand, social inequality has increased, and the poorer part of the population has had little benefit of the relative prosperity in Kilimanjaro (Vavrus, 2005). My informants belonged to the part of the population which has not seen much of the wealth that has come to the Kilimanjaro region. They had few material resources and not enough education to get a “good job”, which would lead to a good life. So what kind of adult lives would they have without education?

While boys without education could find employment as builders, mechanics or porters, the informants meant that these were too physically demanding for girls. Girls without education had few options for formal labour. Working as a housekeeper or starting a small business for themselves were the only job opportunities the girls mentioned. The girls presented these options as much less desirable than the “good” jobs that educated people could get. “Good” jobs were high status, formal employment. However, studies from Tanzania and other African countries show that such employment can be very difficult to attain also for those who have secondary education, and girls in particular (Stambach, 2000; Ansell, 2002).

Some studies have pointed out that transition to adulthood is different for young men than for young women. Writing about youth transition in Accra, Ghana, Langevang (2008) argues that without an income, it is difficult for young men to reach the social status of an adult. To be recognized as an adult, a young man must have a place of his own, and be able to financially support his wife and children. Langevang writes that the situation was different for young women, as child birth was enough to be socially defined as an adult. These findings seem to contradict with the situation in Moshi, at least for Anna who participated in my study. Despite being a mother, she was referred to as a “girl” rather than a “mama”, which is the respectful way of addressing adult women. It might be that she didn’t have the social status of a “mama” because she was young and unmarried, and still in a position of dependence upon her parents.

De Boeck and Honwana (2005) have argued that the category of “youth” is new to the African continent, as that is has replaced traditional rites of passage that marked the transition from childhood to adulthood. In traditional Chagga culture, the transition to adulthood took place through initiation rites. When taking part in the initiation rites the girls entered the social status as female adult. There was not a place or time to be in between childhood and adulthood. For girls, the initiation occurred between the age of 14 and 18, and marked that they were ready to marry. In such rites, girls learned about sexual reproduction through

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dances and songs, and were circumcised. Today it is illegal to circumcise girls, but it is still being practiced (Stambach, 2000). To some degree, secondary schooling has taken over the role as a transforming rite. Stambach found in her study among young Chagga girls in the Kilimanjaro area that most girls who went through with the traditional rite of passage and were circumcised did not continue to secondary school, partly because schools condemn these rites, and also because these girls often came from poor families who could not afford to pay the fees (2000). Whether or not the girls who participated in my study have been through an initiation rite is uncertain, but their status as “girls” with no prospect of marriage in the near future might indicate that they had not. They did not seem to think of themselves as ready to marry, instead they seemed to view themselves as in between childhood and adulthood.

While many of the girls saw themselves having a husband and children in the future, they also had ambitions of becoming independent. They said that they wanted to find their own place to live, and to earn a living for themselves. Though marriage and childbearing might have been sufficient to reach the status of an adult, the girls didn't seem to find this satisfactory. A few of the girls talked about girls' rights and women's rights, and were clearly influenced about western human rights discourses. For the girls in my study, economic independence seemed just as important as starting a family. They seemed to relate their transition to adulthood more to becoming economically independent and self-sufficient rather than to a more traditional female role represented with marriage and childbirth. However, the transition to an independent adulthood was hard to perceive for uneducated girls of young age. I therefore argue that proposing that it is easier for girls to achieve adulthood than for men in contemporary Africa would be to suggest that women should be content with marriage and childbearing.

Langevang (2008) argues that in present day Accra, there is no straight forward path to adulthood. From a global North perspective, Lee (2001) writes about how the distinction between childhood as *being* and adulthood as *becoming* has become less relevant, as adulthood is no longer being 'journey's end'. Langevang similarly argues from a global South perspective that “adulthood is not an end point at which people arrive, but rather encompasses composite positions that are achieved, a process of becoming that is continuous” (2008, p. 2045). My informants did not seem to relate to the traditional idea of female adulthood as achieved through marriage and childbearing. They were also influenced by Western, “modern” ideas about women's rights and economic independence. Adulthood was rather

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different positions, including but not limited to motherhood. Employment and “developing” their lives was also important.

The girls who participated in my study had hopes and aspirations of finding a way to make a living, and attain a social adulthood that was related to economic self-sufficiency. Both Langevang (2008) and Vigh (2006) studied youth transitions in relation to economic hardship in West Africa, and found that despite the immense challenges young people faced, they were somehow ‘managing’. Such studies emphasised young people’s capacities for ‘social navigation’, a concept which refers to “the way agents seek to draw and actualise their life trajectories in order to increase their possibilities and life changes in a volatile social environment” (Langevang, 2008, p. 2040). A few of the girls in my study seemed to find their conditions too difficult to navigate, and were unable to imagine their own futures. Others, however, demonstrated the capacity to at least imagine how they would increase their life chances, though whether they will be able to actualize their plans remains to be seen, as “a key dynamic of life for youth in Africa today and much of the global South at the beginning of the twenty-first century has been the growing gap between aspirations for the future and economic realities” (Mains, 2011, p. 43).

Poverty and little access to resources was a major challenge for the girls in achieving their desired adult lives. One of the major concerns for Feti and other girls seemed to be that if they did not find work, they would remain in a position of dependency to their family. Feti dreaded ending up like her neighbour, a 30 year old woman, unmarried, unemployed and still dependent on her father’s support. The girls wanted to have control of their own lives, move away from home and start a family of their own, with or without a husband. Several of the girls saw themselves having an “entrepreneurship” in the future, and seemed to hope that this would be a way to become independent. Establishing a small-scale business selling fruits or other goods was a common strategy in Moshi for people who could not find formal employment. However, as some of the girls pointed out, one needed money to establish such a business.

One way of overcoming this problem could be to find an NGO (Non-Governmental Organisation) that would support them. NGOs are often left with the task of assisting the marginalised where the State no longer provides for them (Bayat, 2000). This is also the case in Moshi and the Kilimanjaro area, where numerous NGOs offer education to children from

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poor households, institutions for street children and orphans, and vocational training for young people who can't afford formal schooling. Many of the vocational training centres are aimed at young girls and women, teaching them practical skills that are meant to help them make a living for themselves. Several NGOs teach women to sew bags, purses and clothes, which are sold mainly to tourist. Karen attended a vocational training course, and might therefore have better chances of making a living than the other girls.

Several of my informants mentioned "changing the environment". As explained in the analysis chapter, this implied moving away to a better place. It appeared to me that the girls saw a connection between spatial mobility and social mobility. Moving away was not just about moving to another geographic place, but also about moving to a higher standard of living. In her study of rural children in Uganda, Meinert (2003) found that the children had the notion that if they remained in the village, they would remain poor no matter how hard they worked. Life in the village was seen as "bitter", and social mobility seemed unattainable. If they moved to the city, however, the children claimed that hard work would enable them to reach a higher social status, a higher standard of living and a "sweet life". Some of my informants also seemed to think that the village "environment" was holding them back, and that if they remained there, their lives would be as "difficult" as their parents' lives. They had better chances moving elsewhere, whether it was to Arusha or to another country.

Mains (2011) has written about how globalization has increased young people's ability to imagine other ways of life: "Like education, increasing flows of global culture have generated new imaginative possibilities for living through which youth construct aspirations and notions of what it means to be modern" (2011, pp. 9-10). Though the girls in my study did not have TVs, radios and computers in their homes, such media were accessible in bars and cafés. The girls listened to Western pop music, and some were clearly influenced by Western fashion. In Moshi there were all kinds of shops with most commodity goods that one would find in a European town. The girls were therefore constantly reminded of what they could not have, and contrasting their own lives with other people's lives probably increased their experience of lacking and missing out on something.

Writing about youth in Guinea-Bissau, Vigh (2006) argues that poor, young people are in risk of a "social death". Social death is characterised by being able to survive on a day-to-day basis, but not having the prospects of a worthy life. My informants seemed to find themselves

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in a similar situation: they did not starve here and now, but they had few resources available for making a “good life” for themselves. In many African countries the older generation are in control of the majority of the resources, so in times of economic hardship, young people are the most vulnerable. Vigh therefore states that youth in the African context is characterised by dependence of the older generation, and not a desirable stage of life. While in the global North, youth and youthfulness is sought after, in Africa, youth desire adulthood (Vigh, 2006). Despite concerns about poverty and their uncertain futures, Rita, Glory and other informants also seemed to enjoy being teenagers. They liked their lifestyle, and they mentioned many aspects of their lives which they perceived as good. A few girls even said there was nothing about their life they would change. While many seemed to look forward to moving away from home and to becoming independent one day, they were also able to enjoy the present everyday lives. They liked going to clubs, dancing, singing, playing and hanging out with friends. Being youth was therefore not only a place ‘in between’ childhood and adulthood; it was also a place to be ‘within’. The informants were clearly influenced by the Western idea of “youth as fun” (Valentine, Skelton, & Chambers, 1998).

Chapter 8: Conclusion

In this master thesis my main focus has been to explore the lives of teenage girls “hanging around” in contemporary Kilimanjaro. I wanted to gain insight on how they spent their days, as they were not attending school. The girls’ use of space, and their perceptions of “good” and “bad” spaces, was particularly interesting in order to explore ideas about the proper place for girls to be. I have searched for the informants own experiences and ideas by drawing on different methodical approaches from the ‘new social studies of childhood’, and I have also looked at these in relation to cultural norms and socio-economic conditions. Another issue highlighted in this study was the girls’ ideas about their future adult lives. I sought to gain a holistic understanding of the life worlds, and therefore I have also looked at some macro-level political and economic structures shape the teenage girls’.

In the introductory chapter of this thesis I posed two research questions:

How do teenage girls in contemporary Moshi perceive their everyday lives today and in the future?

How do structural constraints shape the girls everyday lives and opportunities?

Through this thesis I have shown that not attending school was perceived as lacking an opportunity to be ‘educated’. Not having a place in secondary school, the girls spent their days in places which they themselves labelled as not proper places for girls to be in; the town and the streets, bars and nightclubs. As their time was not structure by schooling or employment, they had much leisure time to ‘hang around’ with their friends. However, they also had responsibilities and duties to their homes, and valued obeying their parents’ decisions. Ambiguity and contradiction within the group as well as between what the girls said and what they did, made me construct the terms “good girl” and “cool girl”. These two identities seemed related to tensions between “tradition” and “modernity”. The identity of the “cool girl” can be compared to Western ideas of “youth as fun”.

This thesis has also focused on youth transitions. The teenage girls said that without education, their future lives would be “difficult”. The “difficult” life can be seen as a situation of self-reinforcing poverty. However, most of the girls expressed a belief that if they worked hard, they would succeed in creating good adult lives for themselves. When constructing

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images of their future, many of the girls saw themselves having a small scale business. This thesis has shown that marginalised Tanzanian teenage girls' images of their future lives go beyond the traditional view as motherhood and marriage as 'journey's end' as a stable adult position. The girls wanted become economically self-sufficient, independent and to develop good lives for themselves.

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Appendices

Focus group discussion

Questions:

What is the best place for a young girl to be?

What is the worst place for a young girl to be?

Are there any places where boys can go but girls should not go?

Are there any places where girls can go but boys should not go?

What kind of duties do young girls have in the home?

What kind of duties do young boys have in the home?

What kind of jobs can young boys have on the street?

What kind of jobs can young girls have on the street?

In what way is it different to be a girl compared to a boy?

Who decides what young girls are allowed to do?

Why do young girls sometimes leave their families and go to the city?

Sentence completion

I like.....

I don't like.....

I am very happy when.....

I am not happy when.....

The best thing about my life is.....

The worst thing about my life is.....

The most important thing for a young girl is.....

If I were a boy I would.....

When I grow up I want to.....

I care about.....

I miss.....

I am afraid.....

I wish.....

I hope.....