Materiality, Structures and Ideology

Poor and Orphaned Children’s Lifesituations in the Bagamoyo District in Tanzania

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Spring, 2009
Abstract

This thesis is concerned with the lives of poor and orphaned children in the Bagamoyo District in Tanzania and the way in which global structures influence their realities. The children's experiences are at the forefront of this thesis. Empirical data has been gathered through meetings with street children, and children living in extreme poverty. I have aimed for a multisided ethnography. This multisided approach was conducted in order to show the interconnectedness between the various social and structural levels affecting the realities of the children. I have therefore also included local government representatives, CBO employees and employees of international NGOs present in Bagamoyo, and the various arenas in which they operate. In addition I visited UNICEF’s offices in Dar-es-Salaam.

The macro-structures involved are of a historic and economic character. The current reign of neoliberalism and the values embedded in the ideology are being globally distributed through policies, laws and regulations. The discourses and practices involved are based on certain types of knowledge or ‘regimes of truth’ which deem all other knowledge systems and realities ‘wrong’ or ‘abnormal’. Global discourses and practices are currently shaped by neoliberal ideas and I argue that the development industry plays a central part in processes of global governmentality. This affects all levels of the development hierarchy, down to the Community-based organizations which are caught between issues of being responsible for direct assistance, seeing the suffering up close, and at the same time having their hands tied by and strict control and management routines, and severe under-funding.

Global governmentality forms specific types of knowledge that has as one of its effects concealment of the lived realities of children. The framing of one set of truths as valid and universal, manifested through a system of professionalism, experts and economic logic hide the life of children as lived. Life of children disappears in the Western-based children's rights discourse, and only stereotypical stories are brought to the fore. This strips the children of agency and acknowledgement for who they are and what they do. The other form of concealment happens when the historic and economic links between wealth and poverty are kept out of the picture, and blame of failure is often put on the poor themselves.
Acknowledgements

First of all I would like to thank all the children I met in Bagamoyo and Dar-es-Salaam: You are all very special to me, and I deeply appreciate how you opened up and told me your stories. This project would not have been possible without you.

A big thank you to everybody at Moyo Mmoja: You made my stay a fantastic experience! Thank you White, for taking care of me, cooking for me, and being there whenever I needed anything. Eugenia, your friendship gave me comfort and strength. To everybody at UKUN: You are amazing! Mama Mkoba, my dear friend who took me to very special places: Thank you. Mama Hiza, thank you for taking time out of your busy schedule to assist me in every way possible. Thank you to everybody else in Bagamoyo who welcomed me and made my fieldwork such a wonderful and valuable experience: PAMOJA!

Thank you to my sister, Eivind, Sina and Magnus, for believing in me, and for visiting me in Tanzania. To my parents for patience and support. To my friends for sticking with me and giving me confidence boosts. Pia for taking the time to read through the thesis and give valuable suggestions. My gratitude goes to Olav and the rest of the gang in Tano. This could not have been done without you. And Snorre, who knew you guys. Thank you to my fellow students for conversations and moral support during this rather stressful time. A special thanks to Camilla for being my safety net.

I would also like to express my admiration for, and gratitude towards, my academic adviser Sidsel Roalkvam; you have inspired me and guided me beautifully through the whole process. Thank you to the staff and students at SOAS, whose dedication, courage and knowledge taught me so much. Thank you to Rune Flikke who opened my eyes to new possibilities through his fantastic and inspiring course in Medical Anthropology.

Thank you so much, Jostein, for being there for me; incredibly patient, helpful and knowledgeable.
“I sometimes wonder whether there is any way of making poverty terribly infectious. If that were to happen, its general elimination would be, I am certain, remarkably rapid”

(Nobel Laureate Amartya Sen, quoted in Gershman and Irwin, 2000:11).
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Chapter 1: Introduction

Project Background and Main Research Question

The AIDS pandemic has left more than 12 million children orphaned in sub-Saharan Africa (UNICEF, 2004). The number is rapidly increasing. The distribution of the pandemic is historically given and economically driven, according to Farmer (2004:317). Thus, the spread and the consequences are caused by a kind of structural violence. In Tanzania, between 15 and 18 million people live below the poverty line and the levels of poverty have worsened during the last decades (IMF, 2000). 44 percent of Tanzanian children are malnourished, and access to safe water is enjoyed only by half the population. Today the poorest 20 percent of the world’s population receive only 1.1 percent of the global income (Gershman and Irwin, 2000). Because poverty is intimately linked to wealth the structures maintaining a global system of inequality become important. Farmer makes this connection by arguing that:

"Social inequalities are at the heart of structural violence. Racism of one form or another, gender inequality, and above all brute poverty in the face of affluence are linked to social plans and programs ranging from slavery to the current quest for unbridled growth"

(Farmer, 2004:317).

Present day ideologies of neoliberalism influence policies and practices in international relations and can be claimed to be a continuation of these structural patterns. The development project is a major example of an arena which the policies and practices of neoliberalism are manifested through.

These claims are the background for my thesis. My main focus is the realities of children in the Bagamoyo District in Tanzania. It includes children who are orphaned by HIV/AIDS, or in other ways are experiencing difficult childhoods caused by poverty. My argument is that the AIDS pandemic, and the poverty feeding it, have a root cause in specific political, economic and social structures. The disease ultimately results in large
numbers of orphans, and these children are often forced to adapt to a life of struggle, creating their own mechanisms for survival. I choose to include in my analysis children living in severe poverty because I found that in many cases children living within families, but in adverse circumstances, experience much of the same struggles as orphans without carers who are able to assist them adequately. How these children live is determined by poverty and disease and I seek to examine the relationship between these lives and the powerful global structures which are maintaining a divide between rich and poor and thus shaping the lives of the children. A further level of analysis is the development industry and how its role in the global system of inequality is contributing to a specific understanding and form of action directed towards poor populations. The discourses and practices embedded in the industry have consequences on several levels of the receiving societies, including the situation of the children, and they require closer examination. Economic policies are intimately linked to the development industry, and not least with poverty. History plays an important part in this, and both economy and history make up the highest level of analysis in the thesis. Ultimately my aim is to show how these levels are all interconnected.

My main research question is: How do macro-structures manifest themselves in the lives of poor and orphaned children in the Bagamoyo District in Tanzania? The question requires a consideration of the actual situation of the children, what their experiences are, how they live and how they survive. Specific notions of childhood are embedded in the strategies designed and implemented to assist the children. These notions of childhood are currently being globally distributed from the power centres in North America and Europe. To which extent do these notions of childhood correlate with the reality of the children? The power of knowledge plays an important role in the current globalization of specific ideas and policies. The development project, consisting of Western-based agents like the World Bank, UN Children’s Fund (UNICEF) and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), is a prime example of such knowledge power, legitimizing interference in the affairs of sovereign states. I recognize these agents as the powerful party in the global arena of decision-making. When a specific understanding of childhood, and specific policies and project designs, are forced on sovereign states with different understandings and practices, and with different circumstances and realities,
there is a need to question the processes involved. Knowledge, discourses and practices involved in shaping a kind of global policy on children need examination. Historical and economic macro-processes which are indirectly affecting and constraining the realities of the children I encountered in Bagamoyo are particularly important to understand the link between wealth and poverty. The reigning ideology of neoliberalism and the acts of international financial institutions (IFIs) have demolished millions of lives. The popular opinion on development aid highlights the way aid consists of funds going from the rich to the poor. My argument is that there is a need for people to understand how much larger amounts of resources are going the opposite way; from the poor to the rich. I want to point to the paradoxical issue of the way Children’s Rights, as a part of the global transferral of Western-based values, with all the processes involved, are being promoted and forced on to the poor nations of the world, while the exact same global system is the one setting the stage for the suffering of children through political economy and its consequences of poverty and disease.

**Influences**

My interest in the topic of poverty, disease and structural violence developed during a course in Medical Anthropology at the University of Oslo. The reading of anthropologists like Farmer (2004), Briggs and Briggs (2003) and other critical medical anthropologists inspired me to become more confident about my desire to be a voice for oppressed people who lack the opportunity to speak for themselves. Both my background as a registered nurse, and experience working with sick and suffering people have given me a certain understanding of both the physical dimensions of disease, as well as mental and emotional distress and hardship. An early interest in social inequality has also contributed to the way in which critical medical anthropology appealed to me.

During a year at SOAS (School of Oriental and African Studies) in London, I encountered a Department of Development Studies highly critical towards the development industry. The popular belief assuming that the industry has been playing a benign role for the last 60 years was questioned here. As I came to adapt this critical view many issues became problematic to me and I found it necessary to examine them more closely. Through a
course in Development Anthropology I managed to place my knowledge into an anthropological perspective.

An issue of much thought has been the wide acceptance of the distribution of Western\(^1\) morals, rationality and standards to other parts of the world through development aid, justified by an obligation to help ‘them’ become like ‘us’. To question this issue is increasingly important in the neoliberal era in which we are currently living. The all-encompassing capitalist system, controlled by Western bodies like the IFIs, Transnational Corporations (TNCs) and trade organizations implementing international laws geared towards Western interests, is securing the continuation of a world of inequality by reinforcing the structures which are damaging for the poor and beneficial for the wealthy. The West has power over the world’s economic system and through this system contributes to, and even determine, the level of poverty experienced by many people in much of the rest of the world, and thus to the suffering connected to disease and malnutrition. At the same time the West runs a different system, the system of development aid, supposedly designed to help poor people by forcing them to change their ways and become ‘developed’ through economic and political means, and by implementing Western-based ‘rights’. I find this to be a serious paradox when the system dealing with the consequences of another system’s destructive forces in many ways is a part of that same system.

Popular discourse found in most newspapers, TV-programs and charity shows in a country like Norway contribute to a stereotypical perception of poor countries and their people. There seems to be a common understanding that the poor themselves are responsible for their own situation, and that we, the ‘good people’, must help them with the mess they have created. The situation is either portrayed as hopeless and overwhelming, or as something which only requires a few people to pay a small amount

\(^1\) I am aware of the issues arising when using terms like ‘the West’ and ‘Western’. ‘The West’, that is North America and Europe, is not a uniform place where all people think and act the same way. Resistance and multifaceted opinions of course exists. I still choose to use the term to be able to say something about some of the common ideologies which have evolved in these societies and which are the background for the current global project of universalising ideas and morals.
of money to help "all children in need" (UNICEF, 2008). My concern is that the ongoing reproduction of knowledge on Africa reduced to these two extremes can only worsen the realities of the poor. The link between poverty and wealth needs to be illuminated, creating a sense of responsibility and solidarity on the part of the West. This can change the ways of the world system, making the world more equal. Structures are made up by people acting and making decisions, hence, they are possible to change. Only by challenging the structures and questioning the assumed truths about the situation in the world today can the increasing inequality be reversed.

**Analytical Perspectives**

**Structural Violence**

A main tool of analysis in this thesis will be the works of critical medical anthropologists and the concept of ‘structural violence’. The concept has been used in analyses concerned with how macro-structures are beneficial for some and devastating for others. Johan Galtung originally framed the term to refer to any constraint in human potential due to economic and political structures (Galtung in DuNann Winter and Leighton, 1999). For Galtung it included "severe multidimensional deprivation and socio-political marginalization of a significant portion of society" (Galtung quoted in Kim, Millen, Irwin and Gershman, 2000:449n131). I take ‘society’ here to be as much global as national or local. Structural violence is:

"...violence exerted systematically - that is, indirectly - by everyone who belongs to a certain social order: hence the discomfort these ideas provoke in a moral economy still geared to pinning praise or blame on individual actors. In short, the concept of structural violence is intended to form the study of the social machinery of oppression"

(Farmer, 2004:307).

I understand the social order he refers to as consisting of agents of Western economic interests, including consumers in the West who, mostly unknowingly, supports the system with their consumer patterns. The moral economy referred to in Farmer’s quote
I interpret to be neoliberal capitalism with its focus on the individual's capacity to create own success, where the success is of a financially oriented kind.

The type of racism present in the international structures in the world today has always existed in the relationship between the West and the rest of the world (cf. Said, 1978; Farmer, 2004). Only the way it manifests itself has changed over time, through imperialism, colonialism and the globalising of Western political and economical ideas and values. Briggs & Briggs (2003) argue that racial stereotypes created through history, are reinforced by certain types of narratives, affecting a certain part of a population in dramatic ways, especially during outbreaks of epidemics.

Briggs & Briggs’ (2003) study is concerned with the Warao Indians in Venezuela and the type of racism present on both national and international levels labelling this marginalized group as pre-modern and uncivilized, as a constraint to the desire of the state to be categorized as ‘modern’. Because of racism, as part of structural violence, the Warao were the ones to die when a cholera epidemic struck the country. Their place in the social hierarchy made sure that they hardly received any resources from the government that could provide healthcare, clean water, or waste disposal facilities. The label put on the Warao had through scientific language and narratives been naturalized. The term ‘racial profiling’ is applied to the analysis meaning that race is becoming a way of differentiating between who gets proper medical care and who does not. Through the examination of narratives Briggs & Briggs look at stories told by everyone involved, also by the Indians themselves. The government representatives, the media, and health workers had better means to distribute their version. These narratives contained a discourse shaped to point to the Warao as being the source of the epidemic, and

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2 Narratives is "a form in which experiences are represented and recounted, in which events are presented as having a meaningful and coherent order, in which activities and events are described along with the experiences associated with them and the significance that lends them their sense for the person involved" (Good, 1994). What a person chooses to tell, or not to tell, is of importance in the construction of narratives.

3 By discourse I mean "a system for generating a set of statements and practices, which by inscribing themselves in institutions and appear as more or less normal, is reality-constituent for their bearers and have a certain degree of regularity in a set of social relations" (Neumann, 2001:18). An important addition to this definition is Foucault's
incapable of being a part of the ‘modern’ society which required internalizing modern hygiene and biomedical conceptions of health and disease. One of Briggs & Briggs’ main concerns is “the institutional use of cultural reasoning to blame poor populations for the devastating effects of racism and economic globalization” (Briggs & Briggs, 2003:9). Putting blame on poor populations is common in current discourses concerning Africa, and African ‘culture’ is often seen as the reason for the enormous numbers of HIV infected people. Sexual promiscuity and polygamy are especially well used arguments supporting a system of ‘blaming the victim’⁴, which is a common concept in the study of structural violence. The discourse of blame is focused on the poor and the disadvantaged, moving the responsibility away from the wealthy and powerful.

Continuing the arguments of Briggs & Briggs (2003) a disease like cholera is a product of modernity and globalization. Cholera erupted in the aftermath of the economic crisis of the 1980s. This economic crisis led to increased social inequality because of the downsizing of the welfare sector. The politics of the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), wealthy countries and TNCs, often in the form of Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs), made the situation of the poor unbearable. The government was forced to spend a minimal amount of resources on public welfare and health services, and the consequences were that the poor became susceptible to diseases. The cultural reasoning and its discourses made “race, space and bacteria seem synonymous” (Briggs & Briggs, 2003:312). My argument is that discourses, both in terms of ideologies and practices, circulating worldwide, construct inequality in a way that puts the blame on the victims and avoids any critical look at international organizations, powerful states, or global economic systems.

⁴The term was first coined by William Ryan in his book "Blaming the victim", published in 1971.
Gender, age and class can also be determining for who becomes victims of structural violence. In this thesis all the characteristics can be recognized, but some will be more emphasized than others; children represent a certain age group and are more likely victims of structural violence because of that. One of the loser groups, in the new economic world order which emerged in the 1980s, was the poor children. They were becoming a part of the category "superfluous people" (Schepers-Hughes & Sargent, 1998:3). The situation for orphans and children living in severe poverty is thus not a result of internal and self-inflicted causes of bad leadership or ignorance, even though there are many examples of leaders unwilling to distribute wealth and resources, as well as problems of corruption at all levels of society. Poverty has one of its root causes in economic policies implemented by Western agents and a system of economic exploitation of poor countries. The influence of neoliberalism on policies, and the lack of alternative ideologies in the international arenas, has had extreme consequences.

Structural violence is “embedded in ubiquitous social structures, normalized by political, legal, economic or cultural traditions” (DuNann Winter & Leighton, 1999:1). This normalization makes the link between poverty and wealth invisible to people. As an example, popular opinion views development aid as an altruistic project, where money is being poured into the poor countries in the world, and the reason for failure is blamed on receiving governments and their incompetence in administration and distribution. Discourse plays a vital role in this.

One of the reasons behind this common notion of development is the way the development industry established new policies during the 1980s. The sovereignty of nation-states became possible to avoid by focusing on the failed strategies of the elites in the ‘under-developed’ countries, and the poverty of these countries were viewed entirely as internal (Nustad, 2003). There was a pathologization taking place, blaming the governments of poor countries for their lack of development and thereby opening

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5 Corruption is a contested concept. It has many causes and manifestations, and is more complex than portrayed in popular discourse and the media. Although there are obvious problems of corruption in Tanzania, this will not be the focus of this thesis.
up the possibility of interfering, legitimized by the need to reform and ‘treat’ these countries. The consequence was a complete lack of understanding of the link between wealth and poverty on a global scale. The role of the international society became that of a facilitator which main task was to secure that ‘the people’ themselves, on a grass-root level, could be their own developers. Direct intervention was still impossible, so the way to interfere was by introducing universal values. The development project comes with political and economic agendas and a legal system based on these assumed neutral and universal values which are based on specific Western cultural notions. The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) is an example of a Western-based legal project which is being distributed to the rest of the world through international development bodies.

A central part of the process of normalization is the influence of expert knowledge and the discourses shaped in environments like development agencies and financial institutions. The power of knowledge has unprecedented effects on laws, projects and relations. I found the discourses and practices expected to be adopted on a grass-root level rather shocking. It often made little sense in the reality these people were a part of. A great emphasis on economic knowledge and standards as a means of achieving ‘development’ made me highly question the appropriateness in having a bank (The World Bank) as one of the main shaping forces and implementing agents of policies aiming at reducing poverty and securing the well-being, health, and education for the world’s population.

“Unequal access to resources, to political power, to education, to healthcare, or to legal standing, are forms of structural violence” according to DuNann Winter & Leighton (1999:1). When considering all the people who do not have this kind of access it shows that a great amount of people are suffering from structural violence. The people that have access are few, but they have the power to keep the system of inequality in place. The inequality is expressed through poverty. The world’s population is divided into the ones who are affected by poverty, illness and death, and the much smaller proportion which experiences affluence and well-being. This divide is not necessarily geographical
as there are people living in poverty in the highly industrialized countries too. Still, the poorest region in the world is sub-Saharan Africa. My concern is that there are certain structures in the world producing inequalities, and these structures are shaping the lives of the children I encountered in Bagamoyo and keeping them, and their communities, in a marginal position with no access to the welfare and resources enjoyed by the rich people of Tanzania, and not least by the people of the West.

Ethnographic approaches to violence need to move beyond direct act and what is ethnographically visible and include processes of social oppression. (Farmer, 2004; Lockhart, 2008). Violence is thus defined here as “normative, systematic (or indirect), and at least partly hegemonic” (Lockhart, 2008). The relationship between violence and poverty is a key in this, and the material approach to violence advocated by Farmer (2004) is a much needed alternative in understanding the suffering caused by poverty.

**Structures and Agency**

Structural violence is a constraint on human potential. This matter is important when examining the realities of children living on the streets or in other ways fighting a battle for survival. The cleverness of their survival strategies is highly admirable, but at the same time their actions are limited because of the structures pushing them in to an extremely difficult way of life. It is through the lives of the children that I seek to show how the structures affect individual realities. The constraints that they experience manifests itself in the lack of food, access to healthcare, the loss of family members, and a need to survive in ways which can be damaging for them.

The relationship between structures and agency has had a long-standing interest in anthropology. The perspective I will focus on in this thesis is the one Sherry B. Ortner describes in her book *Anthropology and Social Theory* (2006). Ortner builds upon Practice Theory, but where Practice Theory lacks important analytical components, Ortner adds the relevant issues of history, power and culture. She calls her reworking of Practice Theory the ‘serious games’ perspective. In Practice Theory “culture constructs
people as particular kinds of social actors, but social actors, through their living, on-the-ground, variable practices, reproduce or transform – and usually some of each – the culture that made them" (Ortner, 2006:129). Ortner takes this further by adding the issue of power into her ‘serious games’ perspective, as well as more complex social relations and more complex dimensions of subjectivity. Practice Theory involved two ways of analyzing practice: the first one was the production of subjects through practice, and the second, and most interesting for Ortner, was the production of the world through human practice. The latter provided a dialectic relationship between ‘structure’ and ‘agency’ which was new. Highly important for this thesis, is the idea that the world is ‘made’. People’s actions ‘make’ the world, thus it can also be unmade and remade. Systems of finance and assumed global moral regimes are made by people’s decisions and actions, and they can be remade.

The concept of culture is highly contested in anthropology. For Ortner (2006) it is crucial for the field of anthropology to have a concept of culture. Ortner does not totally dismiss the old concept of culture, but she tries to overcome the obvious limitations of culture as static, a-historical and delimited, explaining the actions of groups of people by referring to their culture and thus ending up with reducing culture into essentialism. The old idea of culture as being ‘constraining’ or ‘enabling’ is placed, by Ortner, within “narratives of power and inequality” (Ortner, 2006:14). Culture is politicized and involves power. It increasingly involves aspects of mobility, meaning culture is no longer delimited, but moves across social and political boundaries.

The role of culture in the construction of agency is significant for Ortner (2006). All human beings have agency, but agency is culturally constructed and thus comes with a variety of meanings and creations. Culture can be constraining, and the regime of late capitalism is an example. On the other hand culture can be enabling. Ortner (2006) connects ‘enabling’ to narratives of power and inequality as well. One has to be a part of and understand a culture, in order to resist. Ortner is interested in cultural constructions of agency as empowerment and as a way of “pursuing “projects” within a world of domination and inequality” (Ortner, 2006:15).
Other Analytical Perspectives

Other analytical perspectives include the Anthropology of Childhood, with some historical considerations and the issues connected to the Western notion of childhood being globally distributed. The UNCRC and its agents promote a type of childhood which, I argue, differs from the realities of the children I encountered and there is a need to question the way in which policies are formulated and implemented.

Development Anthropology will have a central place in the thesis because the issues of power embedded in international relations involved in the development industry are fundamental in an analysis of structural violence. What does the development industry do, what are the ideologies involved, and who have the power? In what way do the children living in adverse circumstances benefit from the industry's ideas and projects, if they benefit at all? In this discussion the power of knowledge and discourse will be fundamental, and the concept of global 'governmentality' is useful in the analysis of issues of knowledge power and the global distribution of morals.

I want to point out that the theoretical approaches of the thesis are of an interdisciplinary character. Anthropology is the overarching framework, but I have found it necessary to make use of additional theories to strengthen my argument in the fields of development studies, economy and history.

I use the term Africa on several occasions. This continent is vast and varied in relation to geography, environment, human activities and ethnicity, as well as culture, social practices, history, politics, and religion. Still, by referring to Ferguson (2006) it is sometimes necessary to speak of Africa as a whole. This is in the case of ‘the crisis of Africa’ and the way the continent can be seen as holding a particular place in a system of social categories. The category ‘Africa’ in today’s global economy is all too real, according to Ferguson. There are popular and scholarly perceptions of the continent which not only misunderstand social reality, but which also shape it. Africa is seen as a place of crisis, which leads to low investment, which again has massive consequences.
The global economic system has left little place for Africa apart from its apparent, long-lasting role as a provider of raw material. To speak of Africa as a whole is a way of pointing to how Western society perceives Africa as a place of darkness, stripped of the ‘bright light of reason’. This has monumental consequences for the way policies are shaped and implemented on the continent, how all countries are seen as ‘the same’, and expected to ‘develop’ the same way, with the same means of economic policies, democratization, and legal frameworks and treaties.

**Place, History and Methodology**

“Intellectuals who keep silent about what they know, who ignore the crimes that matter by moral standards, are even more morally culpable when society is free and open. They can speak freely but choose not to”


A significant dimension of critical social research is the way in which it can stimulate social change (Scraton, 2004). This kind of research should challenge “the portrayal of the marginalised, the excluded and the oppressed as helpless or hopeless victims of circumstances” (Scraton, 2004:180). Critical researchers do not claim to hold a ‘value-neutral’ and objective ‘truth’, rather they position themselves and their work. In this introduction I have given the reader an idea of my own position and I have attempted to clarify the relevance of my work. I want to show that the children I met have courage, capabilities and creativity. They deserve to be recognized as people, with agency, and listened to as such. I also find it of vital importance to question taken for granted notions and practices embedded in the world system. They can be damaging and it is important for researcher to focus on them, and speak out about their consequences.
Bagamoyo

My fieldwork was conducted in the coastal town of Bagamoyo. In addition, I extended my research area to a few other villages in the Bagamoyo District, and to the city of Dar-es-Salaam. I want to introduce the town of Bagamoyo, and the adjacent areas, as the physical surroundings of my research, and as a living society with a variety of features. Furthermore, I give examples of some of the issues facing the people living here.

Bagamoyo is beautifully situated on the Tanzanian coast. The Indian Ocean stretches out like a turquoise blanket from the white beach, and at night you can sometimes see the lights from Zanzibar in the distance. The rich natural environment is breathtaking; the beach and the sea, the mangroves filled with life, the greenness of the bush with its great variation of trees and plants, and the rivers running through the surrounding areas. This amazing richness of nature is mixed with human activities in many forms. Every morning fishermen go out in their long and narrow wooden boats, setting sail towards the great ocean. Sometimes they stay out on the sea all night. The sea is of unprecedented value for the area, and the gifts of the ocean have always been a source of survival along the coast, both through fishing and trade (Connah, 2001). When the fishermen return with their catch of the day, the large and lively fish market opens. Some people work in small, open stalls where they cook and sell fish. You can hear bargaining and loud conversations between salesmen and customers, and between friends and colleagues. Many children work at the fish market, doing multiple tasks assisting the fishermen. The smell of fish is mixed with the smell of fish guts rotting in the sun and smoke from the cooking-pans - a smell which certainly takes some getting used to.

The fishermen are not done for the day when they bring in the fish. The fish nets have to be mended. Some of the nets are gigantic and it takes many square meters of beach to lay the whole thing out. The boats also need to be looked after and you can see different repair-work being performed as you walk along the beach. Women and children collect seashells or seaweed when the low tide reveals hundreds of meters of dry sea-floor.
Another group of people making use of the beach is the boys selling art to the tourists. Many of these boys and young men are, or have been, street children. Some stay in the area close to the beach all the time, also at night. The art that they sell they have either made themselves or they sell it on behalf of friends or on commission for local artists. During the tourist season they manage to make a living, but when the rainy season starts the situation becomes difficult. Many of these boys often refer to their lives as a ‘ghetto life’. They say that the situation ‘is what it is’, and they have to do the best with what they are given. Some of them became friends and informants.

Away from the beach you find the town centre. The centre is quite small. The streets are crowded and the shops and markets are busy. The traffic is chaotic; there are trucks, buses, cars and motorcycles, bicycles, and people pushing two-wheeled wagons with heavy loads, women carrying amazing quantities of goods on their heads, children running across the road, playing next to the road or walking along the road, chicken and goats looking for food, people shouting, horns honking and wheels squeaking.

The food price is a much debated topic in Bagamoyo. The prices have gone up dramatically the last few years. An example is the price of beans which has increased by almost 200 % in the last three years. The situation is making people’s lives hard and the task of securing sufficient food-supplies for the household takes a lot of effort and adds to the worries of everyday life. Many households cannot make ends meet, and they have to rely on family and neighbours for help, and many people are actually starving. According to the United Republic of Tanzania’s Poverty and Human Development Report (2005) 40% of the population in the District of Bagamoyo live below the poverty line. The poverty line in Tanzania is set to US$ 0.26. So many of the children I see in Bagamoyo appear to be more or less undernourished.

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6 On a return visit in February, 2009, I discovered that the situation had worsened. The global financial crisis had started to take its toll in Tanzania, affecting many areas of society.

7 If the numbers were changed into the international standard of less than US$ 1 a day, 57.5% of the population in Tanzania would be living below the poverty line (United Republic of Tanzania, 2005).
The areas surrounding the town centre are less busy. They consist of dirt roads, mostly mud houses, some stalls selling fruit and vegetables, food-serving stalls, and people performing their daily routines. My favourite thing to do while I stayed in Bagamoyo was to walk from the school where I attended an MVC\(^8\) club, to the area around the Catholic Mission, together with my dear friend Mama Mkoba. She is a teacher at Majengo Primary School, the leader of the MVC club, and the head of the MVC committee in Magomeni Village. We usually walked this way around 5.30-6 PM just before dusk when the light was beginning to change. It is the time of day when the heat becomes bearable, people come home from work to gather around the cooking area outside the houses, old people are relaxing by the wall, children are playing, and the whole world seems to have a warm and golden glow. Mama Mkoba has lived in Bagamoyo for almost 30 years. She knows every road and every house, and she seems to know every person. We walked along narrow paths, through clusters of mud houses, observing people’s activities. Walking with Mama Mkoba gave me access to this more intimate sphere.

While Bagamoyo has a population of approximately 30,000, Bagamoyo District covers an area of almost 9,000 square kilometres (Jerman, 1997), and has a population of more than 265,500 according to the district government. Agriculture is the main source of income for people in the district. Most people live on subsistence farming, and few have secure access to cash. This reduces access to healthcare and medications. HIV/AIDS medications have been subsidised by the government and given to affected people for free from 2005. At the end of 2007 there were 136,000 people on Anti-Retroviral Therapy (ART) in Tanzania, compared to 3,000 in 2004 (UNAIDS, 2008). But the situation for many of the 1.4 million people in Tanzania who are currently living with HIV/AIDS\(^9\) has not been improved. The reasons for this are many, but from my research I identified two main factors. These are lack of adequate nutrition and lack of infrastructure. According to UKUN, a Community-based Organization (CBO) I was working with, many of the people living with HIV/AIDS are severely mal-

\(^8\)MVC is short for Most Vulnerable Children. I examine this term in Chapter 2.

\(^9\)The adult prevalence rate is estimated at 8.8% (WHO, 2005).
undernourished and even dying of hunger. When I accompany one of the nurses at UKUN as she makes home visits to four households with HIV positive members, I am told in every household that their greatest suffering at the present is hunger. UKUN findings indicate a reduction in food production capacities in households affected by HIV/AIDS. The lack of proper nutrition makes HIV positive people more susceptible to opportunistic infections, like tuberculosis and malaria, and affects how well the ARTs work and how the body copes with the strong medications (Barnett & Whiteside, 2002).

The lack of infrastructure, like affordable transportation, is the reason why many people do not reach the clinics where they carry out check-ups and other crucial HIV/AIDS treatment. According to UKUN, some clients live more than 100 km from the hospital in Bagamoyo, and it costs up to 5,000 TSh\(^{10}\) to travel by daladala\(^ {11}\). I was told of one case where a 16 year old girl was found isolated in a mud hut living in a village 98 km away from Bagamoyo hospital. The doctors had refused to admit her into the treatment program because she lived so far away and there were no possibilities for her to make the trip to the hospital on a regular basis. When representatives from UKUN found her she was in the last stages of AIDS, showed extreme signs of starvation, and had not had any form of assistance for a long time. I saw a picture of her when she was found and it made a lasting impression. As Charles at UKUN tells me she is not the only case, there are many similar cases in the area.

The town of Bagamoyo is historically known as a cultural meeting point in East-Africa. The slave trade between Africa and the Arab world had its main hub here (UNESCO, 2006). The slaves were captured inland, transported to Bagamoyo and then shipped to Zanzibar to be exported to various destinations from there. You can read about the history of the slave trade in the museum at the Catholic Mission. The Mission consists of a big church, a museum, and there is also a private hospital on the grounds. The Mission

\(^{10}\) 5,000 TSh is the equivalent of approximately US$ 4.

\(^{11}\) Daladala is the most common type of transport in Tanzania. These are privately owned mini-buses with specific routes designated to each bus.
has been given credit for the abolishment of the slave trade in the early 20th century, and the aiding of escaped and freed slaves. Although the Mission has had an important role in this area, most people are Muslims. The mixture of religions, as well as the mixture of ethnicity, is a result not only of the trading activities in the area, but also of the Ujamaa project of the first independent government of Tanzania. When I asked about the lack of focus on ethnicity in Bagamoyo people usually talked about Baba wa Taifa, Father of the Nation, Julius Nyerere. They said Nyerere managed to create a sense of unity in the people, and an ideology stating that everyone is equal. No one was given any benefits or difficulties according to ethnic categories. Everybody had to learn Swahili so that it would be possible for all to communicate in one language.

There are also a few buildings dating back to the colonial era. They were erected by the German colonial administration, but left to the British colonial administration after Germany lost their colonies as a result of the First World War. The buildings are in bad shape, partly collapsing. The windows are broken, and iron plates attached to the roofs are a hazard for people walking nearby on windy days. The buildings do not get much attention these days, apart from the odd visits by small tourist buses. They only stay for a few minutes while the tourists take pictures and read the small sign outside explaining in a few sentences the history of the buildings. The buses then head back to one of the fancy hotels which have been established along the beach over the past few years. One of the hotels is actually built around the gallows where the colonial ‘masters’ used to hang ‘disobedient subjects’. Not far from the colonial buildings lies the German cemetery, with approximately 20 gravestones telling of young colonial soldiers killed in battle, middle-aged colonial administrators, and a couple of children and women dying of diseases. Parts of the graveyard are overgrown with trees and plants. Giant spiders spin their webs in between the twigs and the gravestones. Sometimes we walked through the graveyard at night, after a beach-fire or quiet conversations with friends on the beach, watching the lights from Zanzibar, or gazing at the amazing night-sky where the moon is lying down and the constellations are displayed in a spectacular yet unfamiliar way. The

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12 ‘Ujamaa’ means family ties or socialism, and the ideology is addressed in Chapter 4.
moonlight made it possible to see where we were going in between the tombs. It is not only dark here, but also very quiet. The sound of the ocean and nocturnal insects are the only sounds you hear late at night. Being in this dark silence gave me a deep feeling of peace.

**Children as Informants**

Research involving children have many ethical implications. The protection of children in research has tended to keep children out of projects (Goodenough, Williamson, Kent and Ashcroft, 2004). This has often led to children’s lifeworlds being ignored, thus impaired research and establishment of new knowledge. In research directly concerning children, like my project, it is fundamental to include the voices of children. Children should not be studied like secondary references (Schwartzman, 2001). They need to be included as agents.

To secure the protection of children involved in research projects is thus an ambiguous issue. The emphasis on protection is part of Western notions of childhood. This point is a part of my discussion in Chapter 3. It is perceived as necessary to ensure informed consent, especially from this group of participants. My experience is that it was difficult to ensure the protection procedures of informed consent and anonymity in the field. People who assisted me, like my interpreter and social welfare officers arranging several of the meetings I had with children, as well as their families, did not understand the relevance of these procedures. At the same time I spent months getting hold of the right documents from the government’s committee for ethical research, writing several applications where I included translated letters of consent and stated my intentions of protecting the children involved. I often failed at letting the children understand that participation was optional and that they could withdraw from the project, due to the problems of translating what this meant to all the local participants. In addition, the children perceive adults as more powerful and they feel uncomfortable when saying ‘no’, or withdrawing in the middle of an interview. The children do not necessarily understand what the research is about, or their role in it. I often reflected on these
ethical issues. Still, in order to include their voices and avoid the negative consequences of exclusion, I wanted and needed to involve the children.

One element in research concerning children that might not be so commonly acknowledged, but one that I experienced, is the children's positive feelings of being 'special' when participating in a study (Goodenough et al., 2004). For some of my informants this seemed to be the case. Especially the children who had experience from living on the streets emphasized the desire to be of assistance and contribute to an increased knowledge of the life of street children. To talk to a researcher and meet someone from a different country was something many of the children appreciated.

Another issue I want to mention here is that often the children do not feel they need to be protected. Luca, one of my main informants, is in no need of 'artificial' constructs of protection. He is strong and clever and he has an apparent desire to tell his story. To detach him from his own story deprives him of a part of his identity as a street boy and as someone who has lived and learned on the streets, by his own means. This life has made him become the person he is today, a proud person with a multitude of capabilities.

**Main Research Methods and Their Implications**

The main research method during my fieldwork was participant observation. The method is the only one which can give the contextual frame necessary to understand the social reality of my informants (Thagaard, 2003). Interaction between people is the human dimension most relevant to anthropology and by conducting participant observation one can get the most valuable data in this area. By living in the local community in a guesthouse close to the centre of town, in close proximity to many of my informants, and participating in the daily activities in the village, I was after a while able to get a certain picture of the realities people were experiencing in Bagamoyo. Through contacts I had established before I left for Tanzania I had access to an NGO and the orphanages run by the organization. These connections were very helpful, and the local
employees introduced me to a broad network of friends, health workers and government employees. I got the chance to meet informants of different ages, backgrounds, occupations, opinions, and social statuses. I visited several orphanages where I interacted with children. I worked with a Community-based Organization (CBO) where I assisted the organization in the writing of reports and proposals, and I also participated in home visits to people living with HIV and AIDS and in households with children living in hardship. I attended an MVC club on a regular basis where the children participated in various activities. Most of the children I was in contact with had lost one or both parents to AIDS or other diseases, or to accidents. Some were living, or had been living on the streets, and many were living in extremely poor households often headed by a grandparent. I conducted a type of fieldwork where I sought to understand a multitude of perspectives, in a variety of places. I chose a form of multi-sited research, involving local, national and international agents and arenas. These levels could all have been fully studied as separate projects, but my purpose has been to connect the different levels in order to show how they combined, are affecting the reality of the children. Another methodological grip relevant here is the inclusion of history. History has on all levels, contributed to determine the reality of my informants. The role of ‘the history that makes the place’, as part of structural frames, shapes individual choice and severely limits agency. It involves the examination of African and Tanzanian colonial history, the period following independence, and the policies implemented by international institutions in the 1980s and onwards.

In addition to participant observation I used interviews as a method. For the most part this consisted of conversations or semi-structured interviews. Conversations were by far the most comfortable form of interview for both my informants and for me. On a few occasions I did conduct structured interviews. This was the case when I did a four days visit to four villages in the Bagamoyo District, arranged for me by the Social Welfare Department. I interviewed Village Council members, HIV/AIDS-committee members, MVC committee members, and children categorized as MVC. Because the time was limited and I was talking to several dozen people in each village, there was little room for anything other than formal interviews. The atmosphere was tense and people seemed limited by the questions and unable to talk around the subjects to the extent I
had hoped for. Because of my limited knowledge of the Swahili language I was accompanied by an interpreter. This turned out to be problematic because he often misunderstood the meaning of my questions and he interpreted answers to fit the ideas he had of my research project. In addition he was working for the government something which might have affected answers. The positive aspect was that he had a very friendly tone with the children. Still, formal interviews with children seemed to make them uncomfortable, and it was not a constructive approach.

Interviews in the form of semi-structured questions or conversations became important in getting a picture of the discourses at work in the development industry. The concepts used, and the way people spoke about various issues inside the organizations, have been of great value for understanding how the power of discourses and knowledge exists and have consequences outside the organizations. Some document analyses in the form of proposals and reports have also been vital in examining discourses and practices in development.

Narratives have been an important part of my data collection and I build parts of my thesis around children’s narratives. Children’s narratives are an important source of information for understanding their lifeworlds, how they perceive their surroundings, and how they create their realities (Schepker-Hughes & Sargent, 1998:14). There is a close connection between experience and culture (Good, 1994). Language and symbolic forms, as well as social and institutional relations, are crucial in how we organize our experiences. For the anthropologist it can be difficult to retell the stories of other people’s experiences. We respond to the stories according to our own experiences which are culturally grounded and may differ from the aesthetic and emotionally structural responses of the society in which the fieldwork takes place. It is important to be aware of how this and the interpretations of another person’s narrative from a different society than one’s own are affected by what meanings and values we associate with the stories.

My lack of language skills had implications for my field work. After a while I could follow parts of a conversation, but I could not speak with people in any proper way unless they
knew English. Friends became helpful interpreters when the language barrier made me unable to take part in conversations. However, I was often only explained things others thought were important for me to know, and I also missed out on all the less explicit communication forms. Much information was lost this way. However, I experienced that children really are good language teachers (Ellen, 1984). Wherever I met children they wanted to talk to me in English, and many were trying eagerly to teach me Swahili. My conversations with older children were often mutually beneficial when it came to language skills.

AIDS as a subject for conversation was sometimes difficult. There are many stigmatization problems facing people who are infected, and even on death certificates AIDS is not given as cause of death in the majority of cases. I tried to be discrete when speaking on this topic. Health workers and other people working with HIV/AIDS related issues, however, displayed much openness about the disease.

I never used any form of recording devices during conversations and interviews. I felt this would have been a disturbing factor. I took notes during formal interviews, such as those in the villages. I hardly took any notes during conversations because this to me would have been too ‘professional’ and created distance between myself and the informants. Rather I took precarious notes every evening.

I have chosen to write this thesis in English so that my informants may have the possibility to read it. Even though most of the children cannot read English many of the NGO employees, CBO employees and government and health officials will have the chance to read it, and information can be forwarded to the children involved, if they are interested. I was asked by several people to provide a copy of the thesis for the purpose of sharing new ideas and as part of proposals for action.
My Role in the Field

My most difficult issues in the field revolved around the meetings I had with suffering. The loss of one or both parents clearly causes great emotional pain. It was difficult to witness the pain when the children talked about their loss, especially in the cases where the parent was the mother. These emotional issues were heartbreaking and I felt in no way knowledgeable to go deeper into the children's mental traumas. I still want to point out the fact that the traumas are there to a great extent, and the reader should keep them in mind through the different empirical cases. The feeling of hopelessness, frustration, sadness and anger sometimes made me question the whole project. But at the same time it was these feelings which motivated me to carry on.

I am aware of the issues often pointed to when compensation to informants is discussed. Information given can be shaped to fit whatever expectations the informants assume that the researcher has in order to please the researcher and thus get some sort of gift. This was not relevant in my research, as I see it. The ethical problem for me in these situations was the feeling of not doing enough to help when I was standing face to face with extreme poverty and human suffering. This haunts me every day, and no matter how professional you are expected to be as a researcher it all crumbles when you find yourself in real situations, and things become subjective. In my opinion anthropology can never be objective because we are our own research tools. Everything we see, hear and experience filter through our minds with our specific backgrounds, emotions and way of thinking. One can attempt to be as objective as possible, but in the end our products are subjective and shaped by our interests, thoughts and emotions.

My background as a nurse not only influenced the way I perceived the field and the realities of the people I met, but also gave me access to information and arenas of disease and suffering only accessible to me as a health worker. Some informants in the health sector approached me and treated me as a colleague. We discussed symptoms, medications, and other health issues concerning specific patients. A lot of data was gathered this way.
The Structure of the Thesis

I choose to divide my thesis into six chapters, including the Introduction and Concluding remarks. In Chapter 2 I will address the realities of the children I met during my field work. With the narrative of Luca, a former street boy, as the main empirical finding I point out some of the major difficulties facing orphans and other children living in severe poverty. Issues of poverty and disease are important aspects influencing the lives of the children. However, the children find ways of surviving. To recognize their creativity and their cleverness is an imperative step towards finding ways of assisting them, by seeing them as people with agency and with realities that makes sense to them in the situations they are in, not as children in the ‘wrong’ place doing ‘wrong’ things that children should not be doing.

Chapter 3 aims to identify ways in which childhood is being conceptualized by the international actors who shape the current policies concerning the lives of children. The transmission of Western ideas and values are amongst other legal agreements manifested in the UNCRC. The Convention is formulated by Western agents based on Western knowledge of children and childhood. I suggest that there is a dissonance between the discourse of the Convention and the ideology behind it, and the reality of the children I encountered in Bagamoyo and Dar-es-Salaam.

This global distribution of values involves aspects of power through certain types of knowledge and the ability to define ‘normality’. This is the focus of Chapter 4. I claim that the Children’s Rights discourse is a part of a process of ‘global governmentality’. The concept of ‘governmentality’, here linked to neoliberal ideology, is a central part of the development industry. I will give empirical examples showing how local partners are included in this process. I will focus on a CBO managing a project for home-based care for people living with HIV/AIDS, and a project aiming to assist children in difficult situations caused by AIDS. Today there are popular concepts like ‘partnership’ and ‘participation’ said to involve the local population in decisions affecting their lives, but from my experience this was not the case. Documentation routines and management structures formulated by international donors focused on control, time frames and
outputs, took away the ability of local partners working directly with poor and sick people, to act and to make suggestions. Included in the discussion is an examination of some historic and economic developments which have had large influence on the children's lives and on the communities they are a part of. Together this will highlight the hiding of lived realities, as well as the concealment of the links between poor and rich, by the normalization of reigning 'truths'. The same system that keeps the children in adversity formulates policies to assist them. This irony is concealed by certain discourses and practices, keeping a system of structural violence in place, and making change extremely difficult.

However, as Chambers (1997) points out, development actions and policies are decided on and acted out by people. This implies that if people decided to start acting differently the outcomes would be different. The idea of possibilities for change is what makes critique of the development project worthwhile. Hidden realities need to be brought to the fore and the will to make excessive changes, also in donor countries, have to be advocated.
Chapter 2: Childhoods of Hardship

My name is Luca. I want to tell my story. I was born in a small village in central Tanzania. As a young child I was happy. My mother loved me and my little sister very much. Many relatives lived close to us and I remember things we used to do together. My grandmother cooked food with us, and she told me I was a good boy. I helped her with many things. I remember my mother’s oldest brother who lived close. My father’s brother and my father’s sister lived further away, but visited us some times. My aunt was a very good woman and she cared about us. I played with my cousins. Life was good when my mother was with us. She died when I was 12, I do not know why she died. Our father was a drinker. He used to beat us when he came home at night. After our mother died, the responsibilities for myself and my sister fell on me. I took care of the cattle and all other activities. Our father did not care. After a while I could not handle it any more. I decided to go away. I left the house and went looking for a life on my own. After a while I reached Dar-es-Salaam and I stayed in the streets for many years.

- Luca

I only meet Luca once, but he makes quite an impression. He is becoming a man now, and he talks a lot and has a great smile. Luca’s story stays in your mind for a long time, and it is a powerful example of the realities in which many children live and struggle. His creativeness and smart ways of thinking that he developed as a child living on the street are impressive. He managed to survive for many years in the city, living and working in places not appropriate for a child judging from the Western notion of childhood.

While I stayed in the streets of Bagamoyo my main job was working with the fishermen. I helped them throw out the large nets. I was given fish in return, which I sold at a small market to get money. I was using alcohol at that time, and smoking. I was becoming a bit crazy. One day I was caught by policemen. They kept me at the police-station the whole night, and they beat me badly. They released me the next morning after questioning me
The period of his life that Luca refers to here is a type of childhood experienced by a growing number of children. The number of orphaned children in Tanzania was estimated at 2.6 million in 2007 (UNICEF, 2009). In sub-Saharan Africa the AIDS pandemic is one of the main reasons for children being orphaned. According to UNICEF there are 1 billion children living in poverty globally, which is the equivalent of every second child in the world (UNICEF, 2009). Tanzania ranks as country number 152 out of 179 on the Human Development Index (HDI) which is a common indicator of the level of well-being, measured in health standards, educational level and purchasing power, for a country’s population (UNDP, 2008). The causes of poverty are manifold and complex. Some of these issues will be examined in later chapters as part of a discussion on structural causes of the suffering of these children. The effects of poverty are intimately linked to disease. Living conditions and the lack of access to healthcare services are important factors. Strategies people adapt for survival can increase the risk of disease. In this chapter I seek to give the reader a glimpse into the grave effects that poverty and diseases have on children. I want to give empirical descriptions of how childhood is experienced by the children I met during my fieldwork. I have chosen to divide the chapter into topics, which will be built around parts of children’s narratives. The different topics are all interrelated, and are all consequences of poverty. The first narratives, however, will be my own. I do this to show how my thoughts on the suffering of children changed through the process of fieldwork and the writing of the thesis. My narratives contain meetings with deprivation and adversity, and this focus is strengthened by Luca’s narratives of hardship. However, new dimensions are added as I learn more about the lives of the children. Narratives of hope and agency show a turn from my perception of the situation as mere deprivation to lived realities which also is made up of creativeness and confidence. I discovered several issues in the lives of the children which do not correlate with Western-based notions of childhood. An especially

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13 As all indicators of this kind the HDI has a limited validity. It lacks consideration of many variables and it generalizes complex phenomena.
A Consideration of Terminology

During my fieldwork I spoke to more than 40 children who are categorised as Most Vulnerable Children (MVC) or Orphans and Vulnerable Children (OVC) by health-, social welfare- and NGO workers. These categories have implications and need further examination. First of all it is important to acknowledge that the children categorised as being orphans and/or vulnerable are all different (Oleke, Blystad, Moland, Rekdal and Heggenhougen, 2006). Actual lives are filled with complexities, contradictions and ambiguities and need to be understood as such. All orphans are not treated bad, or live in bad conditions. Some vulnerable children live within families, but in severe poverty. The children all have their own stories and backgrounds. Generalizing thus becomes rather impossible. The categories of MVC and OVC lead to the loss of an understanding of variations in the lives of these children.

In Tanzania, the terms MVC and OVC seem well established in the discourse concerning child policies. According to my informants, UNICEF introduced these terms in the late 1990s. UNICEF’s (2008) use of OVC includes a wide range of children; those who experience HIV/AIDS related stigma, discrimination, abandonment, illness, death within the family, poverty, violence, substance abuse, and who live in households with HIV-positive adults, or outside of family care. UNICEF recognizes that different social actors have different understandings of the terms. An international NGO worker may have a dissimilar understanding of the terms than one of the children identified as a vulnerable child will have of what makes the child vulnerable, and what factors contribute to the child’s situation.

My experience was that in government documents, NGO documents and in every conversation between various actors the term MVC, and OVC to a lesser extent, was used
when issues of children in difficult conditions and children without parents were discussed. There are MVC-committees in the villages which identify and deal with this group of children. An identification process was initiated by UNICEF from 1999, according to the District Nursing Officer in Bagamoyo, Mama Mushi. She explains that UNICEF approached the local government to find a way to aid the growing number of orphans. Orphans needed to be identified in every household. Mama Mushi was involved in this process and she recollects the identifying process as being traumatic because of all the suffering. The numbers they ended up with after the first count was more than 12,000 orphans in the district. During the process of identification, the focus shifted from orphans to MVC. The category of MVC was introduced because many orphans were doing fine. At the same time there were other children, living with their parents, who were suffering. Mama Mushi puts it like this: “There are children living in houses falling down around them when it is windy, and which are flooded when it rains, children who do not have steady access to food, healthcare or schooling.”

The category of MVC is integrated into local discourse concerning children. It seemed like most people knew the term and even which households in the village containing children categorised as MVC. There are MVC clubs in some villages. These clubs are a service to the children provided by the MVC committees and a CBO. During my encounters with local communities and people working with the aid of these children there seemed to be openness around the problems facing the children and the households they are a part of. The community is responsible for the care of the MVC and every household which is not affected is obliged to contribute to a common account administrated by the MVC committees. Mama Mushi tells of an ancient tradition of community care in Tanzania:

14 The last count was done in March, 2007. The number of MVC was then 11,270 out of a total population of 99,008 children in the District (Bagamoyo District Council, March 2007: MVC Identification Report).

15 This reflects how UNICEF policies are built on a narrow understanding of family, with the nuclear family as the ideal, perceiving all children without parents as vulnerable and alone. In Tanzania children are commonly taken care of by extended family if their parents die or are incapable of taking care of their children.
“Before, if a neighbour did not have food, but you did, you would always share with him. If a girl was out with boys, any woman in the village would punish her. It was as they were all her mother. This has all changed. Everybody fend for themselves, feeling responsibility only for themselves. Children go around as prostitutes, run away to the cities where they live on the streets, begging.”

Even with openness around who is categorized as orphans or vulnerable children, and why, the terms create stereotypes, both in the local community and in government, NGO and UNICEF policies. This needs to be taken into account. This is especially problematic in the case of global policy-making. Amit (2003) argues in an essay on the place of children in society that it does not help the situation of the children to reproduce perceptions of children as weak and vulnerable. Global categories of children are in danger of reducing children into issues, and lead to a loss of complexity about lived lives and realities. In the report *Children on the Brink 2004* UNICEF states that the use of terms like ‘AIDS orphans’ leads to inappropriate categorization and stigmatization (UNICEF, 2004:6). Still the acronyms MVC and OVC are used at local and national level, as well as by UNICEF representatives and other NGO workers.

One has to be aware of the stereotyping effect that terms and acronyms may have. The fact that MVC or OVC were used in every level of the arenas I was conducting my fieldwork, makes it impossible not to use the terms when referring to conversations and documents collected in the field. Anthropology is an academic field where generalizations are handled with care, and I am aware that the use of these terms does create generalizations. Thus, in this thesis they are empirical descriptions and not analytical tools.
Childhood Narratives

*MMy Encounters with Suffering*

In this section I want to tell of two encounters I had in the field. These narratives reflect the feeling of despair I experienced when I first came face to face with the suffering of children.

**Selemani and his Grandmother**

Selemani is 8 years old. He lives with his elderly grandmother in a traditional mud house in the centre of Bagamoyo. The house is small and in bad shape. Twigs are sticking out through the walls, and the roof is leaking during the rainy season. Outside the house there is a bench to sit on, a couple of cooking utensils and a small fireplace. There is also a plastic bucket for different purposes, I observed it used when *Bibi* (grandmother in Swahili) was giving Selemani a bath. Apart from some change of clothes, these are their belongings.

*Bibi* is old, and her body bears the marks of a life of hard work. Her back is bent and her hands are crooked. Still, she is constantly occupied with various tasks. She cannot seem to keep her hands still. Every morning she gets up early and heads to the market area to look for food. She does not have a steady income. They live off the food she can find or that she is given, some help is provided by a Muslim charity, and some from a CBO. The assistance they get is provided irregularly, thus they cannot plan their days with the safety of knowing when the next provision of food or money will come. The struggle of securing a sufficient food supply for the two of them is getting increasingly hard because of rising food prices.

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16 This is a common strategy in aid assistance, according to my findings. The people who are receiving help should not get the help regularly, that is, not on the same time of the month. This is to prevent them from relying only on the assistance and not work themselves. I found this practice provocative, and to me it shows a top-down attitude, where the superior decision-makers have the power, and assumed legitimacy to define the lives and thoughts of the people they are supposed to help. These issues are part of the discussion in Chapter 4.
Selemani’s parents are both dead. The HIV virus was transmitted from his mother to Selemani. He was born with HIV. He has the appearance of a 5 year old, although he is 8. His belly is swollen and his limbs are skinny. He shows signs of being undernourished\(^\text{17}\). In addition he has a skin infection affecting his entire body, especially his forehead and his belly. This is a very common condition for people with HIV. His Bibi tells us that she thought the rash was heat-related, or mosquito bites. She has not been given sufficient information about the symptoms of HIV. Her eyesight is severely reduced, making it difficult for her to observe symptoms. She cannot read, so the procedure of giving Selemani all the different types of medication he needs to keep the virus at bay is impossible for her to handle. To manage Selemani’s ART medication procedures, they depend on help from a man they call uncle.

Selemani and Bibi made me see how the AIDS pandemic has reduced a family to the present level of two people, and how it has taken away the people with the abilities to work and provide for the dependants of the household. It is the dependants who are left to fight on their own.

**A Girl and her Grandfather**

During a visit to the village of Kiromo I met a little girl. I was interviewing some children who were picked out by the MVC committee to talk to me. The girl was one of them. When I saw her I thought she was around 5 or 6. She was very skinny, she had rashes, and the skirt of her school uniform was torn. She sat patiently waiting while I talked to the Village Council. When I was ready to talk to the children we all got up to find a place to sit outside. Outside I noticed the girl was crying. I asked my interpreter to ask the girl what was wrong. The head of the MVC committee in the village was with us and she talked to the girl as well. It turned out she was crying because she was hungry. She had not eaten since the day before, and she had stomach aches. The head of the MVC committee explained to me that she knew the girl and her situation. She was living with

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\(^\text{17}\) This, and the following medical evaluation(s), is based on my knowledge and experience as a nurse, as well as the knowledge of a nurse working at UKUN. She has years of experience in working with undernourished and HIV/AIDS infected people.
her grandfather. There were no other household members. The grandfather was old and nearly blind. She said their situation was very difficult because they had no relatives who could assist them, and the grandfather was unable to do much work.

The girl was taken to a medical clinic. The doctor said she needed medicine for her stomach aches. I offered to pay for food and for medicine, and told the interpreter to let the girl know she was free to go. After a while the grandfather came to pick her up, someone had been to their house to notify him. The old man was clearly struggling to take care of himself. He had a bad limp and a bent back. He had torn clothes, he had not shaved, or cleaned himself up in any way, and he smelled quite strong. I was briefly introduced to him, and when I looked into his eyes I was shocked. His eyes were like a grey mass, and you could barely see his iris. The last thing I saw of the two was when they crossed the street walking towards their house, hand in hand. This is an image I will never forget.

**Luca – A Street Boy and His Story**

Luca has created his own narrative. I use his narrative as a basis for the description of the realities of children living in adversity. Good (1994:139) states that in addition to represent and recount experience (see footnote 2), narratives:

“...project our activities and experiences into the future, organizing our desires and strategies teleologically, directing them toward imagined ends or forms of experience which our lives or particular activities are intended to fulfil”.

For Luca it seems important to express his experiences, not only to others, but to make sense of his life to himself. He emphasizes how he was always craving knowledge and wanted to learn. School is his first priority at the moment, and he talks of how he will use his education in the future to help children who end up in the same situation as he did. In this way his life and his experiences on the street served a purpose and it is explained and made sense of. What he chooses to include in his narrative is an indicator of what he considers important and how he wants his life to be understood, by himself.
and by others. Narratives and life stories “are a powerful means of making sense of our social reality and our own lives” (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009:55). Further, narratives are the ordering principle that gives meaning to an otherwise chaotic and incoherent life (Bamberg, De Fina and Schiffrin, 2007). It is worth noting that when people tell stories about their lives it should not be “regarded as subjective distortion of objective facts” (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009:303). This is because it is a human trait to tell stories about life and experiences, and parts of our lives are ‘storied’ and can only be grasped through a narrative approach.

I will now take as my starting point the story of Luca. The story will be divided into topics, referred to as narratives. Other stories are added where appropriate. By approaching the issues as narratives, Luca’s agency is highlighted. I also claim that through telling his life story Luca perform a type of agency.

**Narratives of the Turning Point**

Luca was born in a rural area in central Tanzania. His people are pastoralists and they are semi-nomadic. He recalls his childhood as being happy and carefree, and in his story he keeps coming back to his mother and the love she gave him and his younger sister. He also remembers other relatives, like his grandmother, aunts and uncles, and the memories he has of these people are mainly positive. He speaks about them with sadness because he does not know if they are still alive. It is many years since he saw any of them. Luca’s mother died when he was 12 years old. He remembers she was very sick and was bleeding from her nose and mouth. The family could not get her to the nearest hospital in time and she died on the way there. The death of his mother was the moment when Luca’s world changed. His father had been an alcoholic before his mother died, but the alcohol consumption escalated after the death of his wife. The responsibilities of the house and of the younger sister fell on Luca. He worked very hard, herding the cattle and making sure the daily routines of the household were taken care of. The father remarried, but the stepmother soon left the household because of the husband’s abuse. The situation eventually became unbearable for Luca. He made the decision to run away.
Several other children I talked to told me similar stories. They recall happy childhoods while mother was alive, but when she dies their worlds are torn apart and life takes a dramatic turn for the worse. In the cases where the mother dies and the father remarries, the children of the former wife are often given a role in the household as a type of outsiders. Many of them run away as a result of this, and they take up a life on the streets of larger cities. From interviews with village representatives in Bagamoyo District I got more information on this subject. They say that the children changing households are “going to hard times”. They can expect to be given less food, less care and get less follow-up on healthcare. They also tell me that in Bagamoyo there are not many children running away for good. Many may stay away from their homes because of abuse and lack of food and other necessities, and they take to the streets for survival, working in one way or another to provide for themselves. To be a street child does not necessarily mean that the child does not have a home. There are different categories of street children (Sheper-Hughes & Hoffman 1998:361). One should be aware of the implications of including an extremely varied group of children into one category of ‘street children’ (Panter-Brick, 2001). Most street children actually have a home.

**Narratives of Disease**

As explained in the Introduction the amount of people infected by AIDS is high in Tanzania. The disease might have caused the death of Luca’s mother. Employees at UKUN (Uhakika Kituo cha Ushauri Nasaha, meaning a ‘place for advice’), the CBO I was working with, told of many people dying, often because of infrastructural problems. Access to ARTs and other HIV/AIDS services is limited due to the lack of resources and logistics. Barnett and Whiteside (2002:169) state that the drugs “need a fairly sophisticated delivery infrastructure”. It is crucial for the patients to get regular check-ups at the hospital to measure their CD4 levels, and to secure the correct treatment regime. There is one district hospital and it is the only facility with the right equipment and trained staff for the follow-ups of HIV/AIDS patients. Some patients live in remote

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18 CD4 cells are the host cells to which the HIV attaches itself (Barnett & Whiteside, 2002). When the CD4 cell count is below 200 per micro-litre of blood the person is diagnosed with AIDS.
rural areas as far as 100 km from the hospital and for many of them transport is unaffordable.

Through my friend Mama Mkoba, I met a woman named Rosie. She has a lovely little daughter who is 5 years old. Rosie was diagnosed with HIV about half a year before I met her. The first time I see her she is ill. She has stomach aches and she vomits when she tries to eat. Her daughter runs around excited because of the white visitor, talking and laughing all the time. Rosie struggles to sit on the chair, but she smiles politely and tries her best to participate in the conversation. Her husband left her when he found out she was HIV positive. He has now remarried and started a new family. Because her husband divorced her and left her with nothing, Rosie has problems providing for herself and her daughter. At the moment she is selling nuts on the street to survive, and she gets some support from neighbours. Life is difficult. Rosie does not know if her little girl is HIV positive. She has not been tested yet. She has shown no symptoms of the virus. Still, the possibility of mother-to-child transmission during birth or while breast-feeding, is present. The gender aspect in this case is of great importance. It is very common that the man transfers HIV to his wife, but when she goes to test herself and is diagnosed with the disease, he blames her. Many women are then left on their own without any means.

Other gender issues involve the power relations between men and women. Most women do not have the possibilities within relationships to demand condom use (Schoepf, 2007). Prostitution is mainly a survival strategy for women. Even with the knowledge of how to protect themselves, it is in many cases impossible to make the choice not to engage in sex work, or demand condom use from clients. Prostitution is crucial to understanding the links between poverty and the spread of HIV and thus, the consequences for the children, both as children of prostitutes and as prostitutes themselves. Agency and choice is limited by the structures of poverty and gender relations. Prostitution will, however, not be addressed further here because I have little empirical data on this subject.
In addition to HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis and malaria causes many deaths in Tanzania each year. In the case of tuberculosis there is a prevalence of 180,936 infected (The Global Fund, 2008). Tuberculosis is the most common opportunistic infection connected to HIV/AIDS, and the amount of people with both HIV/AIDS and tuberculosis is high in Bagamoyo District, according to Eugenia, one of the nurses from UKUN. During one of the home-visits we did together, we visited a man living close to the centre of town, in a concrete apartment building, together with his parents and several other people. Isac has his own room with a bed and some basic necessities. He is a very nice and welcoming man. He is extremely thin and he tells me that the reason for this is the tuberculosis he has just been diagnosed with. Medication for tuberculosis is fully covered by the government. He was diagnosed with AIDS in 2005, but his CD4-number has later gone up. He tells me that what bothers him most is the lack of food and the constant hunger. People living with HIV/AIDS and tuberculosis are vulnerable to hunger, as I observed in Bagamoyo. Not only does lack of nutrition increase the risk of infections by further weakening the immune system, but when ART drugs are taken without food, the medication is often too hard on the stomach and the patient is unable to keep the medication down. Hunger and low energy food consumption keep feeding the vicious circle of low food production and reduced income generating capacity for HIV/AIDS affected households (Barnett & Whiteside, 2002).

Malaria is the greatest killer in Tanzania with an estimated 16 to 18 million cases every year (The Global Fund, 2008). Of these cases 100,000 result in death, mostly for children under the age of 5. Malaria medications cost money, and for an average farmer it can be impossible to get hold of an amount large enough to cover a trip to a dispensary, to see a doctor, and pay for the medications. This seems to be a constant source of worries, especially for families with young children. During my stay in Bagamoyo a 12 year old boy who many of my friends knew, died of malaria. He was known in town for his unusual talent in art. He was a street boy and he had no means of seeing a doctor when he fell ill. I do not know if he even thought he was that seriously ill before the infection made it impossible for him to act on his symptoms. Many people went to his funeral, and he was much talked about. During my return visit in February, 2009, the son of one of my close friends died of malaria. He was only a few months old.
Most of my friends in Bagamoyo were unable to pay for malaria treatment. One day I accompanied a good friend of mine to the private hospital because he had symptoms of malaria. The doctor prescribed a type of medication which he said was the best one on the market. It was very expensive. After about three weeks Emmanuel was still not feeling better, and one afternoon I got a phone-call from another doctor saying Emmanuel was admitted at the hospital and I had to come and see him immediately. I rushed over to the hospital and the doctor showed me to the room where Emmanuel was lying with an intravenous drip. He had problems talking and looked seriously ill. As a patient at a hospital in Tanzania you need to get food and all other necessities from friends or relatives. Nothing is provided by the hospital. You also have to pay for all medical equipment and medications. Emmanuel had already been given money for medications from another friend, but he needed help to get food. For the next couple of days I went to see him several times and brought food and drink with me. It turned out that the medication the doctor prescribed for malaria was only preventive, and not treatment for when the disease had already developed in the patient. During his struggle with malaria, Emmanuel had also contracted typhoid, and according to the doctor he was close to dying. This example shows how difficult it is for people living in poverty to get proper help in cases of disease, and it also shows how one disease can make people susceptible to other diseases.

The three diseases I have pointed out here are the diseases which affect children in the most radical ways in Tanzania. HIV/AIDS plays a particular role due to the fact that it affects people at an age where normal levels of sickness and death are low (Barnett & Whiteside, 2002). The impact of deaths is first felt on the household level. The first person to die is often the main breadwinner or the primary care giver; a father or a mother. The consequences on this level are severe and affect all other members of the household, especially children and elderly people. Children are also affected by AIDS on levels outside the household. Death of community members, like teachers and neighbours has consequences for the lives of many children. On an even higher level there will be a great effect on the children of the nation when a large proportion of the countries productive force disappears, and thus reducing the productivity and the income level of the country as a whole (Barnett & Whiteside, 2002).
**Narratives of Adversity**

Luca decided to leave the household and find a way of surviving on his own. After many months going from town to town he ended up in Dar-es-Salaam. His main jobs were washing cars, carrying luggage and sweeping roads. These activities are very common for street boys. Every time I visit Dar-es-Salaam I see boys of different ages doing these tasks. At traffic lights groups of boys wait for the lights to turn red, then they run up to the growing line of cars and quickly start washing one car after another with soap-water and sponges. I have seen people giving them some coins for the job, but I have also seen people shouting at them and chasing them away. Another activity that is very common among street boys is to collect bottles which are sold for recycling or to shopkeepers to be used as containers for some of their goods, like milk and medicine. Begging for money or food is another common strategy for survival.

Life was hard on the streets, Luca recalls. The feeling of not being safe seems to be the issue that he stresses the most. He stayed in gangs of street children, and this provided safety and could also be beneficial in the process of getting food and necessities. They had a watch-system at night where one of them would stay awake one period keeping a look out for ‘enemies’, then another would take over after a while, and they would release one another during the course of the night. The ‘enemy’ was mainly the police and violent gangs. One day Luca was offered money for one of his kidneys, but he declined the offer quickly. Luca tells of episodes where he has feared for his life. A violent gang with machine guns once attacked him and some friends, and they had to run for their lives. The police were just as much a threat to the children on the streets. Luca tells of one time when he was caught by the police and accused of stealing. He was badly beaten and humiliated as they made him “jump like a frog” several hundred metres. He was sleeping outside of houses or under bridges where the temperature was more constant because of the dirty water running underneath them. These were also safe shelters because he was hidden away under them. He sometimes had to stay together with people he was afraid of, because it was still safer than being on his own. There were often incidences where people hurt each other with knives and razorblades. During the time on the streets he started to abuse alcohol and smoked various
substances. He did this to “avoid feelings that were dangerous” to him. He became strong and he fought other boys when threatened in any way.

Many children affected by poverty and disease are forced into various strategies to ensure their own survival. This is the case for children in affected households, or children providing for themselves on the streets. Basic needs like food and shelter are difficult to fulfil. Several of the children I talked to only had resources for one meal a day, consisting of ugali, a dish made from maize or cassava flour. They rarely had access to sources of protein, like fish or meat. A boy living in a household run by young men told me that he only eats one meal a day. Due to hunger he finds it difficult to stay focused and concentrate on what he is supposed to be learning at school. Others told of similar situations.

Another issue which causes a lot of worries for these children is the lack of material for school when one or both of their parents die and the income of the household is severely reduced. For many informants this is the main reason for the need to work. Primary education is free and compulsory. But the need to buy school uniforms, shoes, books and bags is a great strain on the children and their caretakers. I had a conversation with three street boys, currently living together in a house not far from where I was staying. Two of them had lost both their parents, while one of them had lost his mother. Other relatives had “too many problems of their own”, one of the boys stated during our conversation, and could not take on another child. The boys make necklaces, bracelets and ornaments, and a couple of friends with a small art stall help them to sell these trinkets. This gives them an income. The boys have been given some goats as a donation from an American lady, and they hope to breed the goats for sale. All three boys are in primary school, but they are struggling to continue. The lack of food is one problem. Another is the money they need to spend on school materials. When I visited them they had been home from school for a few days because they had not been able to purchase proper shoes. When they arrived at school in sandals they were sent home and told not to come back until they had proper, black shoes.
Poverty and disease are intimately linked. Africa is the only region in the world where poverty is expected to increase during the coming decades (Poku, 2005:26). Of a total population of 181,051,140 in East-Africa, 79% live on less than US$ 2 per day.

“Poverty signifies brutal suffering and premature death for those in its grasp. Poverty is the main reason why babies are not vaccinated, clean water and sanitation are not provided, and curative drugs and other treatments remain unavailable. Around the world, poverty is the chief cause of reduced life expectancy, of handicap and disability, and of starvation. Furthermore, it is a major contributor to mental illness, stress, suicide, family disintegration, and substance abuse”

(Gershman and Irwin, 2000:14).

Poverty is not only the cause of pandemics like HIV/AIDS, but poverty also reduces the ability of individuals and communities to protect themselves and to avoid the consequences of the disease. Two-thirds of the global population living with HIV is found in sub-Saharan Africa (Poku, 2005:60). Poku states that “the cumulative affected population in Africa, taking into accounts spouses, children and elderly dependants, must be of the order of 235 million (28 million currently living with HIV plus 19 million who have died, multiplied by a factor of five to represent those directly affected)” (Poku, 2005:60).

A coping mechanism which has become one of the most common in Bagamoyo in the era of AIDS is that elderly people take over the responsibilities for the household, and for their orphaned grandchildren. To say that these households are ‘coping’ is problematic. The elderly caretaker and the dependants in most cases manage to survive from day to day, but under extreme worries and struggle. In the village of Kerege I visited a household run by an elderly couple. Babu (grandfather) and Bibi (grandmother) had lost their children to AIDS and they are now taking care of 14 grandchildren. The grandparents are farmers. Life is hard and they have no support from the wider community. At the moment they are happy that they manage to provide two or three meals a day for the children.
When addressing households and communities one should be cautious when using a term like ‘coping mechanisms’.

“Inventiveness in the face of adversity is now widely recognized and cited by many agencies. However, in too many instances, the rhetoric about coping mechanisms has become an excuse for doing little or nothing to reduce the pressure on communities”

(Collins and Rau quoted in Barnett & Whiteside, 2002:195).

Poor communities do not necessarily have resources to engage in increased cohesiveness and mutual aid (Barnett and Whiteside, 2002). There is seldom access to institutions and organizations which would otherwise take on the responsibility of securing proper help for the population. When there is a serious lack of resources the communities should not be expected to take on this responsibility in the absence of outside support. Because communities are so diverse there cannot be a common policy which is supposed to encompass all of them. There has to be a consideration of realities and of specific communities with their specific social and material reality. This issue is at the heart of the thesis. The masking of the socio-economic causes of disease and suffering by either focusing on coping mechanisms detached from the circumstances they are performed in, or by completely ignoring the global connections of inequality which drives poverty, is highly damaging.

**Narratives of Hope**

Luca sometimes stayed in shelters, but never for long, even if it provided him with food, safety and his first encounters with education. He does not explain the reason for this. He takes to the streets again, getting tougher all the time. It is a coincidence that he meets the man who will take him to another shelter, this time in Bagamoyo. Luca describes this centre and the people working there in a positive manner. He felt safe and people were nice and friendly. They were provided with everything they needed, education was especially important to him. Unfortunately the centre had to close down after some time because of reasons he does not know. I hear from another source that the European running the centre was later extradited to an Asian country where he was
charged with child molestation. After this, Luca managed to get assistance from foreigners he met, and one woman from Scandinavia has been paying for his education the past few years. At the moment he studies and works for a charity organization where he is trusted with many responsibilities and tasks.

So many of the children I interviewed had clear views on what they wanted to do in the future, and what it would take for them to ‘have a good life’. Most of them wanted to become teachers, and many girls wanted to become nurses. The stress on wanting to help others in difficult circumstances was made by almost all the children. The way to achieve this was to study hard. Many expressed the desire to stay within a large household and help the people who were currently helping them. Luca emphasized the need for education over and over again. “Education is the key to life” was a favoured expression. To rescue other children from the suffering he had gone through was a main theme in his thoughts about the future.

There have been some projects initiated in Tanzania where a combination of economic and educational initiatives for street children has proved successful (Lockhart, 2008). In these programs the children are given the opportunity to use the knowledge they have acquired from a life on the streets, giving them a sense of achievement while fighting the stereotype of the vulnerable and incapable street child. The agency of the children needs to be taken into account in development policies. Not as an excuse to do nothing, and without the focus continuing to be on targeting consequences of their presence. This only hides the root causes embedded in global structures of power.
Narratives of Agency

“One time the police did come and try to chase us, and I ran. I found an abandoned Landcruiser, and climbed inside where the engine used to be. They tried so hard to find me, but failed. Till this day I thank the Lord that I won. I worked like a soldier while I was hiding. Your techniques in life are the ones that can save you and I”

-Luca

Living on the streets, Luca learned many strategies necessary to stay alive. Most of the time, he stayed together with other street children. They felt safety in numbers; the more eyes and ears available, the better the chances of access to food and shelter, and the increased likelihood of keeping safe from danger. Peer-groups are important for children, and for street children the peer group is fundamental. These relations are almost completely ignored in studies of children (Schwartzman, 2001). They involve hierarchies and power, as well as respect and support (Lockhart, 2008). Conflicts in gangs, or between gangs, are common. Still, the benefits, physically and emotionally, of the peer-group is unprecedented for children like Luca. According to Panter-Brick (2001:87), following her study on street children in Nepal, children living on the streets, compared to children living in village homes, had “higher, albeit unpredictable, financial resources and compensated for the irregularity of income by developing networks of solidarity and care within their group”. The three street boys I spoke to in Bagamoyo had formed very close bonds between themselves. They did everything together, from cooking food to taking care of the goats, making art, and going to school. They relied on each other and took care of each other when difficulties appeared. When observing other street children I realized that the bonds some of them had formed were strong and lasting. These bonds should be acknowledged in policies concerning children. To break them, when a child is admitted into a shelter or some other project, will most likely affect the child. The other street children gave Luca a sense of belonging; he was respected and protected, and the desire to stay with them might have been the reason why he always left the shelters.
Safety was a constant issue for Luca during his life on the streets. He had to know the places in town where he could hide. He had to know which hotels and restaurants he could expect to find food outside of and the ones where he could expect a beating if he was found hanging around. He had to be aware of the places where other gangs had their territories, and who was a member of these gangs. To know the physical and social spaces of the city is a necessity for survival. For the street children in Bagamoyo the beach played a particular role. They used the beach in different ways, both during daytime, and at night. It was a place of safety at night because no one else frequented the area at that time. In the day the tourists were approachable here, and the boys could get customers for the art they were selling. Thus, the use of space is a central aspect of life on the streets. Knowing where and with whom one is safe, and whom to cooperate with, is vital.

The street boys certainly have ‘agency’ within their realities. It might not be agency with ability to fight the structural constraints they are in, or agency to create a life without risk or with whatever is defined as a ‘good life’ in Western understanding, or in the notion of wealthier Tanzanians. But the boys, and the other children, categorized as ‘vulnerable’, do have agency in the sense that they act in ways which for them are the most successful for survival. They know much about their worlds, places, people, and they show a creativity and a cleverness which can only be admired. This is how they live their lives. Still, the structures around them limit their choices and keep them in adversity, and their way of life puts them at great risk of violence and disease. The children have agency within their worlds, but their worlds are constrained and thus their strategies of action are limited. Their actions take place “within relations of social inequality, asymmetry and force” (Ortner, 2006:139).

Farmer (2004) argues that there is very little room for individual agency within the structures. To romanticise about the strategies of the poor and suffering have consequences for international and national health policies designed to wrongly focus on behaviour and thus ‘blame the victim’. I want to argue that despite the structures and their terrible consequences, people’s agency and capabilities need to be taken into account, but not as excuses for not helping, or understood wrongly as behaviour-related
causes of disease. In the case of the children I encountered, their agency needs to be seen and heard because they are people. In order to give them the proper assistance, their opinions and actions have to be respected and included.

Agency is a contested concept in anthropology. There have been worries among scholars over the past two decades that the focus on agency has led to a loss of understanding of complexity and collective forces in which the agent constantly finds herself faced with (Ortner, 2006). The focus on agency can thus oversimplify historic processes, and too much emphasis on intentionality can lead to the ignoring of large-scale social and cultural forces. These forces are decisive for outcomes. There is, however, a body of theoretical work developed:

“...precisely to theorize the "desires and motives" and practices of real people in the social process (1) without giving precedence to individuals over contexts; (2) without importing Western assumptions such as the idea that human beings can triumph over their context through sheer force of will, or that economy, culture, and society are the aggregate product of individual action and intention; (3) without slighting the pulse of collective forces; and (4) always recognizing the ever-present likelihood of unintended consequences”

(Ortner, 2006:133).

Ortner uses agency in relation to intentionality as a capacity. In this sense agency is conscious, involving desires, aversions and purpose. It is more than routine practices, it is actively motivated (Ortner, 2006:135-136). Creativity is an important component in this understanding of agency and is especially relevant for the lives of street children. While agency is a universal trait of human beings, the way it is constructed is historically and culturally specific.

Ortner (2006) use the brothers Grimm's fairy tales to show how agency is culturally constructed. In this example it is the creation of agency in gender. Through the fairy tales a certain type of appropriately gendered persons were created, by distributing particular forms of agency to the various characters. Ortner claims that the 'project' of
the stories is the project of ‘coming of age’, and doing the right thing to become an adult woman or man. But because of the inequalities embedded in the gender relations both parties cannot have agency. This is why there is a language of activity and passivity in the stories: “The prince can not be a hero if the princess can rescue herself” (Ortner, 2006:142). Transferring this text examination to the discourse concerning stories told about street children in aid campaigns, it seems obvious that there are correlations. A specific kind of childhood is attributed to these children and their agency is portrayed in a specific way. The over-arching idea is that these children need ‘us’ (that is; Western morality and help) to become proper persons in their adulthood. At the same time it should be pointed out that ‘we’ also need ‘them’, as vulnerable children, to maintain a certain self-image of altruism involved in the development project.

However, an analysis of agency and power needs to move beyond the psychology of ‘the players’ Ortner (2006). Ortner broadens the approach to the relationship between agency and power by placing it in her serious games theory. Serious games involve “the intense play of multiply positioned subjects pursuing cultural goals within a matrix of local inequalities and power differentials” (Ortner, 2006:144). Ortner introduces the concept of agency as projects. It can involve resistance and domination, but first of all it is about people having desires, aims and aspirations shaped by the structures of their lives.

Resistance in this sense is the protection of projects, and the protection of the right to have projects. I want to transfer this to the projects of several street boys and young men who frequent the beach in Bagamoyo. They have created a type of street culture. According to Sandberg and Pedersen (2006) street culture can be seen as a culture of resistance. This resistance against exclusion is present in the experience of my informants. By creating their own street culture they provide themselves with a basis for dignity and respect. Sandberg uses Bourdieu’s concept of cultural capital, but instead of consisting of a type of knowledge necessary to succeed in mainstream society, street capital is the type of knowledge you need to manage on the streets. These types of capital are opposites in many ways. This kind of focus can contribute to a broader analysis of the street children’s own experiences and their roles as agents and their
abilities to shape their own lives. Music is an important feature of the street culture. The Hip-Hop music style is being transformed into a Swahili Bongo Flavour rap style. The boys express their problems and experiences through music (Suriano, 2006). Music provides agency with which they can criticise the government and the political and economic processes which they see as harmful to ‘common people’. Other young men identify themselves as Rastafarians. They express themselves through symbols like hair-does and the music they make, perform and listen to.

In this chapter I have drawn a picture of children’s realities as I encountered them in Bagamoyo and Dar-es-Salaam. Building the chapter around narratives I have aimed to underline the children’s agency. But at the same time I have shown how my own narratives have been altered through the narratives of the children. This has given me a new insight into their realities, and brought forward a new focus on agency and life-strength. I have added relevant information and theory to emphasize the vital issues affecting the lives of the children. In the next chapter I will examine how these findings correlate with the notions of childhood embedded in the current policies concerning children. These policies are constructed in Western society, and they are based on the values and ideas of this specific society. However, they are currently being implemented on a global scale, mainly through Western bodies like the UNCRC and development projects.
Chapter 3: Conceptualizing Childhood

“Much more can be done if governments fulfil their commitments to children, and each one of us – parents, guardians and educators – hold them accountable to the Convention on the Rights of the Child and the vision of what a safe, healthy childhood should look like”


Children are portrayed as the main victims in the discourse of aid policies dealing with HIV/AIDS. The specific way this discourse is being used shapes the knowledge people have on the subject and the views they adopt. This is the case both within NGOs and multilateral organisations like UNICEF, and the opinion present in the general public. The policies have their origin in specific understandings of childhood. It is thus important to understand where these notions come from, the context in which the ideas have been crafted, and how they are assumed to have universal value. Having presented the realities of some of the children I met in Bagamoyo, I will now examine these issues. Further, I will elaborate on how the moral values embedded in these understandings are being globally distributed, mainly through the UNCRC. The aim is to see how well these notions of childhood fit the reality of the children in Bagamoyo. This will be the foundation for Chapter 4 which will examine the shaping of discourses and practices as a feature of power. The power relations in question lie within global historical and economic patterns, advocated today by international actors. Specific regimes of ‘truth’ are being promoted in the development industry and it is vital to understand these in order to question the implications of knowledge power. My claim is that this system of power feeds structural violence. One type of knowledge is valued as universal, dismissing all other knowledge systems, thus contributing to the hiding of lived realities and links between wealth and poverty.
Narratives from the Outside

After having included both my own narratives of suffering, and the children’s narratives on hardship with the new dimension of agency, I choose to continue here with narratives from the outside. These are narratives shaped by the notions of childhood embedded in international agencies and organizations, which in turn are reducing the children’s agency, and contribute to a strengthening of the limiting structures surrounding the children.

Returning to Briggs and Briggs’ (2003) use of narratives, a factor of relevance is how the media and international institutions use narratives. In the lives of the children many ‘outsiders’ claim to have a saying about them. The narratives told in commercials for organizations like UNICEF seen on Norwegian television, are often about a boy or a girl from Africa. The child has lost both parents and is either taking care of, or being taken care of by siblings. The child seems very sad and lonely, lacking any kind of support from anyone except the siblings. She or he appears to be able to survive by searching for food in places, but the actual survival techniques are kept away from the story. These children seem to be lethargic and hardly capable of acting in any intentional way apart from finding food from day to day. They seem isolated and the local community does not seem to be a part of the children’s realities. They are portrayed as victims without any form of agency. The wider causes of their struggles, beyond the death of their parents, are not addressed19.

The picture the media presents us with is thus childhoods of horror. Children of the poor are either passive victims, vulnerable and without agency, or they are dangerous youths living on the streets of large cities, the ones we are warned about when we go on vacation. The types of childhood portrayed in commercials or in newspaper stories are

19 There are other narratives told in the West which revolves around African sexuality as a reason behind the AIDS pandemic. A favoured story told with disgust and horror, is the use of virgins to cure AIDS. Stories of African sexuality often overshadows real issues like untreated Sexually Transmitted Diseases (STDs) because of the lack of health-infrastructure, prostitution as a means of survival for people living in extreme poverty, disrupted family ties because of migration as a result of economic restructuring implemented by foreign financial bodies.
obviously ‘wrong’, without the characteristics of a ‘proper’ childhood. On what grounds, then, are these childhoods understood and judged as abnormal? It is crucial to examine this issue in order to question the implementation of policies aimed at assisting these children.

Childhood is a socially constructed domain (Stephens, 1995). There are great variations between societies when it comes to the way childhood is understood. Issues arise when the ideologies and policies of Western-based bodies, like UNICEF, are claimed to be the key to how childhood should be perceived and dealt with. As I will show, this standard does not correlate with the lives children are living as a result of poverty and disease. My argument is that the Children’s Rights discourse does not consider lived realities, and the causes behind poverty and suffering. Until it does, there will be little improvement in children’s conditions. Many children in Bagamoyo work because they are forced to by poverty. There is little help in a distant Rights discourse stating that every child should be protected from dangerous work. There is a risk of an “over-privileging protective advocacy” (Amit, 2003:240) where children are reduced to issues. This can lead to a loss of complexity about lived lives and realities. The way various international NGOs and other organizations working for children’s interests are putting their case forward has a tendency to do exactly that. As long as poverty on a devastating level is maintained, the Rights discourse remains a utopia.

The anthropology of childhood has lacked an actual consideration of the experiences of children themselves (Chin, 2001, Stephens, 1995). It is important for me to include the children’s own voices in this thesis, and not only treat them as objects or ideas in an adult discourse. That is exactly why the Rights discourse and the experience of the children are being compared. The lives of the children, what they want and need should be what matters. A discourse that turns children into passive and vulnerable persons in need of constant protection does not appreciate the fact that children are social actors. They have agency and the ability to act within their worlds. The development approach to childhood, which is provided by psychology, perceives childhood as a stage in a linear path towards adulthood (James and Prout, 1997). The child is in a process of natural growth, and the aim is adult rationality. But children should be studied as “social beings in their own right, their ongoing social lives, rather than their past or their future”
It is ironic that even though the UNCRC states the children’s right to participate in all issues affecting them, there was no consultation with children during the drafting process of the Convention (Boyden, 1997).

**The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child**

The UNCRC was ratified by most of the world’s governments in 1990 (Scheper-Hughes & Sargent, 1998:7). The UNCRC is an international treaty containing a universal approach to individual rights, and it has strong influence on policies concerning children all around the world. Together with schooling it is “one of the most powerful globalizing influences” (Woodhead, 1997:80). It was formulated by Western agents and is clearly based on the values of this specific society (Howell, 2006). It is based on “economic practices dependent on a neoliberal conception of independent and rights-bearing “individuals”” (Scheper-Hughes & Sargent, 1998:7). These ideas are often not found in some of the more collectivistic societies where the Convention is being implemented, like Tanzania. Thus, the implementation of the UNCRC as universally valid rights is highly problematic.

International acts of ‘saving children’ are performed on a grand scale, and can be claimed to be a contemporary form of “taking up the white man’s burden”\(^{20}\) (Scheper-Hughes & Sargent, 1998:8). It has created yet another arena for the transferral of Western values, technologies and professionalism to the rest of the world. The implementations are in many cases secured by force. The discourses of scientists and NGO workers are strengthened by Western governments’ and international financial institutions’ power to execute “economic sanctions calculated to hurt local economies” (Scheper-Hughes & Sargent, 1998:8). The example Scheper-Hughes & Sargent use to illustrate this point is how the USA refuses to buy carpets from India unless a smiling face indicates that there has been no child labour involved in the production. What is not addressed is the conflict between local practices of child labour and the demand of the

\(^{20}\) This famous line is taken from Rudyard Kipling’s poem *The White Man’s Burden*, concerning the colonial project of saving the ‘ primitives’ from themselves.
global market for cheap priced goods. One also needs to question the legitimacy of imposing policies, built on moral values assumed to be universally ‘right’, on to sovereign states. The USA has “appointed itself to police others without understanding the many complex cultural and economic issues involved” (Boyden, 1997:220). The conditionalities often attached to aid are of interest here. In Bagamoyo the government officials were made clearly aware by UNICEF of the consequences if reports were not satisfactory; this meant an immediate stop in their funding. According to Boyden (1997) this massive focus on whether countries are complying with the UNCRC and meeting their obligations takes the focus away from examining whether there is an improvement in the children’s situations. According to Woodhead (1997:80): “The best interest of the child’ has become one of the most unhelpful and abused phrases resorted to in order to justify all kinds of decision-making”. The concept makes little sense when ‘interest’ is a matter of cultural interpretation, rather than a quality of a child.

During the drafting of the Convention there were consultations with welfare practitioners from other parts of the world, including Africa (Boyden, 1997). Many expressed their worry about the bias of the drafting process, since the drafting group mainly consisted of Westerners. They also felt discomfort with the lack of consideration for cultural diversity and economic realities found in the Convention. An example was the emphasis on ‘parents’, which indicated that the biological, nuclear family is more natural than extended family. This was the background for the formulation of the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child. The focus on the Rights of the Child in the Western way of viewing child-adult relationships is in the African Charter more a matter of children having responsibilities and duties in their relationships with adults (Woodhead, 1997). The African Charter attempts to resist “global enforcements of ideas and values concerning family, kinship and personhood” (Howell, 2006:177). As Boyden (1997:224) puts it, there are possibilities for a type of Children’s Rights policy, without one model of childhood being the norm. It has to include the children themselves, various cultural contexts, and economic circumstances.
I claim that the Rights discourse and the attempts of shaping global childhoods lead to a continuous distancing from the causes behind the poverty so many children in the world are living in today. The underlying causes of poverty and disease are not being addressed by the development agents, and this is a problem when resources are only spent on reducing the symptoms of suffering. There is no recognition of the link between wealth and poverty in the world, and thus the causes of disease and poverty remain unquestioned. The situation of these children cannot be changed by forcing a moral system onto people and nations, which have got little to do with the realities of the people living in these places. If one keeps ignoring these links, the Rights discourse and policies have severely limited relevance. An employee at UNICEF in Dar-es-Salaam, a child justice specialist, responded in this way to questions about ‘results’ during an interview I did in May, 2008:

“All plans for protecting and securing the rights of children are missing ‘the magic formula’, even UNICEF’s plans. There have not yet been notable changes. I work every day, all day, to improve the lives of children, then I leave my office and I see the whole city filled with street children.”

**Childhood as Space**

“To whom, with whom and where do children belong? What are or should they be doing, where, when, with whom? What should they not be doing? Where and with whom should they not be?” (Amit, 2003:236).

Questions about the place of children in society have been raised in anthropology since the birth of the discipline (Amit, 2003). These issues have also been addressed to a large extent in many other academic disciplines, and not least by public institutions and in professional and public discourses. In society there is an interest in creating places for children which will secure the children’s development towards becoming adults who will benefit society. In order to implement a moral project like this, there has to be a type of guardianship with authority and protection capacity present. Currently the state
is central in shaping childhood for the purpose of producing citizenship (McGillivray, 1997). Childhood has thus become the most controlled stage of life, regulated by laws.

Western understanding of children and childhood are strongly concerned with the issue of space. My informants often fall outside the categories, which are defined in international discourse, of what it is to be a child or how childhood should be experienced. They are often on the move, outside a family and on the margins of society. But where is childhood to be lived in order to be categorised as a ‘proper’ childhood? What locations, both spatially and socially, are appropriate for a child in order to be recognised as a child? My aim is to show that there are lack of correlations between the current hegemonic Western ideas of the child and childhood and the lived lives of individuals in a Tanzanian context.

Children’s place in society is socially and culturally constructed (Olwig & Gulløv, 2003). In the book Children’s Places Olwig and Gulløv (2003) aim to analyze the concept of children’s place as both a social position and a physical location (Olwig & Gulløv, 2003:1). By looking at childhood cross-culturally they challenge the Western-based notions of childhood.

“The primary meaning of ‘place’ is one’s position in society rather than the more abstract understanding of location in space. Spatial location derives from position in society rather than vice versa…. Place, however, is more than the spatial index of socio-economic status. It is a unique ensemble of traits that merits study in its own right”

(Tuan quoted in Olwig & Gulløv, 2003:1).

The authors claim that childhood to a high degree is something adults associate with a place that is peaceful, stable, and rooted. The fact that these adults need to create their childhood identities around a place of safety does not fit with the realities of the lived lives of many children today. “Places for children, in other words, are defined by adult moral values about a cherished past and a desirable future, clothed in commonsense notions about children’s best interests” (Olwig & Gulløv, 2003:3). Lately there has been a
growing awareness of the problems involved in seeing children’s lives through an adult perspective. Children’s own experiences and agency have not been included in the analyses. An example is the tendency to speak of street children as ‘others’ (Glauser, 1997). Their lives, problems and situations seem removed from the world of the author or researcher. Their worlds are not shared, only observed. Analyses have ignored other ways of understanding the realities of these children, like suggestions that urban arenas can offer possibilities for children to “develop their social and economic agency independently of adults” (Olwig & Gulløv, 2003:3).

Place is connected with power: “The meaning of place both reflects and signifies social divisions and variations in influence and power” (Olwig & Gulløv, 2003:8). Intimately linked with power is the moral aspect of place. Where people dwell classify to a certain extent their position in society’s social and moral order. Children living on the streets are thus connected with little power and low moral because of their dwelling in ‘inappropriate places’. Luca was chased away from hotels and harassed by the police; seen as a threat and a thief. They are commonly judged as immoral and lacking social values. I found evidence of the contrary21. Luca told of socially organized groups where he had his place in a hierarchy, and with whom he felt safe and supported. The gangs had their own places regarded as their territories. Creativity, solidarity and intelligence were necessary traits. Another issue of power is the visibility of street children. They are seen as an obvious threat to a stable and well-functioning society (Glauser, 1997). Other children may suffer more, but they are not as visible, hence, they do not need to be dealt with.

The easiest available arena to examine children and place is in the institutions designed for the control, shaping and surveillance of children, like schools. However, according to Olwig and Gulløv (2003) these places for children are not the same as children’s places. Children’s places are places children themselves construct, and attribute meaning to. Places are different for different social actors, depending on social positions. They have

21 This point is also emphasized by Boyden (1997).
to be negotiated by the various actors. In my opinion this is a crucial point when it comes to the relationship between my informants, the local community headed by adults, the politician on the national level, and the international aid agencies. All these actors have their own understandings of place. Thus, the street is perceived different by a street child than by an NGO worker from the USA. NGO workers express confusion when street children leave facilities in the city where they are provided with shelter, food and education. Luca left several of these NGO-run facilities. There seems to be little recognition of the children’s feeling of belonging on the streets and among their peers who live there.

**Spaces of Knowledge**

Western notions of childhood exported to the rest of the world are based on a specific type of knowledge. These notions have been the main ingredient in the development of international human rights legislation, and social policy at the national level (Boyden, 1997). The main agents of the creation of a universal system of children’s rights are various kinds of specialists. Children’s Rights are influenced both by the ideologies of social work, and the legal professions. Boyden argues that these ideologies mainly focus on individual causation and pathology, ignoring wider socio-economic conditions when addressing social problems. Social work has from the onset been influenced by medical psychology, tending to focus on moralistic interpretations (Boyden, 1997). Problems were seen as results of individual behaviour and judged by moral standards. The influence these ideas have is still present, and contributes to structural violence by ‘blaming the victim’.

Psychology-based discourses and practices shaped and distributed by psycho-technocrats22 legitimize the practice of a global distribution of a specific type of

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22 ‘Psycho-technocrats’ refers to the new professions which emerged with the development of psychology-based knowledge in Europe and North America (Howell, 2006). Examples are social workers and child therapists.
childhood (Howell, 2006). This type of childhood is influenced by psychological theories developed in the Western academic environment during the 20th century. The focus on the autonomous individual fused with an increased institutionalisation of society gave way to the current human rights discourse. Socialisation theory at the time was influenced by psychology, and both fields had a severe impact on sociology (James & Prout, 1997). A main issue was that socialisation would transform the child into a social adult. The correct form of socialisation ensured social order. This also created anxiety about the instances where socialisation failed. Thus, the institutions of the family and the educational system were strengthened to help prevent failed socialisation.

Sociology and psychology, as well as other sciences influence the societies they study through their knowledge and discourse (James & Prout, 1997). Scientific knowledge is valued as superior. The knowledge produced is reabsorbed back into the societies of study and can thus be said to be constitutive. So, “there can be no concepts of childhood which are socially and politically innocent” (James & Prout, 1997:21). James & Prout use the work of De Saussure and his concept of discourse when explaining these connections:

“...discourse as sets of concepts and the language through which they are thought as inseparable from and fused with social practices and institutions. Ideas, concepts, knowledge, modes of speaking, etc. codify social practices and in turn constitute them. Within these discourses subject positions (such as 'the child') are created”


Childhood, family and socialization are so intimately linked in Western notions of childhood, that “to try to imagine them as separate components is virtually impossible” (James & Prout, 1997:23). This must obviously have implications for the practices, laws

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23 The use of expert knowledge is a great source of power, and the subject will be examined in more depth in Chapter 4. For now, I will only include the type of knowledge found in the discourse and practices concerning children in relation to the Rights perspective and Western Childhood.
and regulations shaped from this knowledge and understandings which are now being globally distributed.

Social planning has been an important focus in securing child welfare (Boyden, 1997:199). The United Nations (UN) has been the main promoter of social welfare services, compulsory education, child labour legislation and health services around the world. Moral values of the West are seen as crucial in the quest for a global liberal democratic system of rule. Schools are perceived as the key to economic growth for several reasons; the children need to learn of hygiene, they need technical skills and political skills, and ‘problematic’ youth need to be kept under control. The UN has in many ways carried on the legacy from colonial times of a narrow social welfare understanding, where the securing of public order was the main aim (Boyden, 1997). Urban poor have been seen as the biggest threat to social disequilibrium. The social policy shaped around the one universal standard for children often has the effect of penalising the childhoods of the poor, without regard for the poverty which most commonly makes it impossible for poor families to live up to the standard which also clashes with local values of childhood. The IMF and the World Bank have in poor countries implemented several Primary Education Programs which have failed (Meinert, 2003). The justification for the programs is the emphasis on education as the means to well-being. But, as I noticed in Tanzania, most children fail to reach secondary level education. There are various reasons for this, and poverty is the main one. Meinert (2003:186) argues that “the moral trap of the projects lies in the structure of the system of formal education: children are structurally squeezed out of school but perceive themselves as ‘failures who did not have the brains’”.

There are other kinds of knowledge present in this discussion; there are local understandings of childhood, and there are children’s knowledge of their lives and their surroundings. An example of the latter is, as shown in the previous chapter, the way Luca knows the street and what goes on there, and how it makes him able to survive.

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24 The role of governmentality and neoliberalism in these developments is the focus of Chapter 4.
This extremely valuable knowledge is not appreciated by the scientific-based theories which the current international policies are built around. This shows how the power of one type of knowledge can ignore others.
**Spaces of Belonging**

“Before, it used to be the extended family that supported the orphans. This is changing now because people are struggling. The children must go to the streets. They must find ways to survive”

-Village Council Member

During every visit I made to Dar-es-Salaam I saw street boys. They were visible in the city, with their ragged clothes and worn-out sandals. Most of the time they were busy with some type of job; selling goods like nuts, cigarettes and water, washing cars at traffic-lights, pulling carts loaded with water tanks or other kinds of commodities. Three street boys I know tell me they have left their families in rural villages in the district after the death of their parents:

“When my parents died my family did not want to take care of me, they had too many problems themselves” says Ibrahim while we sit and talk in the shade of the concrete house. “I lived with my grandmother”, Douglas continues, “but she was too sick and too poor to take on the responsibility”. The three boys are very shy, and they barely look at me during the conversation. Talking about their families makes them sad, and I move on to the next question.

Field notes, March 2008

In Luca’s case it was the continuous neglect and abuse by his father after his mother’s death that made him leave his home and family. For the children it is rarely a choice to run away, they are forced to leave their homes because of neglect and abuse (Sheper-Hughes & Hoffman, 1998). Several times I heard various groups of informants stating this as a cause of leaving family and village. I am aware of the problems attached to a term like ‘neglect’. To use the term is to impose one moral understanding on complex and often desperate situations of people in other parts of the world overlooking the causes for the parents’ difficulties in caring for their child (Brettell, 1998). I am using the term in my thesis because my informants used it, and I am aiming to question the
Western moral embedded in terms like it, and to address the exigencies which often cause the neglect.

Luca tells about his journey after leaving home:

_The trip to Dar-es-Salaam from my village was long. I walked for many days. Me and a friend also travelled on the train. We had no train ticket. When the train started to move we grabbed on to the doors and managed to lift ourselves up as the train accelerated faster and faster. We travelled on the outside of the train the whole way. The train stopped at many stations, and every time it stopped we had to jump down on the platform and pretend to be people at the station. We had to look out for the police and the watchmen with guns. In the evening it started to rain and things became very slippery. My friend lost his grip and was very close to the ground when I managed to reach him and pull him back up._

_When I came to the city I was sleeping outside houses, sometimes outside hotels. It was easier to get hold of food near the hotels. Other times I stayed under small bridges at night, bridges of the kind which had dirty water passing underneath them. The dirty water kept a constant temperature and made it a more comfortable sleeping place. The bridges also gave me safety from dangers of many kinds. I could hide there and nobody would see me._

_-Luca_

Many of the children I met in Tanzania live on the streets, away from their families and their homes. They move around continuously to find work, food and safety. In Western understandings of childhood there appears to be a strong dichotomy between ‘belonging’ and ‘being outside’, and this dichotomy is included in international laws and regulations. According to Ennew a crucial aspect in Western notions of childhood is domesticity (Ennew, 1995:389). Even though there have always been children present in the streets of cities the only place for a ‘proper’ childhood is now inside a family, a home and inside society. Children are increasingly banned from public spheres, and the streets are a prime example of this. The children who live on the streets today are perceived as being outside the proper spaces where children are truly children. This
makes them “society's ultimate outlaws” (Ennew, 1995:389). According to Scheper-Hughes & Hoffman (1998:358), and their studies on street children in Brazil, street children are “simply poor children in the wrong place”. They live on the margins of society, both in socio-economic terms and spatial terms. They cross the border between the neat categories of society regarding 'outside' and 'inside', ‘the street' and 'home'. Thus street children are outside society, and outside childhood.

As pointed out earlier, my findings show that children on the ‘outside’ create and use their spaces in clever and constructive ways. Stephens (1995) argues along these lines, stating that children living on the streets create their own social organization, developing networks of support and sharing, as well as connectedness to particular territories (Stephens, 1995). There are also claims from scholars that the lives of street children have positive aspects which should be examined more closely. These aspects, like their creative ways of resolving issues of survival and the great source of knowledge about their physical and human environment, should be included in politics concerning street children, as well as in international plans and agreements. At present there is a main focus on labelling life on the streets as wrong and as something which deprives the children of a 'proper' childhood with the consequences of turning them into adults who are not socialised into good citizens. The structural causes of their lives on the streets are kept out of the picture, maintaining the global system of inequality. Glauser (1997) points to the issue that street children are an easy target for intervention, which requires no further legitimacy than the children simply being visible. They are a concrete problem which:

“...appeals to people's needs to be protective and encourages an easier type of action on symptoms, rather than on the deeper problems and causes. In this way, 'street children' help to fulfil an urge to help without requiring a deeper involvement in political action or a more profound analysis of social conditions”

(Glauser, 1997:155).


**Separate Spaces**

The separation between children and adults that are so characteristic in Western societies is not universal (Olwig & Gulløv, 2003). This divide between children and adults developed in a specific historic context in 18th and 19th century Europe (Cunningham, 1995). 'The child' was increasingly seen as innocent, vulnerable, and in need of protection. In the process 'the child' was also recognized as an individual subject and this idea has had great consequences for the way children have been perceived and treated onwards. In the UNCRC the term 'the child' is used consistently throughout the document. This reflects the understanding of a child as an individual subject overlooking the relational understandings often found elsewhere (Howell, 2006). Children in Tanzania have a different place in society and are not necessarily recognized in this manner.

In the West the segregation of children from adult spaces, both spatially and socially, is a consequence of a concern for the safety of the children (Nieuwenhuys, 2003). Unless the children are kept in safe, controlled and supervised spaces they are instantly in danger. Accordingly, children living outside these safe spaces are outside childhood. Childhood is in this sense characterized by the children's separation from the adult world. The children's world is 'innocence', while the adult world is 'knowing' (Archard, 1993). Childhood is seen as a state of incompetence. Roles and responsibilities of children are separated from those of adults. Archard (1993) claims that this perception of children is the one which most dramatically and obviously separates children from adults, compared to other understandings in various parts of the world. An example of this is the concepts of work and play. In Western understandings of childhood children play, and work is the “polar opposite” of play (Archard, 1993:29). In many other societies, as is the case for the communities I conducted my field work in, the contradiction between work and play is not obvious. The children I met were all contributing to the household's existence by performing daily duties like looking after siblings, fetching water or firewood, running errands, and cleaning the house and yard. 'Childishness', in the sense of children being vulnerable, is not a natural quality of a child (Archard, 1993). It is rather an ideological construct developed in a specific historical and social context.
Nieuwenhuys (2003) also points to the issue that in other parts of the world the social place of children is often not compartmentalized in this way. The sharing of space between children and adults during the children’s socialisation process is vital for the children’s adaptation to society and to their social position. However, schools and NGO sites around the world indicate that there are few societies which have not been influenced by the Western based spatial divide between children and adults. The children are taught in places away from the adult community. Still, many parents see work, and not education, as more beneficial for the child (Boyden, 1997). Not just because of the household’s lack of resources, but also as socialisation, a way of preparing for the realities of life and to learn a skill. Often, the teaching offered is of poor quality, and trained jobs where education is required, are rare. The emphasis on schooling found in perceptions of children’s welfare today has implications; even though compulsory full time education is seen as securing children’s withdrawal from the labour market, it can often have the opposite effect (Boyden, 1997). The loss of child labour leads to an increased demand for it, and thus many children are forced to stay in the labour market. This connection is often ignored amongst policy-makers. A great source of concern amongst most of the children I met in Bagamoyo, as mentioned earlier, is the constant struggle for school material. Research shows that many children do not benefit from schooling when it comes to social mobility or change, or personal development (Boyden, 1997). It can rather be seen as yet another medium of social control, and even a disadvantage for poor children.

A girl and her family in Magomeni Village made me aware of this issue. I visited the household with social welfare officers in connection with a trip they made to ensure that funding for a group of girls’ schooling was being appropriately spent. The household is very poor, the father earns 1,000 TSh a day working in the *shamba*. The mother is sick, and she had obvious issues with the pressure to send the girl to school. The girl did not express any desire to go to school, and she rather felt the need to help her parents. They made it clear that the most beneficial choice for them was to keep the girl out of school. However, pressure from government officials, and indirectly UNICEF and the UNCRC’s statement of the right to education, left no choice for the parents or the child, in deciding the best option for them. Woodhead (1997) argues, when examining Article 32 in the
UNCRC concerning children's right to be protected from hazardous work and work interfering with their education, that this denial of children's choice of participation in work which their own and their families survival is dependent on, has little to do with 'rights'.

For many children NGO sites and schools are non-places, zones of passage, which they can use to challenge and renegotiate seniority (Nieuwenhuys, 2003). This may result in children dropping out or disappearing in periods. It is important for anthropology to examine the tension present between these places and the local society in order to understand how notions of childhood situate children (Nieuwenhuys, 2003).

"When transported to radically different contexts, segregated spaces filled with childhood icons – which are normally associated with children's place in urban middle-class areas – may distance children from the places that are of social, economic and cultural significance for their role as future members of society"


Thus, the NGO sites can prevent children from building the necessary social relations and identities that will benefit them in the future.

**Spaces of Rescue**

NGO sites, like orphanages, are modelled on Western middle-class places of childhood (Nieuwenhuys, 2003). The use of the word 'home' suggests that:

"...the middle-class urban home and the street children's homes are similar in nature, hiding the fact that the home of street children is a place of rescue where the children are turned into mere victims, bare lives that must be saved"

Based on empirical findings from her work with street children in Addis Ababa, Nieuwenhuys (2003) argues that the NGO sites present to assist these children, largely funded and staffed by foreign agents, have a negative understanding of ‘the street’, as a chaotic and undefined place. The street is viewed as a place where dangerous activities are carried out, and these activities threaten the children’s ‘innocence’. Projects are contrasts to ‘the street’, and they symbolize safe havens filled with markers of ‘proper’ childhoods: nice clothes, fees for school and school material, free meals, and supervised recreation (Nieuwenhuys, 2003:109).

Several of the international NGO projects I visited during my fieldwork in Bagamoyo and Dar-es-Salaam are projects that offer homes to abandoned children. They vary in size and organization, but there is a common perception among the international staff and the organizations’ private donors that the projects are ‘safe havens’. The children have access to the material things which are concurrent with the Western notion of a ‘proper’ childhood. In addition to the material things, there is a great emphasis on recreation, whether it is visits to the beach on weekends, playing football, or watching Disney cartoons on DVD. Even with a policy stressing the importance for the children and their new homes to be a part of the local community the families and the homes are protected with fences and guards. The safety of the home is crucial, and the family needs to be sheltered from ‘the outside’. An example is SOS Children Villages campaigns. The message in their TV advertising campaigns is clearly the idea of ‘safe havens’. The children are ‘rescued’ and have finally arrived in the right setting with siblings and mothers, in a house, secured with material necessities, the chance to play, and to be educated. The image portrayed is of a happy child with no past. According to Nieuwenhuys (2003), the child, by submitting to the schedules of the institutions, purifies herself or himself from the filth which is the world of urban poverty. In this new environment the children are regulated. They have fixed hours and tasks. The ‘before’ and ‘after’ aspects of the child’s life according to when the child was admitted to a project are emphasized in NGOs donation campaigns. ‘Before’ was hopeless, without love and care of a family, without clothes, without safety. After being a part of the project for a period of time the child is happy, playing, going to school, having regular meals and
being in a loving environment. The superior model of Western childhood is the overarching frame, rather than supporting local conceptions of ‘a good child’.

In an interview with a social worker in Dar-es-Salaam I was made aware of a common criticism towards SOS Children’s Villages. The social worker told me that the Village is considered a good place for the children. The problem is that things are not being done in ‘Tanzanian manners’. First of all they fail to reunite the children with their families when possible. In Tanzania ‘family’ is defined much broader than in Europe and North America. Biological relatedness is not valued in the same way, and to consider a child a relative and a responsibility is a matter of various categories. Further, they do not allow families to visit. Thirdly, they go out and find children themselves, without going through government channels. The social worker says that in material terms the children live very good lives, but she stresses that when the child is considered an adult and has to move out of the Village she or he cannot be expected to want to go back to their village of origin. “How can you go from a luxury life in the SOS Village to the rural village of your family, living a normal life in a mud hut?” the social worker asks.

However, the general opinion of the social worker and her colleagues seemed to be an appreciation of the Village as a type of assistance towards a rapidly growing number of children on the streets or in difficult circumstances. The government has very limited resources and the services offered from NGOs are necessary to take care of as many children as possible. In Kinondoni Municipality there are 7 social workers serving approximately 1,000,000 people. There are increasing numbers of social workers graduating every year, but the graduates often start working for NGOs because the pay is a lot better there. There is an estimated population of more than 20,000 orphans in Kinondoni. In addition to the orphans there is another group of children called social orphans. These are children with parents, but the parents are ill, on drugs, prostitutes, or in other ways incapable of caring for their children. The term social orphans I find...

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25 I tried to get permission to visit the SOS Children’s Village in Dar-es-Salaam, but I never got the final approval from the head-office in Austria.
problematic. It gives the impression that the children might as well be without parents or carers, when adverse circumstances often make it impossible for the parents to act in other ways. The social and economic circumstances of many parents can be manifested through neglect and even abuse (Scheper-Hughes, 1992, Bourgois, 1998). This means, again, that one can not only look at individual choice and blame accordingly, but one has to include a look at circumstances created by wider structures of social, political and economic characters.

With a number of orphans and other children living in harsh conditions, and the pressure from international agencies to deal with them according to standards of Western notions of childhood, the work load for people like the social worker in Kinondoni and her colleagues is heavy. The need for assistance in any way possible is critical. She tells me that out of more than 40 orphanages in Dar-es-Salaam only two or three have facilities which are reasonable for the children to grow up in. I wrote this in my fieldwork journal about my first meeting with an orphanage in Dar-es-Salaam:

_We park outside a house on a dirt road which is dusty from drying out three months into the dry-season. It is hot today, the air does not seem to be moving at all. We walk towards a passage between the house we are visiting and another house. Everywhere there are heaps of garbage. I see razor-blades as well as paper, plastic and bones. I hope the children are being careful running around in this. A large metal door opens on our left. The first thing I see is laundry. Lines of laundry hung up to dry. We have to battle our way through the clothes to get to the other side of the yard. The yard is about 40-50 square meters and it is full of children. Some of them just look at us curiously, or a bit worried, others shake our hands and tell us Karibu, Welcome. The Mama of the orphanage, the woman who runs it, is sitting on a straw mat outside the house. I cannot tell her age, but she must be at least 50 years old. The Mama has several female assistants. Some are young girls, and I am confused about which of them are the assistants and which are the orphans. I am told that the assistants are volunteers doing charity work. There are 39 children currently living in the orphanage. It is being financed privately by a business man. Many of the children are playing in the yard. They use stones and shells as toys._
After greeting each other we are asked to enter into the house. On the steps there are piles of worn-out shoes and sandals. The room we enter is quite a narrow corridor. On each side of the corridor there are two doorways with curtains in front, except the first one on the left. We are given stools and chairs to sit on. I see a TV on a shelf on the inner wall of the corridor. This is the only item in the room besides the chairs. I end up sitting in front of the first doorway on the left while the Mama is explaining in Swahili about the orphanage to the NGO workers and a social worker I am with. Inside the room without a curtain there is a crowd of children. They sit on the floor in the dark room. There are about 15 children on the floor which cannot be more than 4 square meters. The children look at me suspiciously, no one tries to cross over the doorway. It takes me a long time to make them smile. While we sit and talk a baby starts to cry in one of the other rooms. Mama steps into the room and comes back out with a tiny baby girl. The social worker holds the baby for a while and she translates to me that it is something wrong with the baby's head. She cannot hold it up. She gives the baby to me and I am terrified of the baby's head position. She seems to be finding comfort in my arms for a little while. Her cloth diaper is soaking wet with urine, and after 10 minutes she starts crying again, and I pass her on to the Mama.

I have noticed a boy in the inner corner of the corridor lying on his belly on the floor. I guess his age is about 6-7 years old. We are told that he had just been to the dentist. When he later turns around I can see that his face is very swollen on the right side. His eye is completely hidden because of the swelling. He is obviously uncomfortable. According to the Mama the swelling is caused by injection of anaesthetic. Several of the children show signs of skin diseases. They have dry and scaly skin. Mama is complaining about the expenses. She has difficulties making sure the children have food, clothes and access to health care. The struggle is obvious. The children are small and skinny, their clothes and shoes are worn-out, some of them are sick, and the space they share is over-crowded.

Field notes, January 2008

In hindsight I notice a certain ethnocentric attitude in my own writings. I came to the orphanage with a specific understanding of how a child should live and be taken care of. This attitude changed during my fieldwork. I realized that access to specific material
resources and ‘proper’ childhood characteristics, like toys and an own bed, did not necessarily provide a better childhood. The dedication of the Mamas of the local orphanages were often touching, and attempts to provide the best possible care for the children, with the resources they have, should not be judged by Western standards. The differences between NGO sites run by foreigners and local orphanages are striking, not in the amount of love and care for the children, but by the difference in financial capacity. Many of the Mamas expressed sorrow and frustration because of the conditions the children were living in, “but there is no money”.

To demand acceptance of an assumed universal moral system of childhood is a continuation of a long tradition of Western hegemony starting from the earliest contact between Europeans and Africans, through colonialism, and for the last 60 years manifested in development aid and a global political economic system. The development project has since the 1980s shifted its focus to universal values in order to avoid the obvious dilemma of the assumed need to intervene in the affairs of sovereign states, while seemingly not overstepping their sovereignty (Nustad, 2003). A debate on the development project and the Western values and knowledge it is based on will be the focus in the next chapter. I will argue that a kind of ‘governmentality’, as a characteristic of neoliberalism, contributes to the global system of inequality.
Chapter 4: Discourses of Truth and Hidden Realities

“The promotion of international policies, and legislation, to ensure the quality of children’s life, is a prime example of governmentality on a global scale”

(Howell, 2006:160).

At the start of the thesis I stated my main research question: How do macro-structures manifest themselves in the lives of poor and orphaned children in the Bagamoyo District in Tanzania? After having examined the realities of the children, and the way these differ from Western notions of childhood, I will now take the discussion up to yet another level illuminating the link between the children and global structures of the reigning economic ideology; neoliberalism. I will point to how neoliberalism has created a form of governmentality which shapes global structures of inequality. This affects the majority of processes in international relations, and I claim that the development project is a prime example of an arena highly influenced by neoliberalism. Not only, as I will address, are the children’s lives constrained by the economic structures, the economic ideology is also highly embedded in all levels of development discourse and practices, thus severely limiting the ability of the development aid to address the problems it is supposed to solve. This, I claim, leads to the concealment of lived realities, as well as the covering up of links between wealth and poverty, making change difficult.

Governmentality of Neoliberalism

Neoliberalism

Economic factors have played a main role in determining the situation of the poor and maintaining a system of global inequality (Schoepf, Schoepf and Millen, 2000). Neoliberalism is currently the reigning economic ideology, influencing a number of areas of society, and affecting lives in all parts of the world (Shakow and Irwin, 2000). The global implementation of neoliberal ideology is one of the main manifestations of global governmentality. Central aspects of neoliberalism are that the role of the state
should be minimal; one should deregulate the market as much as possible to promote free trade, and by letting the logic of the self-regulating market work undisturbed, there will be progress in all areas of society.

The ideals which neoliberalism is built on are ‘human dignity’ and ‘individual freedom’ (Harvey, 2005). When neoliberalism came to be the leading ideology in North America and Great Britain in the 1980s, it was an important point that “all forms of social solidarity were to be dissolved in favour of individualism, private property, personal responsibility, and family values” (Harvey, 2005:23). Harvey points to certain ‘freedoms’ embedded in the neo-liberal way of thinking (Harvey, 2005:36-37). The ‘freedoms’ most cherished in neoliberalist thought are free enterprise and private ownership. Societies built on other values are declared un-free. An example of the power of these ‘freedoms’ is the way in which pharmaceutical companies profit on their legal right to keep the technology and knowledge of life saving drugs from being used to manufacture the drugs cheaper elsewhere. The same goes for companies benefiting from war, famine and environmental disasters. As Harvey puts it:

“...it makes it all too clear why those of wealth and power so avidly support certain conceptions of rights and freedoms while seeking to persuade us of their universality and goodness. Thirty years of neoliberal freedoms have, after all, not only restored power to a narrowly defined capitalist class. They have also produced immense concentrations of corporate power [...] The freedom of the market [...] turns out to be nothing more than the convenient means to spread corporate monopoly power and Coca Cola everywhere without constraint”

(Harvey, 2005:38).

Thus, the rights and freedoms involved are aimed to benefit the elites, the wealthy, and not the wider society. Neoliberalism is an ideology in which individuals are viewed as “autonomous, rational producers and consumers whose decisions are motivated primarily by economic and material concerns” (Farmer, 2005:5). According to Farmer neoliberalism holds within it narrow conceptions of rights and freedoms. No focus is put on social and economic inequalities which are a part of the system, and which limits the choices of people in poverty. Liberal forces are concerned with securing human rights,
but what is concealed is that it is the rights of the wealthy that the advocates of neoliberalism are inclined to secure. According to Farmer (2005:6) “the liberal political agenda has rarely included the powerless, the destitute, the truly disadvantaged”.

Neoliberalism holds within it a polarization of society (Harvey, 2005). The financial institutions and the financial system have direct influence, and often the final say, in questions concerned with state policies. The leaders of these institutions, as well as the leaders of legal and technical sectors upon which the capitalist system is dependent, have become the new upper class. The opportunities for individuals and companies to build large fortunes and to control large segments of the economy have given them power to influence political processes. An example of this polarization on a global level is that the richest 358 people in the world have a combined income equal to the poorest 45 per cent of the world’s population, which consists of 2.3 billion people (Harvey, 2005:34-35).

Harvey argues that there has always been a transnational factor in this new class system (Harvey, 2005:35). The international link was present in colonial and neo-colonial activities, but with the neoliberal globalization there has been a strengthening of these links. The individuals and corporations involved are likely to pursue interests in more than one country. They have the power to advocate their interests to political leaders and are thus influential in decisions of a global character.

**Governmentality**

Drawing on Foucault’s work Ferguson and Gupta (2002:989) have developed the idea of ‘transnational governmentality’. They use the concept as a tool to examine “the relation between states and a range of contemporary supranational and transnational organizations that significantly overlap their traditional functions” (Ferguson & Gupta, 2002:989). Like Foucault, they put emphasis on the processes included in the governing of populations, through institutions and agencies, discourses and norms, and self-
regulation. Governmentality is not just a matter of state institutions; it cuts across all areas of society right down to family life and the way we see ourselves.

Governmentality is linked to political economy. Through a certain type of knowledge of political economy governmentality as the dominant form of power has been common since the 18th century. The transition to neoliberalism was for Foucault the “transfer of the operation of government [...] to nonstate entities, via the fabrication of techniques that can produce a degree of ‘autonomization’ of entities of government from the state” (Barry et al in Ferguson & Gupta, 2002:989). For Ferguson and Gupta (2002:989) this involves a replacement of state functions with “quasi-autonomous non-governmental organizations”. It is not a matter of less government, but a type of government which works by itself. Ferguson and Gupta look at modes of government which are set up on a global scale which include new strategies of discipline and regulation, like the Structural Adjustment Programs, but also transnational alliances of grassroots activists and voluntary organizations. These organizations are supported by networks of international funding and personnel. Thus:

“The outsourcing of the functions of the state to NGOs and other ostensibly nonstate agencies, we argue, is a key feature not only of the operation of national states, but of an emerging system of transnational governmentality”

(Ferguson & Gupta, 2002:990).

Ferguson & Gupta (2002) place the discussion into an African context by stating that most African nations “continue to be ruled, in significant part, by transnational organizations that are not in themselves governments, but work together with powerful First World states within a global system of nation states that Frederick Cooper has characterized as ‘international imperialism’” (Ferguson & Gupta, 2002:992). Civil society is currently seen as grassroots organizations; democratic and local. As I experienced with UKUN, this perception overlooks that civil society really is made up of international organizations. UKUN, like similar organizations, is supposed to be grassroots, and community based, but is rather heavily controlled by foreign donors and has very limited choice of action and strategies.
UKUN (Uhakika Kituo cha Ushauri Nasaha): A Community-based Organization in Bagamoyo

I will now continue the discussion on global, or transnational, governmentality by giving empirical data from my time in UKUN, thus relating the concept to the everyday work of a CBO. The organization was established in 2002 as a result of research carried out by the Ministry of Health in collaboration with DANIDA (Danish International Development Assistance) in Bagamoyo District. The research showed that people who were suffering from HIV/AIDS and their relatives expressed a desire to get medical treatment at home. In addition there was a need to coordinate all support services for people infected with and affected by HIV/AIDS, including children infected with, and/or who have parents suffering from, or have died from, the disease. UKUN has therefore established a Home Based Care-program and a support program for Orphans and Vulnerable Children. They are also aiming to contribute to the primary prevention of the HIV/AIDS pandemic. UKUN is involved in 64 out of 82 villages in the District.

UKUN’s office is located in the centre of Bagamoyo town. I have heard from various people, both friends and government representatives that this CBO is working with children affected by HIV/AIDS. When I arrive I am met by the secretary who asks me to wait for the program manager, Charles. The office is a building made out of cement. It has a main room with a big table and several chairs. This room functions as a waiting room for clients who want to get tested for HIV, who have some follow-up appointment, or who have some other reason for visiting the facilities. There are a few computers in the room for the staff to use writing reports and other documents. The next room is the nurses’ office. The nurses organize their activities here. The office contains a facility for HIV-testing with some medical equipment in one corner, and in the opposite corner there is a desk for various administrative work. Against one of the walls a couple of chairs, a small sofa and a small table make up the facilities designed for counselling the clients who come by to get tested. They get their results here, and are counselled according to their HIV status. Mothers diagnosed with HIV come by for regular follow-ups and are as often as possible provided with breast-milk substitute. The nurses are also responsible for the Home Based Care-Program and are often moving around town visiting clients involved in the project. A major
problem in connection with home based care is the fact that the organisation is not able to provide transportation for the staff when they make these home visits. If the distance is too great they often have to pay for transport themselves if they are to see a client they know is in need of assistance. This is nearly a daily occurrence for the nursing staff.

The program manager’s office is a small room with a desk, a few chairs, a file cabinet, many books, reports and leaflets. On the walls there are various information posters; posters with PLHA (People Living with HIV/AIDS) information, a poster on water resources, and a type of commercial poster for a new kind of house-building material. It gives the impression that the person who works in this office is dedicated to the cause of making people’s lives better. The other two rooms are one meeting room with a long table and space for 10-12 people, and a storage room with medical and nutritional material, and information leaflets.

The first day I wait for Charles for about 45 minutes which is nothing to me at this point in the fieldwork. I have become used to the way time is managed here. The nice thing about this is that while you wait you encounter new people, you have time to observe actions and activities, and the atmosphere is relaxed. Charles is a short man with a big smile. He is running around the office with his papers, talking to the staff and making phone-calls. During the time I spent with him over the course of a month I never see him sit down and just relax. He has so many ideas and so much initiative. The dedication and initiative seems present in everybody working in the office. We sit down in Charles’ office and commence on the interview which turns in to a long conversation.

The estimated number of affected children in the District, classified by UKUN as Orphans and Vulnerable Children (OVC,) is 11,000. UKUN has enrolled over 5,000 OVC in their program, while the budget only allows for 3,850. There is a system of classification implemented by UNICEF in 1999 to identify who is vulnerable and who is not. There are 12 main criteria:

- the guardian has failed to care for the child properly
the child is missing basic school material
the child stay in poor housing conditions
the child is suffering from poor nutrition
the guardian has a chronic illness
the child has a chronic illness
the guardian is old
the child is a part of a big family
the child is born out of marriage
the child suffers from a household’s poor economic situation
the guardian is in jail
the child has lost hers/his guardian

During the identification process people from the government guided by UNICEF procedures go to the villages in the district. They stay for five days. First they share ideas with the villagers. The 12 criteria are explained to the people in the village. The villagers then make a list of who they think are most likely to be in need of assistance. This is the task of the villagers because they live together with each other and they know the situation of all households. Then the government representatives make home visits for verification of the villagers’ suggestions. The number of names is reduced because they often find other solutions for a troubled household. Some parents are being sued for not taking care of their children and they are then given advice to manage their situation. The next step is when all the parties involved get together to make an action-plan. Every village has a MVC committee which is responsible for the action-plan, and they make sure the identified children get the services they now have the right to.

This, and the following, criteria are especially problematic because they have moral implications embedded in them. Family structures different from the Western nuclear family are presented as an indication of vulnerable childhoods.
UKUN provides a register-book where the children enrolled in their projects, who have been identified in the above mentioned process, are registered. Here they collect information on household-heads in an affected household, personal information of the child; name, age, group of criteria from the list mentioned above, date of identification, nutritional status, vaccinations, school level if she or he is attending school, if not: reasons why the child is not attending school (a list of 13 reasons provided), basic needs priority (a list of 15 needs provided), previous support, who is currently supporting the child, and date when a problem has been solved. Information on caretakers name, age, education and occupation, relation to the child and number of other dependants is also collected. This registration is supposed to give UKUN an overview of all the children enrolled in the program, but it is mainly necessary documentation to meet the demands of the donors. While I was there they changed the whole documentation system from handwritten documentation to computer-based documentation. This is a result of an increasing demand for improved documentation skills. Many reports and proposals are not accepted unless they are written using Microsoft Word and Excel computer programs.

UKUN’s main partner is USAID. Other important donors are CARE International, Family Health International and UNICEF. UKUN is a subcontractor of TUNAJALI (Meaning: We Care) which is also called the Community Care for People Living with HIV/AIDS and Orphans and Vulnerable Children Project. The project is implemented by a group of four core partners. As of June, 2008, TUNAJALI has supported the provision of home-based palliative care to 51,000 people living with HIV and AIDS and support services to over 73,000 orphans and other vulnerable children. TUNAJALI is funded by PEPFAR (The US President’s Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief) through USAID, Tanzania. Deloitte is the grant managers and one of the world’s largest providers of professional services. It is a multinational financial company which amongst many other things is working with development aid providers to give financial advice and to make sure funding is spent effectively and that recipients are following procedures for correct implementations, monitoring and reporting (www.deloitte.com). Also involved in the project is AfriCare and Catholic Relief Services. The number of donors and contributors is making the picture confusing. Also, it takes a lot of resources for UKUN to satisfy all the demands, and to
Applying Ferguson and Gupta’s (2002) view that it is international NGOs which really make up the assumed community-based level in development, it becomes problematic to call UKUN a grassroots organization. They do not have any power to act without approval off donors, which are all foreign NGOs or uni- or multi-lateral development and financial organisations. The work of UKUN is completely dependent on the goodwill of the donors, if the donors are unhappy with something there is always a threat of termination of the funding. This is a constant pressure on the employees. The donor organizations, with UNICEF as the main force, have in many instances taken over the function of the state when it comes to the welfare of Tanzanian children, as well as HIV/AIDS programs. The local social welfare office in Bagamoyo District is under strict UNICEF control, through their policies on children’s welfare and rights.

**Power and knowledge**

How is it, then, that one type of discourse and the knowledge it is attached to have the power to render itself a superior status, thus legitimizing its assumed universality and implementation? Howell (2006) argues that there is a clear intentionality present in the transferral of Western moral and rationality through the UNCRC. It is ‘our’ duty to protect the ‘world’s children’. She states that

“...political discourse on rights can be traced to the eighteenth century and the work of French and English philosophers, and their values came to the forefront in the UNCRC and the later Hague Convention. These express currently reigning values amongst influential groups in the Western world pertaining to the constitution of human beings, personhood and human rights in general, and children and their rights in particular”


There is a definite link between moral values and law (Howell, 2006). Laws reflect a society’s current values and practices, and thus they have the role of shaping the society
in a certain way. In this case, Western moral values aim at changing other societies on a global scale.

The ideological base of Children’s Rights discourse is the autonomous individual and a specific notion of family. Thus, Western capitalist society is the only society in which inventions like the UNCRC can be understood through (Stephens, 1995). As Howell (2006) has noticed, the extreme focus of aid projects on rights and participation ignores the more practical concerns of the situation of the children. Thus, the discourse and practices of the organizations directed towards one specific area of childhood have major consequences by avoiding other issues and aspects.

To illuminate the power of discourses so obviously manifested through the global distribution of a certain type of childhood, as well as other Western values, I will use the work of Neumann (2001). Identities and social practices stay unchanged because relations between subjects stay unchanged (Neumann, 2001:133). These relations appear normal, hence all other relations are perceived as less normal or abnormal. This is the power of discourse. The ‘slowness’ involved in the change of social practices makes it difficult to put forward new ideas. Neumann looks at how ‘development aid’ is an example of a discourse with large effects. The ideas and policies of development are inventions of a specific society and its history, and they are transferred to other realities in other societies. It is this specific society which defines ‘development’. Only certain practices are chosen to be relevant, while many of the actual realities people live in are ignored. Even when it is obvious to everybody involved that a project does not work, the discourse is so slow that the same practices keep being reproduced.

My argument on how one set of knowledge and its manifestations ignores and hides others is strengthened by this way of thinking about ‘development’ and child policies. Inequality, expressed through poverty and disease, with its root causes in global relations are approached as internal problems; the lack of ability to develop, or the immorality of societies unable to take care of their children. The content of Western notions of childhood has gained the status of assumed ‘truths’, and keeps other truths
out of the picture. Economic ‘logic’, assumed to be objective and universal, is another set of ‘truths’ which work alongside Human- and Children’s Rights, and demands professionalism, experts and technocracy.

Foucault’s concept of power involves ‘normality’ (Neumann, 2001:168). This implies that there is not one part exercising direct, or even conscious, power over the other part, but rather it is the way discourses constitute things as normal that keep the power relations intact. The ability to present a view of the world as normal has in many ways been achieved by the West through the assumed superior role of scientific knowledge, which in one form or another is the legitimating reason behind the implementation of both the UNCRC and the wider development project. The role of experts is vital here. Experts are “empowered by their formation of scientific and technical forms of discourse. Expertise has become an important feature of disciplining populations and is central to the dynamics of power in modern societies and their institutions” (Mayr, 2008:15). As shown in Chapter 3, Howell (2006) argues that psychological theories have lead to a multitude of new professions which are increasingly gaining access to all levels of society, and they aim to transfer their knowledge to the various institutions of child services, like the educational system and healthcare services. The ‘psycho-technocrats’ use psychological knowledge removed from the academic field of psychology, interpreting the theories without considering their complexity and changeability. They are unaware that the theories “do not represent a steady progression towards an ultimate truth” (Howell, 2006:90). The case of ‘experts’ in the world of finance plays a similar role, setting a standard for economic reasoning and management.

**The Power of Framing**

Continuing the discussion on how one set of ‘truths’ conceals other truths, and how this affects the way lived realities are being kept out of sight, along with the root-causes of poverty and inequality I examine the concept of ‘framing’. Bøås and McNeill (2004) use Gramsci’s theory of hegemonic power when studying multilateral institutions. They suggest that:
“...powerful states (notably the USA), powerful organizations (such as the IMF) and even, perhaps, powerful disciplines (economics) exercise their power largely by 'framing': which serves to limit the power of potentially radical ideas to achieve change. The exercise of framing is composed of two parts: one drawing attention to a specific issue (such as the environment or urban unemployment); two, determining how such an issue is viewed”

(Bøås & McNeill, 2004:1).

Like Foucault’s ‘normality’, effective frames make favoured ideas seem “like common sense, and unfavoured ideas as unthinkable” (Bøås & McNeill, 2004:2). Neoliberal ideology, as well as technical and economic focus, is shaping ideas and policies. The technical and economic focus as part of the practices in development projects were visible in the international NGOs and the CBO I worked with in Bagamoyo. I will give the empirical example of an application form, or proposal, for organisations that wanted to get extra funding for their HIV/AIDS projects, called ‘Rapid Funding Envelope for HIV/AIDS’. The funding project was managed by Deloitte.

Looking at the guidelines there are some obvious technical and economic ways of thinking embedded in them. It is of importance to keep in mind that this funding, if granted, would go to the welfare of people living with HIV/AIDS and to children affected by the disease. First of all, the requirement of a computer and Microsoft Word and Excel leaves several organisations out of the application process. The font size and maximum pages of 20 A4 sized are clearly stated. The application form needs to be submitted as both a paper copy and an electronic copy. The deadline is stated with date and hour. There are seven sections and four appendices in the application form which all have to be completed. These are: details of applicant; project description; partnership; monitoring and evaluation; urgency and sustainability; management-implementation and capacity; and financial information. The appendices were: budget; commitment status and signatures; brief CVs of key personnel; and lists of sites to be renovated if applicable. All are common terms in current development practices. The technical and economic ‘frames’ are clear in this example. Other procedures and ideas are

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27 See Appendix 1.
unacceptable, even when the realities of the organisations and the people involved are far removed from the ones that implement the frames. UKUN was completely dependent on outside assistance in the form of volunteers from America, Canada and Europe to be able to fulfill requirements for the formulation, writing and pc-work of reports and proposals. At the same time the limited knowledge of the young volunteers made the content of the documents of questionable quality. However, the formulation and the layout seemed more important than the actual content. It excluded the employees at UKUN from expressing their ideas and experiences, something which appears unhelpful when considering the language of ‘partnership’ and ‘grassroots’ involvement so popular in the development discourse at the present. This language is again an example of framing.

According to Escobar (1991) there is an assumed neutrality in identifying people as ‘problems’, but this neutrality disappears when one realizes the people defining the problem are far removed from the people who are categorized as a problem. As I have showed, ‘street child’ is a label, or a ‘frame’, which reduces people to cases or abnormalities in need of ‘treatment’. It legitimizes interference and makes people conform to the discourses and practices of the development institution. Another important issue in this sort of labelling is that it hides the link between the wealthy and the poor and focuses on an explanation of the problem that is internal to the latter group of people. Thus, “labels and institutional practices are issues of power; they are invented by institutions as part of an apparently rational process that is fundamentally political in nature” (Escobar, 1991:667). The bureaucratization that happens through the practice of planning creates a socially constructed encounter between the professional planners and the people they are aiming to assist which puts the planners at the superior end through their knowledge of a certain conceptual framework. Escobar (1991:668) claims that:

“...since the internal processes of organizations are tied to social relations involving governments and specific groups, they become an aspect of ruling: organizations rely upon and replicate conceptions and means of description that are features of the world as understood and practiced for those who rule it”. 

Ways of documenting, measuring and accounting are key issues in the practices of development institutions and I have showed how this is often far removed from what a local CBO has the capacity to conform to.

In her article “Globalizing Development in Tanzania” Maia Green (2003) is concerned with the standardization of development projects. ‘Standardization’ can be understood as a type of framing. Projects look much the same all over the world, despite the increasing emphasis on ‘participation’ as a means of giving beneficiaries more influence over policies concerning them and their realities. Green looks at how workshops, facilitated by development professionals, have become a social space where projects are seen as successful by the way the documentation procedures and management models fit the planned objectives. Green seeks to move the discussion of development down to the agent level. According to her, it is problematic to view development institutions as places of discourse detached from human agency. This is a very important contribution to the discussion. I will argue that instead of being opposed to the ‘development as discourse’ approach, it can be a valuable supplement. Social actors do have capabilities to influence the development project (Green, 2003). A way to examine ‘agency’ in development bureaucracies is to look at what the “agencies actually do and the policy objectives which drive them” (Green, 2003:127). Green argues that recipients on national and local level are included in programming. And they can in theory reject a project. Still, a rejection almost never happens because “too much is at stake in the proposed transfer of resources to jeopardize the process” (Green, 2003:128).

Development planning is first and foremost concerned with short-term results producing measurable outputs than with the real objective which the results are intended to contribute to (Green, 2003). Hence, the management process is more important than the outcomes for the people the project is supposed to assist. Green claims that the techniques in use rely on production and manipulation of texts in order to quantify and control the relation between investments and time-framed outputs. These issues can easily be identified in the previously mentioned application form for the ‘Rapid Funding Envelope for HIV/AIDS’. Also, they clearly reflect the type of
knowledge valued in the development arena. Documentation, and the focus on time and money, were the most vital aspects of all the work involved in the projects I observed in Bagamoyo. Various levels of the projects had to provide documentation to the level above. UKUN was answerable to TUNAJALI, which was answerable to the international donors USAID, Deloitte and several others. A Scandinavian organization in Bagamoyo is partly funded by a Scandinavian government. The documentation procedures are complex and require a lot of time and resources. The procedures have to be followed correctly in order for the funding to continue. I witnessed frustration among both the local and foreign employees during budget planning and report writing. The frustration is reinforced because the local employees are the family of the children involved in the project, knowing them and their lives, and then having to quantify, count and estimate their well-being in a technical and economic language far removed from human life. The time-frame of assistance and the threat of termination of funding are always present. This creates a huge pressure to ‘do things right’. According to Green (2003:129):

“Project documentation is not intended to present an objective account of social and economic situation and a discursive assessment of how best to address the kind of issues which might come under the ambit of current policy concerns but to support financial transfers with a view to achieving carefully costed outcomes”.

For the purpose of this thesis I will claim that this way of managing development is another factor hiding lived realities. The framing, and thus the discourses involved, make the participants unaware of other issues involved, and the standardization is the ‘norm’ that is regarded as ‘truth’.

Green’s (2003) work from Tanzania shows that there has been a change from associating development with the state to associating it with projects and practices of international development agencies. Offices, personnel and vehicles, as well as institutional forms in the shape of workshops, are especially important ingredients in

28 By ‘family’ I do not mean biological family, but ‘family’ in the local sense of the word, being the people responsible for the children.
this perception of ‘development’. The facilitators of the workshops are development professionals who are trained within a certain environment and with knowledge of management strategies derived from Western industry and commerce. The ‘stakeholder workshops’ in Tanzania involve all groups who are assumed to have a stake in a project. Representatives from donor and recipient organizations, and not least carefully selected representatives from the beneficiary community, are present. I observed on one occasion a project evaluation visit, which is an important part of the workshop policy. Representatives from TUNAJALI came for a two-day visit to evaluate UKUN’s documentation routines. During the visit a trip to the MVC club in Magaomeni village was arranged. UKUN employees, the MVC club leader and volunteers, TUNAJALI representatives, representatives from the village council, and Canadian and American volunteers from CCS were present. And of course, the children who are the beneficiaries of the funding were there. During the about 45 minute visit the children were singing for the guests, the American volunteers were playing with the children using art material and stickers from America with symbols of happy childhoods; homes and family, in bright colours and glitter; TUNAJALI representatives were handing out some clothes and shoes, enough for around 15 children, out of 50; the volunteers of the club were carefully instructing the children on what to do making sure they were well behaved; and the leader of the club was thanking everybody for their great efforts in assisting the children. As soon as the session was over the TUNAJALI representatives hastily returned to their 4 wheel-drive cars and speeded back to the office.

As I argue, the aspect of universality is problematic, and hides realities. Green (2003) supports this view by pointing to how projects are separated from other social realities in the process of making them more manageable, and the ‘logic’ of documentation routines and management make all projects ‘the same’ everywhere. Participants come from a variety of countries and have various backgrounds, but all subscribe to the same development conventions; without location- or country-specificity. Thus, “location and local knowledge are simply not relevant to the construction of chains of causality and indicators of assessment that development constituted as projects entails” (Green, 2003:138).
This detachment from the realities of the people the projects are supposed to assist, and the professionalism and ‘rationality’ embedded in the processes show how development aid has difficulties working. Knowledge about the children’s lives, which UKUN maintains as a result of being a part of the children’s communities, does not ascend in the development hierarchy. The employees are frustrated because they meet the suffering hands-on, still their suggestions for action are not taken into consideration, and the lack of funding limits the ability to assist. The meeting arranged at the MVC club does not show the reality of the children, their hunger, their HIV status, their dead parents, or the amount of work they have to do; this is kept invisible. When the moral values of the West, manifested in the UNCRC, are part of the picture, the children’s lives are almost completely hidden.

**Distance**

Chambers (1997) addresses the power of the “uppers” on the development arena, the powerful professionals. It is easy for these professionals to impose their version of the truth, while avoiding the truths of others. The views of these professionals are often seen as true and morally right. In order to understand the reason behind the power of the development professionals Chambers (1997) points to the issue of distance as a way of examining the professionalism embedded in development. This professional distance is both emotional and physical.

The distance is created through a multitude of processes. The training and the internalization of beliefs is one. As part of the process of ‘framing’ these factors shape an understanding of the world and this reality is often attempted transferred to the poor and vulnerable (Chambers, 1997). ‘Dominance and superiority’ are other components of distance. These are manifested in speech; the use of a language associated with power, behaviour; keeping a distance, or openly showing impatience and disagreement, accessories; expressing superiority through dress, vehicles, and technology, and associates; choosing to associate with ‘lowers’ who are ‘uppers’ in their own social hierarchies. The development professionals distance themselves by isolating themselves in air-conditioned offices, and the encounters they have with local people are limited to
certain urban spaces and occasional visits to rural homes. Still, they have an illusion that the contact is there through e-mails, statistics and mobile phones. I observed on many occasions these expressions of dominance and superiority. In the case of UKUN it was obvious who was at the top when, as previously stated, officials from TUNAJALI or representatives from international NGOs came to visit. They arrived in big cars, with briefcases, suits, and an explicit attitude of impatience and control. The reports provided by UKUN were not approved because of lack of correct registration of data, something which created a lot of frustration among the UKUN employees who work directly with people in need of assistance. Another example is my visit to UNICEF’s offices in Dar-es-Salaam. I was amazed at the amount of cars on the premises, the nice furniture and architecture, and the air-conditioning that was on, even in rooms not in use. The buildings were securely fenced off and visitors were questioned and checked, and you needed a prearranged appointment to get in. The grounds of Cross Cultural Solutions (CCS)29 were also fenced off with guards in uniforms standing at the gate. Inside the volunteers were provided with all necessities, including a cook and cleaning personnel. The volunteers had a curfew and were ordered not to have relationships with local people. The facilities were of Western standards and the meetings were organized in classroom settings with appropriate material. Working with three volunteers from CCS on a UKUN project I was exposed to some attitudes I found disturbing. These young people, in their late teens and early twenties, had some clear views on Tanzanians and their ‘culture’. According to them, Tanzanians were corrupt, ignorant, and in need of assistance to become like Americans. I was shocked at times by the lack of respect they showed towards Tanzanians they worked with, local people, nurses, as well as managers and government representatives. The distance created by the practices of the organization and discourses of development were highly efficient.

Uncomfortable ‘truths’ often result in reframing, and “diverse and discordant realities are given professional labels or fitted into stereotypes” (Chambers, 1997:82). Professional labels and categories are incorporated into development discourse, and

29 CCS is an American-based organization which distributes volunteers, mainly youths from North America and Europe, to various development projects in Bagamoyo and in other places around the world.
they “can impose alien frames which distort and disempower” (Chambers, 1997:83). The category ‘Most Vulnerable Children’ (MVC) is a good example of how categories and stereotypes make a large group of children to be similar, making them powerless, and making their childhoods anomalies. The abilities of the children to survive and the recognition of this ability as a strength is not within the established frame, and thus ignored. Their actual reality is denied or overlooked. This shows the power of discourse and the process of framing which creates distance, and conceals realities and voices that state a different truth.

‘Blaming the victim’ is yet another strategy in the development business, influenced by ‘framing’ and distance. It is the main argument for explaining errors and failure. The recipients of development assistance are the ones who ‘need to change’. The abuses of “fat contractors, corrupt politicians, international companies, and consumers of the North, like the child sex abusers, are hidden from sight” (Chambers, 1997:84). The victims are held responsible for the damage done, like UKUN being blamed when figures do not add up, or a time limit is passed. The responsibility does not move upwards. Chambers puts it this way:

“So agricultural researchers and extensionists blame farmers when they do not adopt packages of practices, instead of asking whether the packages are wrong; staff of multinational banks blame poor countries which resist policies of structural adjustment, instead of campaigning for the abolitions of debts incurred through their own past lending policies. Who apologizes? Who sees even the cause for apology? Better to blame the victim than to bear the responsibility oneself”

(Chambers, 1997:84).

The dominance of the development professionals is apparent, but this does not mean that the local people they encounter have no resistance towards this power. According to Chambers (1997) there are certain strategies applied to resist. Diplomacy and deceit is the strategy of interest here. People who work with the development professionals select where the professionals go, what they see, and who they meet. My experience with various projects was that when representatives from international donors and
government representatives came to visit, they were showed apparently well functioning projects, with happy children having fun playing, reading and being taught by trained adults. The emphasis on showing that the money was being well spent and being spent in a way which was appropriate according to the ideology of a ‘proper childhood’ was clear through these more or less staged meetings. I knew that these projects were not as successful as they appeared at these gatherings, and only a very few children had any access to these types of facilities. The need to please the donors, in order to secure continued funding camouflaged the fact that the funding was by no means sufficient. The number of children enrolled in the UKUN program for MVC and the actual number of children receiving any assistance differed by several thousand, according to an internal report, and of the children who had assistance on paper, not even close to being everybody, hardly any had assistance in reality (Personal conversation with UKUN employees). These examples show how all levels of the development hierarchy are affected by a discourse which conceals realities and thus has consequences for the children the aid is supposed to benefit.

Certain patterns of administration embedded in the development industry give people a reason for conforming to these professional norms. The role taken on by many national hosts is an over-the-top treatment of visiting donors. Failures and errors are being glossed over in order to keep up the assumed success of the projects. Numbers which fit the policies are chosen, and reports are formulated in a favourable light. A good example of this is reports of the number of child-headed households in Bagamoyo District. According to the most recent reports the number was 295, and I was told by social welfare officers that there were no such households in Bagamoyo town. As I got to talk to more people, including other welfare officers, and joined them on trips around the district, it became obvious that child-headed households are common. Still, no one seemed interested in taking me to any of them, and I only visited one where the three boys were 15 years old and older. As long as the reports for UNICEF, who had designed the project, looked proper, and the numbers were seemingly in accordance with the policy implemented it seemed to be a job well done amongst the village and government representatives. The people receiving the reports at the head-office in Dar-es-Salaam
were also aware of the under-reporting, but focused more on the documentation procedures than on reality.

Misreporting increase when certain factors are present. Time-bound target-setting imposed top-down, performance judged on the reported achievements of targets, a punitive style of management, and an overload of reporting are examples (Chambers, 1997:86). The more short-term the targets are the more misreporting takes place. The pressure on the people producing the documents is tough, and reality needs to be altered. This has to be done in order to secure funding. Combined with a control-oriented management style the result are incorrect numbers and reports. I got to observe the control-oriented management style of UKUN’s mother organization TUNAJALI when the organization came for a two-day visit to check on everything in the office and in the files and documents. The whole routine was very uncomfortable, and the representatives of TUNAJALI seemed strict and displeased, the UKUN employees were nervous and trying to be of any assistance possible to their superiors, and at the end of the day the manager was falling apart in his office while he expressed his disappointment and feeling of inferiority and the way he sensed the TUNAJALI representatives’ disrespect. Later I was told that there had been mistakes in the documents, and numbers had been altered, but as my ethnography shows, people working with the pressure of time-limits, constant threats of the closing down of their workplace if they do not perform, extremely limited funds and the feeling of an ever present control, often have no choice but to mislead. The loss of a job and an income is the alternative, as well as the suffering of their clients.

Together, the position of the development professionals and their reign of distance, dominance, denial, and blaming of the victim, and the strategies implemented by the people on the other side of the table to secure their position, lead to a flourishing environment for mistakes and false representations of reality. These processes hide actual conditions and avoid more altering efforts.
Chambers (1997) addresses what he calls reciprocity in mutual deception. This means that the professionals and the people on the receiving end support each other through shared view of reality. The shame, guilt, self-blaming and beliefs in own inferiority internalized by the ‘lowers’ maintain relationships and protect the ‘uppers’, and “as evolving personal realities, lowers’ beliefs in their incapacity are in part self-fulfilling and in part myths shared with uppers” (Chambers, 1997:89).

This was a painful experience for me in the field. I was on several occasions asked why I thought Africans were incapable of developing, why all African leaders, politicians, and government representatives were corrupt, why Africans did not understand science and so on. To notice this internalized attitude of inferiority and self-blaming was both heartbreaking and provocative.

So far in this chapter I have pointed to some processes which works on a global scale to ensure that some knowledge systems and values are perceived as ‘truths’, while others are deemed ‘wrong’ or ignored. By using ethnographic data from development management encounters in Tanzania I have shown that the discourses and practices shaped in donor countries, built on the values and ideas of this specific society, often put strains on local ‘partners’ and fail to benefit the recipient communities, in this case children affected by AIDS and poverty. The main point is that the development business, through their discourses and practices is concealing lived realities, and the economic and social links between the poor majority and the wealthy minority of the world. These links will be the topic for the rest of the chapter.

Hidden Links - History and Economics

I will now bring the discussion to yet another level and examine the way in which certain global structures are ‘setting the stage’ for the realities of the children and their communities. These structures maintain a global system of inequality. This system, I claim, is a system of structural violence. History is included here because it has shaped relations and patterns which are still at work today (Ortner, 2006; Farmer, 2004).


**Colonialism**

The current global structures and the power they possess have historical roots. Systems of economy and politics today “do not break with the logic of colonial exploitation” (Schoepf, Schoepf and Millen, 2000:94). The socio-economic changes colonialism brought with it had the most dramatic effects on African society. The change to cash crops produced for European markets led to a decrease in production for own consumption. The labour systems imposed on the African communities, with factors like land alienation, urbanization and labour migration as vital parts, led to disruption of communities and social structures (Iliffe, 1995). The unhealthiest period in African history, at least before the AIDS pandemic, was, contrary to many contemporary writers who depicted Africa as a continent rife with diseases, the years between 1890 and 1930. Thus, the social disruption caused by the colonial project was devastating, causing suffering, disease and death (Schoepf, Schoepf & Millen, 2000). Medical campaigns launched by the colonial powers were first and foremost an attempt to reduce the epidemics posed a constant threat to the economic viability of the colonial state (Vaughan, 1991). Another reason for the health efforts was the protection of the European settlers, resulting in the justification of racial segregation, most explicitly manifested in the tragedy of South Africa.

Colonial rule in Africa “coincided with the era of finance capitalism and multinational monopolies” (Schoepf, Schoepf & Millen, 2000:96). The institutions of finance capital quickly established domination, with appropriation of vast areas of land for extraction of minerals and production of raw material and foodstuff for export. European and American companies, often multinational, were given monopoly rights to many of these areas of production and trade. By repression and enforcement they made use of cheap African labour. The resources used to fuel the European industrialization were rarely reinvested in Africa. This role as raw-material provider is still the position of Africa in the global economy today (Ferguson, 2006).

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30 This is a part of the narrow understanding of social welfare issues addressed in Chapter 3.
The colonial masters created a racial hierarchy based on ideas of biological supremacy (Schoepf, Schoepf & Millen, 2000:95-96). Exclusion of Africans in all areas of society was the norm. Any skilled type of work was exclusively given to white people. Anything else than primary level education was rarely granted to Africans. The consequences were that the skills necessary to take over government and production projects after independence were not present among the African population.

Colonialism in Africa is a complex issue, and should not be simplified. However, I chose to point to some important factors which have laid the ground for the region’s place in a global system of inequality, as a contribution to the understanding of poverty apart from the common ‘blaming of the victim’.

**Independence**

When Tanzania achieved independence in 1961 it was Julius Nyerere who became the first president (Askew, 2006). In Tanzania, Nyerere is by many perceived as a hero who secured independence from the colonial masters and united the people, but in the West he is often criticised for his socialism. Nyerere argued that socialism was a natural aspect of the African ways of life and his project was based on a rural-focused development strategy. The idea was that the society should be built around traditional African principles of family-based communalism, with unity in all levels of society. His ideas are still very much present in the people of Tanzania and the values he advocated are in many ways a part of government rhetoric.

Nyerere wanted to avoid dependency on aid. He warned about cash-crops which he suggested would only lead to capitalist differentiation, and he argued that with the existing development strategies the services would not reach the more isolated villages (Smith, 2003). He was opposed to capitalist and individualism doctrines of the West and

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31 This project was not without problematic issues. As an example it involved forced resettling of approximately 10,000,000 people into state-designed villages (Askew, 2006).
implemented policies like nationalization of industry, expansion of social services, and he ensured female representation in government bodies (Askew, 2006). The consequences were a slow, but steady growth of the economy, primary-school enrolment becoming the highest in Africa with 93 per cent in 1980, adult literacy rates also being the highest in Africa, and not least with free healthcare available throughout the country.

Nyerere was one of the voices in newly independent Africa which talked about ‘neo-colonialism’ (Smith, 2003). This term meant that the African states had gained political freedom, but as long as economical freedom was not achieved there could be no real independence. According to Nyerere, Tanzania had neither economic power nor economic independence, even though it had an assumed internationally recognized sovereignty. The new states were victims of an indirect and subtle form of domination by political, economic, social, military and technical forces (O’Connor in Smith, 2003:76).

Disasters during the 1970s and 1980s, like drought, war with Uganda, and the international oil crisis resulting in low prices on exports, led to a fall in production. Famine became recurrent\(^{32}\) and Tanzania needed food aid (Askew, 2006). For years Nyerere resisted the SAPs offered by the IMF in this difficult period. He opposed the conditions attached and was determined to keep Tanzania self-reliant. However, in 1985 Nyerere voluntarily resigned and his successor, Mwinyi, signed the first deal with the IMF a year later. From then on Tanzania’s socialist foundations were dismantled and trade liberalization, privatization and political pluralism were implemented.

**Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs)**

When the financial crisis hit the Western economies in the late 1970s the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) -countries slowed down their economies to reduce inflation (Hewitt, 2000). They depressed prices and the demand for

\(^{32}\) This pattern has existed to the present (Askew, 2006).
commodities, as well as letting the interest rates rise. This had enormous consequences for the so-called developing countries which were dependent on commodity exports and loans from Western commercial banks. They had been encouraged to borrow heavily, however, at rates beneficial to American banks (Harvey, 2005). Soon these countries paid more servicing their debt than they received in loans. At the same time they were paid less and less for their exports. With reduction in foreign investment and increased protectionism in the OECD-countries the debt crisis soon became a fact (Simon, 2002).

It was through the debt crisis the neoliberal agents could globalize their ideas. Policies aimed at ‘developing’ the poor countries in the world were forced on governments through threats of cuts or immediate paybacks of loans unless they adapted to the policies. It was as an initial response to the debt crisis that the Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) became the leading strategy of development support (Simon, 2002).

The IMF and the World Bank became the advocates for propagating and enforcing ‘free-market fundamentalism’ and neoliberal orthodoxy (Harvey, 2005:29). In the West it was claimed that the ‘developing’ countries were to blame for the situation because of their corrupt and interventionist governments (Simon, 2002). The SAPs were thus designed to reduce the degree of state intervention in the economy and to cut governmental expenditure. The programs were supposed to help economic development, but first of all it was a security system for Western banks and governments to make sure the funds were returned to them. In order to receive financial support the developing countries had to adjust to the policies of neoliberalism and free market ideology. Loans came with conditions, and these became stronger during the 1980s. Fundamental transformations in the borrowing countries were expected.

The main features of the SAPs were free market, trade liberalization and reduction of the role of the state in the economy. By removing price controls and trade barriers one could let the market determine the prices. By removing import quotas and reducing tariffs one could achieve trade liberalization. And by privatizing and reducing
government expenditure the role of the state would be minimal. It was expected that over a short period of time economic growth would occur, industrialization would appear and a considerable increase in living standards and welfare would follow (Hewitt, 2000). For the last few years the Poverty Reduction Strategies (PRSs) have replaced the SAPs. The opening up to the global market and a more efficient economic management is still the idea, and conditions are still attached to the financial support. However, it is recognized to a certain degree that governments do have to play a role in achieving development.

SAPs have been heavily criticized. General criticism is concerned with the fact that development cannot be left entirely to the market forces (Haynes, 2005). Development in the West did not happen without government intervention, and still today the Western economies protect and subsidies their industries. The market cannot distribute resources fairly. The SAPs have proven in most cases not to stimulate development. There is a rise in levels of poverty globally and inequality is increasing. After almost three decades of neoliberal economic policies:

“...over a billion people still live on less than US$ 1 a day, more than two billion do not have access to potable clean water, while hundreds of millions of humans, especially women and the poor, do not have access to anything like adequate health care or basic educational opportunities”

(Haynes, 2005:315).

The enormous resources that debt repayments require from borrowing governments are tapping the countries of funds\(^{33}\). The assumption that SAPs would lead to an increase in foreign investment, did not occur in most cases (Simon, 2002). And the belief that the transformation to the new system would happen quickly and easily was not the reality. The cut down of governmental expenditure has led to unemployment, wage reduction

\(^{33}\) In the year 2000 lower-income countries paid US$ 101.6 billion in debt, which is more than three times what they received in aid grants the same year (Sogge, 2002).
and price increases because of cuts in subsidies. In addition to all this, and maybe the most obvious failure, are the cuts in welfare spending and healthcare.

There is a common assumption in the agencies producing these economic policies, as well as in popular discourse, that the problems of poverty, ill-health, and violence in Africa are caused by internal factors (Schoepf, Schoepf & Millen, 2000). Corruption is especially a well used factor of blame. I argue that there are external factors which are more powerful and determining than internal factors for the situation in countries like Tanzania. The SAPs have had devastating effects on the lives of the most vulnerable people (Schoepf, Schoepf & Millen, 2000). I also want to add that to implement ideas and policies constructed in one part of the world and expect them to be adopted in realities completely different, are forms of global governmentality, which breaches national sovereignty. It leads to a disguising of other understandings and lived realities, as well as the links between poverty and wealth. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to explore in detail all the factors of historic and economic character involved in structural violence. Issues concerning TNCs, brain drain, capital flight, trade barriers and dumping affect the national economy of Tanzania and other poor countries. These processes let resources flow from the poor to the rich, but their existence is kept out of focus.

**SAPs and the Children**

My empirical findings discussed in the previous chapters have told of various experiences of suffering and disease. The lives of hardship cannot be understood unless they are examined through a backdrop of economic and historical processes. Colonialism gave Tanzania a role in the global system as a cheap source of raw-material and labour, and by force disrupted social structures and economic and political systems. More recently, this pattern has been reinstated, when Tanzania accepted the first development loans in 1986, and SAPs were implemented. This practically coincided with the first cases of AIDS in the country (Lockhart, 2008). Luca’s narrative and the stories of the other children have to be understood in this context.
The specific consequences of the SAPs in Tanzania which my empirical findings have led me to examine are addressed by Lockhart (2008). The low price of agricultural products, the difficulties of affording fertilizers, and deteriorating soil caused by the failure to keep land fallow to recover from use, makes it hard for farmers to make ends meet (Lockhart, 2008). The possibility to farm is reduced because large-scale farmers are increasingly taking over the land mass following the state policy shift to support large-scale capitalist enterprises (Lockhart, 2008). The large pineapple plantations not so far from town are stretched out over vast areas and make quite an impression. I saw many along the road. A new, large sugar plantation is in the processes of being established close to town these days. At the same time the local farmers are working on their plots which measure only a few square meters. People complain about only getting a few shillings for their crops. The frustration is increasing with increased food prices; the companies that buy the crops from the farmers, mainly based in Dar-es-Salaam, pay little to the farmers, but sell the crops at a high price. Because many households do not manage to get by, others have to take on new members. Men’s families are taken in by their brother’s households, which in turn put more pressure on the latter. Many are thus forced to take up wage-labour. Mining is an example of a common industry for people to turn to when farming proves insufficient for survival. In the area Luca is from, gold mining is the main industry. TNCs make big business from the mines, often supported by the World Bank, while the local people are both forcibly removed to extend the mines, and paid very little for their labour (Lockhart, 2008). The strains on households lead to a lack of ability to take in orphans, and many children are forced to work, and often they take to the street.

With the economic restraints causing problems of production and food supply, mixed with the break-up of family ties due to extra pressure on households, and AIDS deaths, the foundation is laid for grave consequences. The collapse of the healthcare services and introduction of user fees have contributed heavily to the spread of HIV\textsuperscript{34} and the suffering it brings with it, as well as the deaths of thousands from malaria. Low wages

\textsuperscript{34} This is especially caused by Sexually-transmitted Infections (STI) remaining untreated.
for employees in public services making NGOs a more attractive arena to work in, and the lack of resources to build infrastructure, are other factors contributing to the grave situation.

In the case of Rosie, addressed in Chapter 2, certain family and gender structures work together with the economic macro-structures to put groups under severe pressure and risk of suffering and death. When many people have been forced to move far away from their home communities to find work, and other households have no resources to support extra members, the small families have no networks to support them when a crisis like AIDS or other diseases strike. The stigma of AIDS is a factor in Rosie’s life; this is why her husband left her and her little girl, and the reason why his family are pushing her away. Selemani and his grandmother have a similar story. Bibi has several other children, Selemani’s uncles and aunts, but they refuse to have any contact with the two because of Selemani’s HIV diagnosis. With the current situation there are no other safety nets. There is evidence from sub-Saharan Africa that the high prevalence rates of AIDS and increased risk are connected to the undermining of household security (Lockhart, 2008). Considering street children, who often take to the streets when the family structure is ruptured, one can easily see this link; prostitution and violence are a part of many of these children’s lives, increasing their risk of being infected. Women and girls are often caught in a vicious circle when AIDS in the household causes the death of a breadwinner, leaving them without other choices but to turn to prostitution for survival, and thus putting themselves at risk through this survival strategy. In the cities there are rising rates of unemployment, and people experience a shortage of goods and services, and the formal cash economy is mainly dominated by men (Lockhart, 2008). Thus, women’s opportunities are mainly found in the informal sector. The wages earned by selling fruit and nuts, like Rosie does, is not enough to get by. Many women’s only choice is to take their children out of school to help with duties and to contribute to the income of the household, or turn to prostitution.

Another point, emphasized by people working with HIV/AIDS issues is that certain areas in the Bagamoyo District have high prevalence rates due to the lorry traffic along the
main highway between Dar-es-Salaam and the cities of northern Tanzania and neighbouring countries. The prevalence rates in towns like Chalinze and Mbwewe are high, accompanied by a high number of orphaned children. This type of movement, as part of commercial systems, along with other types of migration caused by the search for cash employment, creates environments for sex with multiple partners and thus the spread of HIV, as well as STIs which again make people susceptible to HIV.

The historic and economic factors which have influenced communities and individuals in Tanzania are manifold and complex. I have pointed to a few of them here, as a contribution to the understanding of the processes of structural violence. To reveal these processes is crucial in changing the systems of inequality which we live in. The link between poor and rich must be made clear. Also, the ‘superiority’ of one type of knowledge needs to be questioned. This one knowledge system works to hide the realities of the poor, and it is made to support the ideology of an economic order which is aimed at being beneficial to a certain kind of society; the societies of the West.
Concluding Remarks

This study has been an attempt to analyze systems of structural violence with focus upon the consequences for poor and orphaned children in Bagamoyo.

The approach employed has been a multisided ethnography which enhances the interconnectedness between various levels affecting the children’s situations; the lived realities the children experience, their communities, the perspectives of local government representatives, different levels in the development aid hierarchy supposed to assist the children; CBO representatives, international NGOs, and bi- and multilateral organizations, and finally, some overarching economic and historical structures setting the stage for systems of structural violence. This thesis then is a contribution to the anthropology of childhood, development and global inequality, as well as to critical medical anthropology.

My main aim has been to understand how macro-structures manifest themselves in the lives of poor and orphaned children in Bagamoyo. The macro-structures, addressed in Chapter 4, are of a historical and economic kind. By looking at Africa’s role in the global economic order for the last decades, I have shown how historical structures of colonialism in the form of exploitation of labour and resources never really changed. The more recently emerged neoliberal world order has strengthened existing structures of inequality and affected millions of lives. I have emphasized the role of neoliberal and Western knowledge systems and the power of the values and discourses embedded in them. These systems of knowledge have gained the status of assumed universal validity and legitimize interference globally. I argue that this is a form of transnational governmentality. These ‘regimes of truth’ are manifested in the development project, where they help to conceal other truths, with the consequence of maintaining patterns of inequality.
One example of transnational, or global, governmentality is the UNCRC. Embedded in the Convention are ‘regimes of truth’ and specific notions of childhood crafted within Western tradition. Rights are expected to be implemented all around the world under the assumption of being universally valid. These issues have been scrutinized in Chapter 3. The correlation between the ‘childhoods’ of the UNCRC and lived realities of children living under completely different circumstances, is absent. This becomes clear when the experiences of the children are examined in Chapter 2. Stereotypical images of vulnerable and abnormal childhoods stand in stark contrast to the agency of the children, their endurance, creativity and cleverness. However, the structures around them place their lives within realities of poverty and suffering. Children are often forced by circumstance into lives where they have to fight for survival. There needs to be an inclusion of how the children live and act when policies concerning them are formulated. They need to be seen as social actors and approached as such. Failing to do so hides the complexity of the children’s situations.

My point throughout the thesis has been to show how specific understandings, discourses and practices have the effect of disguising the lived realities of the children. The concealment has two manifestations. The first is the hiding of the children’s experiences and materiality, through the failure to include the children’s own voices. This is done by an exaggerated and artificial focus on protection, vulnerability and a utopian right’s based ideal, ‘framing’ reality. It is also done by the distancing of the experts in international organizations from the children. Distancing comes as an effect of professionalism and economic-based routines. Further, experts often encounter these children only in staged arrangements, where the children perform songs and dance, far removed from everyday life and struggles.

The other manifestation of concealment is the way links between lives of hardship and lives of plenty are kept out of the discourse. These discourses make the victims carry both the shame and the blame for the life situation they are in. Distancing and concealment is an effect of the discourses at every level, from the international financial
institutions, to the international development organizations, the NGOs, CBOs and to the people on the local level who are living with the suffering.

The need to point to these processes of hiding and concealment is something I see as a responsibility. This corresponds to a number of scholars who claim it is a duty of those who can, to speak out on social inequality and structural violence. Keeping in mind the words of Chambers (1997), Ferguson (2006) and Farmer (1999, 2005), the possibility of change is within reach. That is exactly why these processes need to be examined, made explicit, and expressed.
Litterature


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Appendix 1

Guidance for Preparation of Full Applications for the Rapid Funding Envelope for HIV/AIDS

INTRODUCTION

Your application must be completed on a computer using Microsoft Word. Manually completed applications will not be accepted.

The proposal has the following sections. You must complete all sections and the required appendices. However, only complete section 3 if you have partner organisations.

Sections:

1. Details of Applicant
2. Project Description
3. Partnership (only if proposal is by a partnership)
4. Monitoring and Evaluation
5. Urgency and Sustainability
6. Management-Implementation and Capacity
7. Financial Information

Required Appendices:
Appendix 1 – Budget
Appendix 2 – Commitment Statement and signatures
Appendix 3 – Brief CVs of key personnel
Appendix 4 – List of sites to be renovated

The total length of the application form (sections 1 to 7) must not exceed 20 A4 pages (not including appendices) and the font should be no smaller than 11 point.

Appendix 1: The budget is completed using the Excel spreadsheets that we have sent you. You can amend the spreadsheets to suit your project, according to the instructions given below. Please note that budgets prepared in any other format will not be accepted.

Appendix 2:
   i) Single applicant: On your institution’s letterhead paper, provide a commitment statement to the project signed by the Executive Director or other leader.
   ii) Partnership: Provide a commitment statement on the letterhead paper of the Lead Partner. The statement should show the contribution of each partner. A representative of each partner institution must sign the statement showing their commitment to the project and agreement to the partnership arrangements.

The original letter should be sent to the Grant Manager with the paper copy of the application.

Appendix 3 should contain brief (1-2 pages) CVs of the Project Manager, Lead Technical person (if different from the project manager) and Financial Manager.

Appendix 4 – If you are requesting support for renovations, provide a list showing the name of each building and department where the renovations will take place, the physical address including district and region. Provide a short (one-two sentence) description of the renovations to
be done to each facility.

You may attach technical documents to your application if you believe they are needed to explain your project further. Most projects will not need additional documents.

**SUBMITTING THE PROPOSAL**

You must submit both a paper copy and an electronic copy of the proposal to the Grants Manager. If possible, submit the electronic copy by email as an attachment. If this is not possible, you may submit the electronic version on a virus-free diskette/CD.

The deadline for submission is 13 June 2008 at 1700hrs.

Submitting by email – You are encouraged to submit your proposal by email to rfe@deloitte.co.tz. Attach the completed proposal file and budget file to your email message. Ensure that the subject line includes: the RFE number of your project (RFE 5..., CL5) and the name of the lead organisation. You will receive an acknowledgement email as soon as the Grants Manager has downloaded your proposal.

Then you must submit a paper copy of the proposal with the original documents of Appendix 2 to the Grant Manager’s Office at Deloitte 10th Floor, PPF Tower Corner of Ohio Street & Garden Av. Please note that the e-mail must have been received by 1700hrs on 13 June 2007.

For Zanzibar and other districts, you may send the documents by EMS or other courier service.

**SPECIFIC INSTRUCTIONS FOR EACH SECTION**

When completing each section, please read the guidance notes and questions carefully. The following “key points to consider” for each section are intended to help you ensure your application has covered the key issues. You should also take into account the feedback you received from the Grant Manager on your Concept Letters when preparing your Full Application.

1. **Applicant Details**

Key Points to Consider

- Is it clear which organisation is taking the lead in submitting the bid and who are the partners?
- Have all the partners signed a statement confirming their commitment (statement must be included Appendix 2)?

2. **Description of Project**

You should describe the problem, the purpose and context of the project, the strategies and the activities to be carried out.

Key Points to Consider
- Is the purpose of the project clear i.e. what problem it intends to address?
- Is the general objective statement linked to the problem?
- Are the strategies to attain the objectives of the project pertinent and aligned with the National Strategic Framework for HIV/AIDS?
- Are the target group/beneficiaries and/or geographical region of the project clearly specified and quantified (if possible)?
- Is the relationship between the strategies, baselines, main activities and desired outputs clear and sensible? Please note: your quantified outputs will be used to monitor your project.
- If baselines are not provided or are incomplete, are there satisfactory plans for providing or completing them as soon as possible?

Examples of quantified outputs:

Strategy – Increase access to VCT: Activity 1 – Renovate, equip 2 new VCT sites, Baseline = 0 sites, Output = 2 sites open
Strategy – Develop an IEC approach for blind Tanzanians: Activity 1 – Hold a workshop to develop approach, Baseline = (not applicable), Output = Draft approach

3. Partnership

Key Points to Consider

- Have you specified the roles of the lead organisation and any partners?
- Are the partners able to make a resource contribution to the project?
- Do partner understand how they will receive funds?
- Has a Memorandum of Understanding or Letter of Agreement or other document been signed among you explaining roles and responsibilities in detail?

4. Monitoring and Evaluation

For short-term projects like these, the Monitoring and Evaluation plan should be simple and straightforward. If it includes client statistics or patient numbers, it should build upon existing reporting that your institution uses already. Please note that the RFE will require you to complete quarterly reports and a final report.

Key Points to Consider

- Technical monitoring: The outputs you list in Table 1 of the proposal will be used to monitor your project technically.
- Have you allowed enough time to implement your M&E activities?
- Is your monitoring plan realistic considering the short-term nature of the project?
- Financial monitoring – please be aware that the Lead Partner has financial responsibility for the project funds. The Lead Partner will produce the financial report for the Grant Manager and must be able to show how funds transferred to the other partners were used. All original receipts for funds used will need to be submitted to the Grant Manager by the Lead Partner, including those relating to funds transferred to other partners.
- How will the partners report their expenses and activities to the lead partner?

5. Urgency and Sustainability
You should show how urgent this project is and how it will be sustained after RFE’s support.

Key Points to Consider

- Is the project urgent? Why does it need to be done this year?
- Does the project build upon best practices?
- If it does not build upon best practices, how is the project innovative?
- Does the project contribute to the long-term activities on HIV/AIDS of your organisation or of the national response?
- How will you sustain the project after RFE support ends?

6. Management-Implementation and Capacity
You should describe your detailed implementation arrangements, setting out how the project will be managed.

Then, complete the work plan table using the activities you listed in Table 1. Arrange the activities in the chart in chronological order. If an activity will continue for several months, show the beginning and ending points. Note the organisation or partner that is responsible for each activity (especially important for projects with several partners).

Key Points to Consider

- Is your work plan realistic? Can you really accomplish all the activities within the time period?
- Who does what and when? Have you clearly shown the role of the partners in the implementation?
- Will the structure and financial management systems and procedures make for clear and effective decision taking?
- Can the lead organisation transfer funds to partners rapidly?

6C: Implementation challenges/ Risk

You should set out the reasons why you believe the project is a robust one and can adapt to changing circumstances.

Key Points to Consider

- Are risks realistically identified? Are there contingency plans for dealing with them?
- Is the nature and extent of the commitment of partners clear and in line with the purpose of the project? For example, have they confirmed that they can make available the financial and other resources implied by the proposal within the constraints of their own likely resources? Are the resources proposed the subject of current or likely future proposals to other support schemes?
- If there are substantial risks, are they justified by potentially high outcomes?
- How dependent is the project on factors outside the control of the organisation and its
partners?

7. Financial Information

This section contains the budget tables in Appendix 1. Appendix 1 is an excel spreadsheet made up of three individual worksheets, namely:

- Table 1 – Detailed Budget of Activities by Objectives
- Table 2 – Activity Budget of Activities by Objectives and by Quarter
- Table 3 – Summary of Funding

You are required to complete all three of the budget tables as contained in Appendix 1 as Appendix 1 requires a breakdown of the sources of funding for the project and how this funding will be spent during the course of the project.

The Excel templates which have been provided should be adapted as appropriate for your project, for example, if you have more than 4 activities as provided in Tables 1 and 2, please add additional lines in these tables, but ensure that all formulas are correct. You should fill only the white background parts of the spreadsheets. Do not change the yellow background parts because these contain automatic calculations.

**Table 1 – Detailed Budget of Activities by Objectives**

This table provides a breakdown of expenditures by activities by objectives and should be completed first. Table 1 allows you to plan all the resources you will need to execute the activities. In this table, there is a block for each activity. These are divided by objectives and should match the objectives in your proposal. Insert the name of the activity. For each activity, please list the resources needed in the resources column provided. Insert the unit costs and type of measurement for that resource. The total cost of each resource will be calculated automatically. The total direct cost of the activity will also be calculated automatically. Program Management costs, which should include monthly overhead costs (e.g. rent, electricity, water, telephone, maintenance of office equipment) and monthly costs to manage the project (program manager, accountant salaries etc.) should be the last block on your list of activities. Ensure that you detail all anticipated direct costs of program management and co-ordination. Government rates should be applied for per diems and subsistence allowance.

Please add as many activity blocks as you need to this table, so that you can show all your activities and resources. You may add more lines for an activity if you need them.

**Example of an activity budget:**

**Objective 1**

**Activity 1.1 – Train Counsellors**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Resource</th>
<th>Unit</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Unit</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Unit cost</th>
<th>Total cost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hiring of venue</td>
<td>3 Days</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>150,000</td>
<td>450,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily</td>
<td>20 People</td>
<td>3 Days</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>600,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
- How will the partners report their expenses and activities to the lead partner?

5. Urgency and Sustainability
You should show how urgent this project is and how it will be sustained after RFE’s support.

Key Points to Consider
- Is the project urgent? Why does it need to be done this year?
- Does the project build upon best practices?
- If it does not build upon best practices, how is the project innovative?
- Does the project contribute to the long-term activities on HIV/AIDS of your organisation or of the national response?
- How will you sustain the project after RFE support ends?

6. Management-Implementation and Capacity
You should describe your detailed implementation arrangements, setting out how the project will be managed.

Then, complete the work plan table using the activities you listed in Table 1. Arrange the activities in the chart in chronological order. If an activity will continue for several months, show the beginning and ending points. Note the organisation or partner that is responsible for each activity (especially important for projects with several partners).

Key Points to Consider
- Is your work plan realistic? Can you really accomplish all the activities within the time period?
- Who does what and when? Have you clearly shown the role of the partners in the implementation?
- Will the structure and financial management systems and procedures make for clear and effective decision taking?
- Can the lead organisation transfer funds to partners rapidly?

6C: Implementation challenges/ Risk

You should set out the reasons why you believe the project is a robust one and can adapt to changing circumstances.

Key Points to Consider
- Are risks realistically identified? Are there contingency plans for dealing with them?
- Is the nature and extent of the commitment of partners clear and in line with the purpose of the project? For example, have they confirmed that they can make available the financial and other resources implied by the proposal within the constraints of their own likely resources? Are the resources proposed the subject of current or likely future proposals to other support schemes?
- If there are substantial risks, are they justified by potentially high outcomes?
- How dependent is the project on factors outside the control of the organisation and its
| Subsistence | | | | | | |
| Allowance | | | | | | |
| Trainers | 2 | People | 15 | Days | 10,000 | 300,000 |
| Curriculum | 15 | Trainees | 1 | kits | 1,000 | 15,000 |
| kits | | | | | | |
| Total for | | | | | | 1,365,000 |
| Activity 1.1 | | | | | | |

Table 2 - Expenditures Summary of Activities by Objectives by Quarter

In Table 2, show how expenditures which you have already detailed in Table 1 will be incurred over the four quarters. If your project is shorter than 4 quarters, leave the extra quarters blank. The total direct cost of all activities will be calculated automatically.

A 5% Contingency Fund is automatically included in Table 2. This amount is used for unforeseen costs only. In addition, the use of the contingency fund is only allowed after a formal request in writing is made to the Grant Manager and the Grant Manager authorises the use thereof in writing.

Ensure that the total direct cost per your activities in Table 2 (excluding the contingency fund) equals the total per activities in Table 1.
Table 3 - Summary of Funding

Table 3 shows the funds being requested by your organisation from the RFE as well as the funds to be contributed by the lead organisation and its partners. The Total Grant requested from RFE (refer A in Table 3 Appendix 1) should equal to the Total Project Cost (G in Table 1 Appendix 1). Requests and contributions must be broken down by quarters. This table should be filled in last.

Key Points to Consider

- Are the contributions of the members/partners clearly defined in terms of financial, non-financial personal time, support services?
- Have contributions “in kind” been given a financial value and is it clear what the elements of the projections that are “in kind” are? (Note you do not need to value volunteer services. Only substantial in kind assistance will require disclosure in the budget. Such an amount should be shown in both the funding sheet and the expenditure sheets.)