

Poor Urban Children At Risk In Dar Es Salaam

A Participatory Research Report

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Save The Children Fund (UK)
Dar Es Salaam, 1997

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We would like to thank the following people for their contribution to the success of this research project :

The Staff of Save the Children Fund (UK) (Dar es Salaam) whom made us feel right at home. We would especially like to thank Mary Nsemwa for her direction when we were sometimes lost.

UNICEF (Tanzania) for all it's support and Dar es Salaam street children Network for giving an insight into the children's lives.

The BUREAU OF STATISTICS for the kind co - operation it gave us in conducting the survey we would especially like to thank Mr Mbalilaki, Mr Mkai and Mr Mohan.

The Dar es Salaam Regional Authorities for allowing us to carry out the research we would especially like to thank the districts of Ilala and Kinondoni.

And most of all the children who participated in the project whose input is the foundation for this document.

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1. Executive Summary

" Street kids are Poor children in the wrong place.

A street child is like our definition of dirt, soil that is out of place. Soil in the ground is clean, a potential garden; soil under the fingers nails is filth. Likewise a poor ragged kid running along an unpaved road in a shanty town or playing in a field of sugar cane is just a kid. That same child transposed to the main streets and plazas of town is a threat, a potentially dangerous "street kid"

Source: SKI annual report 1995. Quoted from Nancy Scheper-Hughes and Daniel Hoffman, Kids out of place, NACLA Report on the Americas, May-June 1994.

In 1997 Save the Children Fund (SCF) UK Tanzania programme carried out participatory research through the Dar es Salaam Street Children Research Project (DSCRCP). The aim of the project was to initiate SCF's project work with " Poor urban children at Risk " (PUCR) focusing on street children based on comprehensive and reliable research information.

To do this an innovative inclusive research process was developed. The aim of the process was to build relationships of trust and understanding between the children and the research team. In order to to work with children in an environment that made them feel comfortable and confident.

This report has brought home to us many important lessons. Perhaps the biggest being not to judge children because of their appearance and where they live. Although the research started by just working with street children it soon became evident that "street children's" problems did not occur in isolation from other poor

marginalized children in poor communities.

It is often thought that homeless children living in the city center are the most vulnerable. However it is clear from this research that vulnerability extends beyond visible street children. We are not saying that street children do not have any problems, they do. Poor and often abusive home environments, coupled with intra - familial tensions and lack of good educational opportunities, push street children into seeking alternative ways of life. Street children also face growing discrimination from adults and other children. While sleeping rough or looking for work they are arrested for loitering and often face severe beatings. They are often seen as thieves, drug pushers/addicts or a security problem. They also lack access to many social services such as education and medical care. For street children the presence or absence of parental care becomes the defining criterion, because most studies done so far indicate that this is the crucial yard stick for the vulnerability of children.

The research approach consisted of three main phases :

Phase 1: Getting to know the children, using approaches such as outreach and animation.

Phase 2: Collecting data on the childrens lives and experiences, this was done through Participatory Action Research with Children, a social survey and compiling case studies.

Phase 3: Was for collecting secondary data, understanding the perceptions the public have on street children and a law review to give us more of an insight into the juvenile justice system.

The domain of study was Dar es Salaam region, in two selected clusters : Ilala and Kinondoni District. These areas were selected after visiting children in different parts of the city enabling us to see where the children lived and congregated. A total of 742 children participated in the research.

However just looking at one particular representation of Poor Urban Children at Risk (PUCR), such as street children gives a very distorted picture of the problems and needs that urban children have. It gives the impression that urban children at risk only live and work in the central business districts. This research shows that children also work and live in abusive environments in the high density suburbs of Dar such as Manzese. In these parts of the city organized and often exploitative child labour is visible; such as twining stove-wicks and collecting garbage. Children particularly girls complain of a high incidence of violence, by parents, older children and police. Although the degrees of risk or vulnerability of children might vary from group to group it's quite clear that children are often exposed to the same problems. This means that a child living on the street is just as likely to be abused or engaged in work, as those living in high density communities with their parents or relatives. The determining criteria in this case is the parents level of education, income and the amount of abuse or exploitation within the home. Given that a lot of the challenges faced by children in these communities are similar to those faced by *street children* before leaving home. This has three implications :

- * Vulnerability extends beyond visible street children.
- * There is room for " prevention " work within Dar es Salaam.
- * It goes further to prove that children can and do make responsible decisions everyday, not just for themselves or their peers but for their families.

It is our hope that this report will stimulate parents, government and agencies working with children . To explore ways in which children can participate in their own development as catalysts of change within the house hold, community and civil society in general. We also hope to bring greater awareness and recognition of the daily sacrifices and contribution that children make for their families and communities.

Kumbusu mtoto usingizini kunasababisha
mtoto huyo kuwa na majivuno ukubwani."

"kissing a sleeping child
will make it grow up conceited."

Swahili sayings (S S. Farsi, 79)

2. Introduction

Dar es Salaam, the haven of peace is the commercial capital of Tanzania, not too long ago it was also the official capital of Tanzania. "Dar" or *Bongo* as it's commonly called by the children and other residents, is a bubbly city with a coastal swahili flavor. The city is full of the attractions that most big cities have; clubs, bars, casinos, and the illusion of jobs for all. Dar es Salaam like most ex - British colonial cities is cut into three distinct parts : the low density suburbs with shady trees such as Oysterbay, where most of the well to do live, the city center where most of the formal business and government offices are and high density suburbs where most people live.

In the 1978 census it was observed that the urban population of Tanzania mainland was growing rapidly. The proportion of the urban population in the mainland increased from 6.39 % in 1967 to 13.78 in 1978, an average annual growth rate of 8.87% (Sensa, 88). The rapid population growth has in part meant that most social services are overstretched and new high density suburbs have sprung up all over Dar to accommodate the rapidly growing population. The rapid population growth means children living in poor communities lack access to essential social and economic amenities.

Current figures from the 1988 census indicate a lower growth rate of the urban population when compared to the growth experienced in 1978 (Sensa, 88). These figures from the 1988 census indicate a decline in rural urban migration.

Although rural urban migration has declined easing the pressures of urban growth in Dar, the city is faced with a growing number of *street children*; children working to earn a living on the streets. Our survey, like *Children en route* (Thea Mulders 95) also suggests that this increase is only partly due to rural urban migration. Dar's poor communities are a contributing factor to the greater numbers of children seen on the streets.

During the mid to late eighties *Street children* received a lot of attention . A number of N.G.O's were founded to help contain what was seen as a problem. "Containing" the phenomena of street children has been a frustrating process due to the ever growing numbers of children. Poor and often abusive home environments coupled with intra - familial tensions and lack of good educational opportunities push these children into seeking alternative ways of life. *Street children* face growing discrimination from adults and other children alike. They are often seen as thieves, drug pushers/addicts or a security problem. .

In 1991 the Department of Social Welfare estimated that there were 250- 300 street children. Estimates gained from our survey indicate a minimum conservative population estimate of 2,000. There is great difficulty in arriving at good estimates of numbers, as there is no one definition of a 'street child'. Our research rapidly showed us that children in Dar es Salaam defy easy categorisation. The archetype of a street child, as one cut off from all support mechanisms, and living by their wits on the street is a simplification that does not reflect reality. Children on the street do have support mechanisms, relationships with adults and each other, and are not a homogeneous mass. This study is therefore of children 'on the street' in the widest sense. In order to try to describe the group of children that took part in the study we have used the term Poor Urban Children at Risk (PUCR).

However just looking at one particular representation of Poor Urban Children at Risk (PUCR ref. to fig. 3) , such as street children gives a very distorted picture of the problems and needs that urban children have. It gives the impression that urban children at risk only live and work on the streets in the central business districts. This research shows that children also work and live in abusive environments in the high density suburbs of Dar such as Manzese. In these parts of the city organized and often exploitative child labour is visible; such as twining stove-wicks and collecting garbage. Children particularly girls complain of a high incidence of violence, by parents, older children and police. But unlike the city center few organizations exist to protect or work with these children. Thus children often turn to sex work, menial labor such as garbage collection and petty trade. The research shows that a lot of the challenges faced by children in these communities are similar to those faced by *street children* before leaving home. This information has three implications :

- * Vulnerability extends beyond visible street children.
- * There is room for " prevention " work within Dar es Salaam.
- * It goes further to prove that children can and do make responsible decisions everyday, not just for themselves or their peers but for their families.

For *street children* the presence or absences of parental care becomes the defining criterion, because most studies done so far indicate that this is the crucial yard stick for the vulnerability of children. Clearly by "parental care" is meant genuine caring parents (Karin Kapadia, 97). It is recognized by Karin and our research findings that not all parents are caring and may use their children in what may appear to be exploitative ways and that children are sometimes abused. Although the degrees of risk or vulnerability of children might vary from group to group it is quite clear that children are often exposed to the same problems. This means that a child living on the street is just as likely to be abused or engaged in work ,as those living in high density communities with their parents. The determining criteria in this case are the parents level of education, income and abuse or exploitation within the home.

In March 1997, Save the Children Fund (SCF) decided to conduct participatory research through the formation of the Dar es Salaam Street Children Research Project (DSCRCP). The aim of the research project was to initiate SCF's program work with PUCR. The research process was designed to accomplish and promote several different objectives and principles, the most

important being children's participation; conducting research with children not for or about them. To achieve this inclusive aim we used two approaches, outreach and animation. Meeting, playing and working with children under shady trees and in places where they usually congregate. This approach allowed us to build relationships of trust, making the children comfortable and feel confident. Three methods were used: Participatory Action Research with Children, a structured survey and observation. In the districts of Ilala and Kinondoni 742 children participated in the research.

It is our hope that this report will stimulate parents, government and agencies working with children , to seriously explore the ways in which children can participate in their own development as catalysts of change within the house hold, community and civil society in general. We also hope to bring greater awareness and recognition of the daily sacrifices and contribution that children make for their families and communities.

fig. 1

Overall Research Objectives:

- i) To initiate SCF's project work with Poor Urban Children at Risk (PUCR) focusing on street children (SC) in Dar es Salaam based on comprehensive and reliable research information, specifically:
- 1) To better understand the present and possible future status of SC and PUCR with a view of improving the situation.
- ii) To better understand people's (including children's) perceptions on the problem of PUCR and SC
- iii) To establish a close working relationships with organizations working with SC.

3. The Participants

*"We feel pity for the visible children
and are strongly motivated by our emotions
to do something for them. We cannot accept
children
unprotected by adults are living and working
on the streets."*

(Enda, T.O.T course for urban educators, first session, Johannesburg, 93)

participants of this research. Through internal discussions within SCF and between different partners such as community groups and N.G.O's working with *street children*, it was seen that the phenomena of street children had much wider implications than just the children seen washing and guarding cars in the city center. At times we even found it hard to define who street children were, without relating them to the activities that they do eg. begging and guarding cars. From talking with different partners we found out that the concept of street children meant very many different things to different people. In some communities Street Children were defined by derogatory terms such as "*watoto chips*". The children were called this name by adults because they exchanged favors such as collecting garbage and having sex for the price of chips. In these communities street children are seen as a sign of decline in the morality and responsibilities that parents should have in caring for their children. These communities believe that children living on the streets should not be referred to as "street" children because "the streets cannot give birth to children". Street children is a term that most of us have become comfortable with when talking about "homeless" children. Describing homeless children as "street children" tends to brand such children with all the negative images of street children such as beggars and thieves. Therefore for the purposes of conducting the research we established operational categories of children to work with that better defined who the children were. We were open minded and inclusive as possible when identifying participants for the research. The name given

"Street children", children who live and work on the streets of Dar's city center, without support or care were to be the main

fig.2

Definition of "Poor Urban children at risk":

Poor Urban children at risk in the case of this research are children girls and boys (3 - 18 yrs) living in Dar es Salaam under difficult social and economical circumstances. This group includes the following groups of children:

1. Children of the street: Visible children for whom the city center streets (in the widest sense of the word; ie unoccupied dwellings, waste land, markets etc) are home and live without or with minimal support and protection.
2. Children on the street: Children who spend their day/night on the street conducting specific economic activities (e.g shoe shiners, laborers, petty traders) or "hang out" then return home at night.
3. Begging children: Children who live with their parents or an adult and beg for money or food.
4. Child sex workers: Children who engage in sexual activities for an economic gain.
5. New arrivals: Children who are working or living, with or without parents or adults for period of less than 2 months.
6. Child offenders: Children who are or have been in the juvenile justice system.
7. Children in centres: These are children who live and use the services of street children drop in centres.

* The words children or street children or street girls will be used interchangeably to represent PUCR.

to our " operational categories" was Poor Urban Children at Risk (PUCR). This definition (fig 2.) helped us to concentrate and define some of characteristics that can make children "vulnerable" whether on the street or within a community. It should be stressed however, that the categories used refer to what children do, and an individual child may have several 'jobs'.

4. RESEARCH DOMAIN

The domain of study was Dar es Salaam region, in two selected districts : Ilala and Kinondoni District. These included the city center's economic zones such as the Ferry market, Kariakoo market and the surrounding areas. As well as Manzese market and the Magomeni Mapipa markets. Residential areas were also included such as Manzese Uzuri, Magomeni Mapipa and Kinondoni (Moscow area). These areas were selected after visiting children in different parts of the city enabling us to see where the children lived and congregated. The selected areas were:

SITES DISTRIBUTION CHART : fig. 3

Area	District	Outreach route/ Location
1.City Center	Ilala	<p>The eastern side of city center is from ferry to Mnazi Mmoja .</p> <p>From Sokoine Drive into Ohio Street , into Bibi Titi Road . Including The Dar es Salaam children remand home.</p> <p>Kariakoo area will be from Mnazi Mmoja (along Uhuru Street) up to Uhuru Girls school, along Msimbazi Street up to Fire station, and around the Kariakoo market.</p> <p>Jangwani area</p>
2.Manzese	Kinondoni	<p>Kinondoni Manzese market and surrounding areas.</p> <p>From the <i>Uwanja wa Fisi</i> up to Uzuri Primary School.</p> <p>Entertainment areas where children hang out eg bars and video- showing areas and Sex workers guest house.</p>
3.Magomeni	Kinondoni	<p>The intersection of Morogoro Road and Morocco Road.</p> <p>Around the Magomeni market.</p> <p>Entertainment areas where children hang out eg bars and video- showing areas and Sex workers guest house.</p>

4. Kinondoni	Kinondoni	Kinondoni Moscow area. The area around Livingstone Hotel. Entertainment areas where children hang out eg bars and video- showing areas and Sex workers guest house.
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5. APPROACH

The research process was designed to accomplish and promote several different objectives and principles. The leading principle was children's participation in research, in other words conducting research with children, not for or about children. We also sought to make girls more visible since other research had little information about their lives. Therefore to gain the girls trust, two women animators were assigned to work closely with the girls.

The aim was to build relationships based on trust and understanding between the research team and children. For most children the main motivation for participating was intrinsic interest. Therefore a lot of attention was paid to the research's intrinsic value, incorporating play, learning and fellowship. Participatory research works best when the children are in

an environment where they feel comfortable and confident. Play grounds, under shady trees and other places where children usually congregate during their leisure time served this purpose. The fusion between animation and participatory research provided information on problems, interests and views from the perspective of the child.

" Observation, interviews, questionnaires and other tools, under the title of research methods are not necessarily quantitative or qualitative *per se*. Any attempt to quantify involves a qualitative judgement, and vice - versa. Qualitative statements imply a certain hierarchy, number and magnitude that give form to meaning"

Source : RAP, nevin s. scrimshaw and gary r. Gleason, editors, 92

Approach and methods used:

The research approach consisted of three main phases :

- * Phase 1: Consisted of getting to know the children, using approaches such as outreach and animation.
- * Phase 2: Collecting data on the childrens lives and experiences, this was done through PARC, a social survey and compiling case studies.
- * Phase 3: Was for collecting secondary data, understanding the perceptions the public have on street children and a law review to give us more of an insight into the juvenile justice system.

Phase 1

1. "Outreach": This stage was crucial to the research as it helped us build an environment for participation. Our research was conducted by animators, it involved visiting children where they live, play and work. This process was used to identify children, assess their environment through unstructured observation and to build relationships between the children and animators. During the outreach process, meeting places for animators and children were established. At this stage we also identified and held discussions with key informants. This method is commonly used by street children centres for building relationships with children.

2. "Animation": Animators/Child Educators were used to interact with the children, through games, plays and other activities to motivate children to participate in the research. The animators also compiled survey questionnaires with the children. Their work was conducted on the streets, open areas in the city and schools. Children were organized into small working groups either by activities or strata. Animation as is referred to in this research implies the use of activities or group/individual discussion to empower children to contribute information or opinions. This is to improve their, and our understanding of their situation. Phase 1 took 2 months to establish and was kept up through out the research to stay in close contact with children.

The following people were identified as key informants:

- Mama Ntiller
- Elder street dwellers
- Elder street hawkers
- Government officials at ward level

Phase 2

3. "Participatory Action Research with Children (PARC)": This method was central to the research (refer to Appendix 3 for a detailed description). It was developed by Environmental and Development Activities (ENDA) in Dakar and tested in Tanzania by UNICEF. PARC enabled the research to capture the children's problems from their perspective, survival mechanisms and livelihoods. PARC is qualitative research methodology in which children identify and analyze their own problems. It is carried out with children in five phases :

- Phase 1 : Identification of problems
- Phase 2: Elaboration of the problems manifestations and collection of data on manifestations
- Phase 3 : Categorization of problems into Political, Cultural and Economic themes
- Phase 4 : Prioritization of problems

Phase 5 : Analysis of Variables to determine causes

A total of 400 children participated in PARC, of these children 150 were girls and 250 were boys.

4. **"Survey"**: Since some of the research objectives required specific information, the PARC process needed to be triangulated with a structured social survey. The survey served as a control method, thus providing the opportunity to evaluate PARC against a more common and accepted methodology. The questionnaire was field tested for overlaps, objectivity and to verify pre coded responses. The pre-test was carried out in the city center and Manzese amongst 45 children. Once the pre-test was completed the childrens responses were evaluated to determine if there was a need to re-draft questions, to add/ modify responses. The survey also provided us with accurate quantitative information, to assist in monitoring any future action. The questionnaire for survey had 15 main sections which were:

- Respondent's Personal Information
- Family Background and Family Relations
- Marital Status and Family Responsibility
- Own Family Support
- Nature of Work/Pre-occupation
- Education
- Living Conditions
- Survival Means
- Health and Nutrition
- Justice and Legal Rights
- Victimization
- Drug Use
- Group Care
- Participation and Decision Making
- Sexuality

Sampling:

The sampling ratio was established on an assumed population size of 3000 children. The ratio recommended by the Bureau of Statistics was one in two for female respondents, and one in ten for male respondents. Girls were over-sampled because the population size of girls (for all the categories) was deemed smaller than for boys. It was very difficult to set up sample sizes or to follow the method as the children were highly mobile and there exists only guesses on the total population of street children. A total of 342 children participated in the survey, of those children 107 were girls 235 were boys.

5. **Case studies:** 20 case studies were also collected these were mostly based on life history and general back ground so as to give us insights of different childhoods (refer to appendix two

for 9 selected case studies) . Our discussions with children focused on the following issues:

- Historical backgrounds
- Family particulars and relationships
- Factors leading to street life or present situation.
- Perception of their situation; negative and positive side of view
- Future aspirations.

Phase 3

6. **Community forum:** This consisted of a series of meetings formal and informal, which were aimed at creating awareness (to build credibility of the research), and assessing public perceptions on the children. To develop ideas for program proposals based on discussions with different groups of children community leaders, parents and other street dwellers.

7. **A Law Review:** This included reviewing police and court records and focusing on the Judicial system within a two year span. The law review was used to investigate the relationships between the children and law enforcement agencies, as well as the juvenile justice system due process. The process of the law review is elaborated in Appendix one: The Law Review.

8. **Literature review and secondary data collection:** This involved looking at research papers, publications and proposals already published on street children in Tanzania. Refer to bibliography for listings of materials used.

Approach and methods; lessons learned

1. It was felt by the research team that the above methods and approaches on the whole complemented each other. They helped validate each others information and each highlighted different aspects of the childrens lives. It must however be said that even though the survey gave us a lot of detailed information it also had limitations. The biggest challenge was that most of our categories overlapped. For example, a girl who might fit in the category of children on the street might similarly be a child sex worker. However it was also important for purposes of data analysis to be able to distinguish between different categories of children. It was therefore very important to talk to the child before assuming which category she or he fitted in. Cross-sectional surveys can lead to the reading of a static or "Photographic" image of what is, in reality, an interactive and dynamic process (RAP: Nevin s. scrimshaw and Gray R. Gleason 1992).

2. It's also important to point out that the PARC methodology was highly dependant on context i.e team composition and creating a process where children are enabled to participate (which took a very long time). Child participation has become such a development buzz word, which makes it even more important to recognize the specific difficulties involved in children's participation. Our process has shown that a child's ability to share in the decision making process increases with age and maturity, but is complicated by adult attitudes,gender and different cultural

traditions. With such methodological implications triangulation was particularly important. Using just one method would have meant a one dimensional view of childrens problems.

3. During animation special attention was paid to girls to gain a better understanding of their lives. Sometimes this involved working with the girls on their own. It was crucial because sometimes the boys would tease the girls about their problems. Similarly it was therefore also important to have female animators working with the girls. We found the girls to be more responsive while working with female animators. Generally though it was more difficult to gain the girls trust.

4. If children's participation or research is not to be mere tokenism, adults also need to let go and need to see information given by children as genuine and not a child's exaggeration or simplification of an experience.

6 . Findings

6.1 COMMON RISKS THAT LEAD TO VULNERABILITY FOR POOR URBAN CHILDREN

Most of the children who had participated in this research had very common characteristics. These characteristics manifested themselves because of the fluidity of categories. Although the children were not homogeneous they had similar problems. It is important to recognize the similarities between children's problems to be able to have a clearer definition of the children we were working with. The research concentrated on these characteristics to identify and develop indicators of vulnerability or risk for future action. Vulnerability in this case means being exposed to *intense multiple risks to physical and mental well being (Redd Barna in SCF ,94)*. Our indicators included age, health, education, protection, childhood pregnancies, work and low family income.

Age:

The most children were in the age group 13 -16 . In most cases this age group were the most sexually active and also the most unaware on the risks of HIV/AIDS. They also seem to consume more drugs than any other age group.

fig 4. Age distribution table (survey)

Age	Frequency	Percent
Not stated	1	.3
5 - 8	11	3.2
9 - 12	72	21.1
13-16	162	47.4
17 -18	89	26.0
Do not know	7	2.0
Total	342	100.0

Health.

Over half the children were sick in the 6 months before being interviewed for the survey. The most common illnesses were malaria and stomach aches. It is evident that the children get stomach aches because of drinking unclean water and having poor personal hygiene. Illnesses and disease make these children vulnerable due to the limited access they have to medical treatment. Thus their illnesses often get worse, endangering their survival.

Education

A total of 129 (38 %) children surveyed had never gone to school. It was more likely for boys to have gone to school rather than girls. In a society where everything is written down educational skills are crucial not only for simple tasks such as filling forms at the hospital, but also accessing information that is needed to ensure the child's well being.

Protection

Most children complained of abuse ranging from being beaten by teachers in school, to being raped or sodomised while sleeping rough on the street. The amount of children arrested for petty offences by the police and their treatment while in custody was of great concern. Other issues of concern in protection included children sleeping without shelter and without parents or guardian, both of which are key elements of vulnerability.

Childhood pregnancies

Out of 342 children surveyed, 25 children were parents. Of these children 18 were girls and 7 were boys. With such a sexually active groups this is a very low birth rate, it could suggest higher levels of STD'S or STI'S which lower fertility. Some girls also mentioned infanticide this could also account for the low birth rates. Even though the birth rates are low, these new born children are brought up in dangerous and often violent environments.

Work

Of the children participating in the survey, 229 worked to either support themselves or their

families. The economic activities ranged from collecting sand to sex work. The sex workers earned the most money, an average 2,000 Tsh per day as compared to mean income for the survey which was 756 Tsh. It is hard to judge the degree to which the work was exploitative, given that the children were free to leave the place of employment, but on the other hand they need the money to survive. Much of the work was conducted under very poor working conditions. Children would often complain of their sexual parts being damaged (sex work) or their backs hurting from sitting constantly on the floor (wick twining).

Low family income

A large proportion of the urban population in our areas of research are affected by the absence of regular employment. Most employment is casual, irregular or self employed. As a result, family income is low and children have limited access to essential social services such as education and medical treatment. Children say (PARC) they have to work: (collecting sand, garbage or selling peanuts, fruits) to get money to buy school uniforms and books. For those who had to drop out of school, 34.2 % work so that they can buy food and clothes. The Tanzania Poverty Profile defines house holds living in poverty as earning an income of less than 1 USD per day of which it claims to be 51% of the nation. Of the 51%, 70% are defined as the absolute poor earning incomes of less than 0.75 USD per day. About 15% of the poor and 10% of the absolutely poor house holds live in urban areas, this is significant when it is considered that only a small proportion of the total population lives in urban areas. It is argued by critics that the figures from the poverty profile do not fully reflect urban poverty. It is said that low income on its own does not reflect "poverty" and that using income to do so does not take into account other means of production e.g. land and capital such as live stock. Compared to the rural poor who have the capacity to produce their own food. The urban poor have to buy all their food as they often lack any means of production.

Problem ... Our parents are poor and can't cope :

Outcomes :

- I have to drop out of school
- I am not going to school
- No food at home
- I ran away from home
- I became a thief

Source : PARC

6.2 REASONS FOR LEAVING HOME

There is no single reason for children coming to the streets. According to the survey, 33 (10%) of the children said they came to look for work, because they thought there was more opportunities for work in town than where they were living. For 31 (9%) children, earning their own money was an important enough reason for coming to town. This could suggest that some children resent having to contribute to their families income. A further 31 (9%) came to live with relatives.

We assume that the children's parents or the children think that this would allow them better

opportunities for education or livelihood. This is further enforced because 29 (9%) of the children coming to town said that they wanted to go to school. Another 18 (5%) children came to town because their parents were poor. Poverty and the diminishing opportunities it brings with it such as a lack of access to services and other social and psychological supports, forces children to live and work on the streets. In this case poverty can not be categorized adequately in terms of income expenditure or consumption patterns alone; since poverty is complex in meaning texture, characteristics impact and implications (Karin Kapadia SCF 97). The poverty that the children run away from is multi-dimensional it includes what might be an "unconducive" environment their living in as well as the lack of other social supports. The table below (fig 5) illustrates the wide variety of reasons given for being on the streets.

fig 5 . Reasons for living on the streets (survey)

Reasons	Frequency	Percent
Not stated	46	13.5
Looking for work	33	9.6
Both parents are dead	11	3.2
One parent is dead	7	2.0
No one to look after me	16	4.7
Was being beaten at home	13	3.8
Chased from home	14	4.1
Want to go to school	29	8.5
Came to live with relatives	31	9.1
To earn my own money	31	9.1
Parents/Guardians are poor	18	5.3
Does not know	17	5.0
Other (state)	76	22.2
Total	342	100.0

According to PARC children said that they were overworked and have to contribute to family income. Others complained of family tension because of family separation and re-marriage. This is confirmed through other research conducted by Kuleana. The Kuleana research indicated that 89% of children participating in their study cited violence or neglect at home as one of the reasons for leaving .

Although there was no significant differences between the girls and boys reasons for coming to town, a slightly higher percentage of girls came to live with their relatives. This could suggest girls are sometimes used to provide domestic labor. During PARC girls associated living with relatives as providing domestic labor. Children being used as domestic servants is reported to be very common, but very difficult to research precisely because such children usually are confined to the employers home. The cases come across in the research are those where the placement has broken down. More research is needed on this topic.

Children being disciplined by their parents at home also seems to be a problem. Children complained of being shouted at for no reason. They said that this made them feel lonely, unhappy and made them feel like running away from home. From PARC, other children said they were "chased away" from home. Some children said as a result of leaving home they had to

leave school and sell themselves as sex workers. Children between the ages of thirteen to sixteen also complained of being overworked at home, nine boys and four girls within this age group complained of being severely beaten at home. We suspect that because every family situation is not the same we will not have a clear single reason for children leaving home. What is clear though is that we need to learn more about "a child's vulnerability within a family" to help us understand why children run away from home. We also need to learn more on why parents abuse their children and indeed what can be done about it before the situation deteriorates, and manifests itself into problems such as homeless children.

6.3 WHAT RELATIONS THE CHILDREN HAVE WITH THEIR FAMILIES.

" They should give me time to play,
when I lose money they don't have to punish me,
cause I don't want to do so."

Source : a child who participated in the research.

Over time most people have come to the conclusion that the family is the best place for a child. We really have to think or redefine what family means for children living on the street and in high risk urban environments . Family in this case is not a father and mother but, more of a structure that can give care and protection for those who need it. The groups, their structure and organization are formed by the children themselves as tools of survival on the streets. Although groups or clans might not satisfy our perception of a family for most of these children little or no alternative exists. These structures should be supported and seen as an alternative to institutionalization.

Poor intra-familiar relations is a contributing factor for children coming to live and work on the streets. According to the survey 24% (81), wanted to live alone. These children did not even feel comfortable living in street children centres, for fear of being traced by their families. Most family problems seem to emanate from fathers because only 4% (12) of the children said they would want to live with their father while 24% (81) said they wanted to live with their mothers. Only 18 % (62) of the children wanted to live with both parents.

Approximately 26% (89) of children had both parents living together. A higher number, 32% (109) of the children's parents were separated. It is important to note that only 9% (30) of the children surveyed were orphans. There exists a popular misconception that all street children are orphans. Our numbers suggest that separation plays a bigger role in alienating children than was previously thought. A lot of children complained that separation of their parents contributed to their problems at home. They said they received inadequate care from their step parents. Most step parents, according to the children seemed to favour their own new set of children or existing family. This often results in children having to find other means of income to satisfy their most basic needs. As a result of separation, children said they started experimenting with drugs such as marijuana after being generally humiliated by step parents. They said that this causes them to become more confused and frustrated. They also said their mothers have heavier

work loads because of being alone. Their mothers have to take care of the family and find extra sources of income to support the family.

fig 6. Family relations (survey)

Family status	Frequency	Percent
Not stated	27	7.9
Living together	89	26.0
Separated	117	31.9
One of them dead	60	17.5
Both are dead	30	8.8
Have a step parent	6	1.8
Do not know father	5	1.5
Do not know mother	1	.3
Reluctant to say	15	4.4
Total	342	100.0

Living with both parents according to some children also has it's problems. Children say because their parents do not have the capacity to cope in raising the family, they often have to live with their relatives. Other outcomes of parents not being able to cope include, marrying their children off by force, lack of education and children having to find work while they are young. Violence is another indicator of families not being able to cope. Some children said their parents would lose their jobs because they were alcoholics. The children complain of being beaten for no reason. However some said it was because their parents were frustrated due to having huge debts. They said their fathers also have extra marital affairs . It was suggested by the children that some of the fathers' income was spent on the other women, more than the family. As a result there is a lot more tension between the parents and the children.

Family size

The average family size for the children surveyed is 5 (national average for Tanzanian family or house hold is 5. 2 (Senaa 88)).A total of 52 (15%) respondents live within families with two adults, who could be father and mother. Although similarly 49 (14%) live with one parent, which could reflect single parent families. These figures include both children currently living with families and those who live alone.

Routes used for coming to streets

There are four main routes for coming to the streets. These are :

1. From rural areas directly to the streets
2. From rural area, to relatives home, then to the city streets
3. Migration with families
4. Dar es Salaam residential suburbs to the city streets

From rural areas directly to the streets

Seasons seem to have little or no effect on migration. Most of the children surveyed could not remember what season they came in. Although results from PARC indicate that perceived starvation or hunger in the rural areas can also make children come into the streets. Most children come to Dar es Salaam by bus or by train, without paying fares. This often results in being caught by bus conductors and taken to the police. They are sometimes dropped in the middle of nowhere or taken to jail.

From rural area to relatives home then to the city streets

Some children are sent by their families to live with relatives or to work. Most of the time it seems that the employer or relative is unable to fulfill their promise of payment or education training for the child. Most girls who worked as domestic servants, said they had been sent by their families. In some cases their employers would not pay them and they were abused e.g. by being tied up with a rope. When children are in this kind of situation they often have to find alternative pathways, like living on the streets.

Dar es Salaam residential areas to the city streets

According to Children *en-route*, a quarter of street children surveyed came from Dar es Salaam. Our research also indicates that there is an increasing number of children coming from Dar es Salaam's suburbs. While migration from rural areas makes up part of the increase in the urban population, both studies do indicate that growth contributed by natural increase is a dominant force. This fact is important to bear in mind before coming to any judgements on whether services for street children "attract" children from rural areas. It also points the way for work within the city to prevent children coming onto the street.

Migration with families

Some children came into town with their families. It was observed that these families do not stay in town permanently. They do go back to their homes on special occasions such as funerals and other family occasions. Our analysis was not able to give us the number of children migrating with families.

fig. 7

Place of origin

Dar es Salaam	- 53
Dodoma	- 41
Moshi	- 20
Tabora	- 18
Mwanza	- 15
Tanga/Handeni/	
Lushoto	- 12
Arusha/Monduli	- 11
Bukoba/Karagwe	- 10
Mbeya	- 10
Iringa	- 9
Musoma	- 9
Kigoma	- 7
Lindi	- 7
Morogoro	- 7
Bagamoyo	- 5
Zanzibar	- 2
Mtwara	- 2
Kilwa	- 2
Don't Know	- 2

Other areas with less than two children coming from them are:

- Mago
- Rufiji
- Sumbawanga
- Ikiwiri
- Serengeti

New patterns of migration

There also seems to be new patterns of migration amongst elder children and youth (above 16 yrs). During PARC in Manzese children told us that they are also migrating to countries such as South Africa by stowing away on ships. This new trend seems to emerge due to the lack of opportunities as perceived by the children. From the data collected the full extent of the problem is not clear. Newspapers from time to time have reported these cases. Some children informed us that they had heard of stowaways being thrown overboard. Given this rumour, it is surprising that some still make the attempt.

WHERE THEY LIVE NOW

Most children that participated in the research have been living in Dar es Salaam for more than two years.

fig. 8. Children living indoors

Living areas	Frequency	Percent
Not stated	159	46.5
Our house	86	25.1
Neighbour's house	2	.6
Friend's house	10	2.9
Relative's house	8	2.3
Street children's shelter	64	18.7
Others (state)	13	3.8
Total	342	100.0

As can be seen on fig.8 the greatest number of children of which they are 183 (52%) live indoors. We defined living indoors as "our house", "neighbour's house", "friend's house", "relatives house" and "street children's shelter". This suggests at least for over half the children shelter is not an immediate need. Out of 342 children surveyed, 225 (65) said they knew about centres for street children in Dar es Salaam, while 90 (26%) did not know. Some children who lived in street children centres preferred living there because of education, protection and food. The centres assist children to go to school and they also serve hot meals. The children also feel protected because adults are around. Shelter alone only suggests partial protection for the child, as other children said they did not want to live in centres due to abuse from other children such as being sodomised and fighting. Other children do not live in centres because they do not want to be traced by their families and some do not like the discipline and the rules. There are some who want to work and be independent from any adult influence. In our opinion street children's shelters serve an important role as "emergency shelters", for when young children come on to the streets and have developed few survival mechanisms. Centres on their part should ensure children understand the commitment they would be making by living there, and that they would have to accept the structure of the environment. In the long term institutional care is expensive to run, can benefit only a few children and is not necessarily a place of safety.

fig. 9 Children living outdoors

Living areas	Frequency	Percent
Not stated	204	59.6
On the pavement	39	11.4
Open city gardens	29	8.5
Old buildings	5	1.5
Market places	7	2.0
Night clubs	2	.6
Bars	1	.3
In the mosque court yard	6	1.8
Railway station	2	.6
Other (state)	46	13.7
Total	342	100.0

According to the survey, 138 (40%) children live outdoors. The largest group are begging families and children of the streets. They sleep in gardens, market places or on the pavements. A large number of the sex workers sleep around the Ferry as well as open city gardens and on pavements. Conditions for children sleeping outside are harsh. Children complained of living in poor and unhygienic environments where they are vulnerable to environmentally borne diseases such as malaria, cholera and jiggers. Girls also complained of being disturbed at night and having their money taken away from them and of being raped. Begging children have their property stolen by thieves and complain of their luggage and themselves getting wet during the heavy rains. They also mentioned the unavailability of clean water. They said this made them feel dirty and could increase their chances of catching skin diseases, such as scabies. Not having a place to live also meant children were "loitering" trying to find casual jobs. This seems to be the time when children are most vulnerable. They start experimenting with drugs, get arrested by the police and are often abused and beaten by elder street dwellers and the general public for alleged theft. Living outside can make many children feel frustrated and distressed. They said they lose weight, feel like they are becoming mad and begin to talk to themselves.

6. 4 TEENAGE PARENTS AND NEW URBAN FAMILIES

When do children become parents ?

The youngest child-parent surveyed was a 12 year old girl. The average age of child-parents was 14. Out of 342 children surveyed 25 (7%) were themselves parents. Of these children 18 were girls and 7 boys. With just under half of the children surveyed being sexually active without contraception, this is a very low fertility rate. Lower birth ratios could be because of the prevalence of STD and STIS amongst child bearing parents. Some girls said that if they could not cope with their newborns they would throw them away, an indication that infanticide could also account for the small numbers of child-parents. In Tanzania abortion is illegal and has a lot of stigma attached to it, although we feel it might be a contributing factor to the low birth rate, most children were reluctant to say. The sensitivity of this subject could also account for the low percentage of child-parents surveyed.

Leaving aside the health complications getting pregnant for girls means dropping out of school. In Tanzania it has been official practice to expel all schoolgirls who are found to be pregnant. This brutally terminates schooling for thousands of girls each year. According to the Tanzania Midwife Association nationally more than 3,000 primary school girls are expelled annually due to pregnancy. This is likely to be a low estimate, because many girls who drop out of school cite other reasons (Kuleana's themes for 1996 - 1997) in order to avoid social stigma.

Relations between partners

There were only 3 children who had a partner, 2 had been separated. Of the children with partners 2 were married one had a casual relationship. The findings from PARC would suggest that boys are not keen in recognizing girls pregnancies. They see themselves as not being able to take care of the children, nor do they trust the girls when they are told that the child is theirs. Girls feel that their children will grow up unhealthy and will not have a "good upbringing" without the father around. Only 4 (17% of the child parents) of child-parents support their children from their own source of income, while others get help from their mothers, partners, relatives, friends and social welfare, although support gained from these sources is low. Only 2 child-parents had 2 children and in both cases it was not from the same partner. Talking to the children it is evident that none of these pregnancies were planned, but outcomes of accidents or experimenting with sex. We should also look at relations of child-parents in a realistic way, most teenage relationships by nature are short term.

Taking care of the new born child.

Only 5 of the 25 child parents live with their children, 4 of the children live with a spouse or a partner, 8 live with their grandparents and 2 with other relatives. Six did not say where their children were. Those who do live with their children say they find it hard to feed them and take care of their other basic needs. These new born children are exposed to numerous risks as their parents are. Our data gives us very little information on the impact of these risks on them, nor on the rate of survival past the age of five.

A summary of what new born children eat :

* Morning : porridge

* Lunch : ugali, potatoes, rice, some nothing

Problem: BOYS NOT RECOGNIZING THEIR GIRLS' PREGNANCIES

Outcomes

- Because they cannot take care of the child and the mother
- We don't trust the girls
- Lack of employment
- The baby will not have a Father
- The child will not have a good upbringing
- The girl will lose hope
- The girl will dump the baby
- The girl gets forced to become a prostitute, so that she is able to look after the baby
- The young mother will be in bad health
- Source : A PARC : a child's problem.

* Dinner : mtori, ugali with beans, ugali with dagaa, bananas, potatoes.

Only one respondent said they breast fed their child, the rest did not say. This is quite worrying as the majority of the child-parents children were between the ages of 1 and 2. We feel that reasons for not breast feeding are that the mothers are very young most between the ages of 13 to 16. The survey or PARC did not study child care arrangements in detail, but it seems that the irregular lives of street children make caring for babies hard. It was also suggested by some doctors that the strain of having a baby at this age, under such difficult circumstances and the lack of proper nutrition, may not allow the mother to produce enough milk to adequately cater for the child's needs. The frequencies of feeding were also erratic and incidence of children not being fed at some point during the day were common.

NEW URBAN FAMILIES

Clan systems

The perception of family is broad in Tanzania. In most cases the "immediate family" is the extended family, uncles from the father's side are referred to as "fathers" and aunts from the mothers side are "mothers". On the streets some tribes use strong clan bonds as a means of survival. The adults that children beg with are not always their parents, indeed they might be their uncles, grandparents or family friends. This does not mean that they don't have parents, or that they are not part of a supportive society. The children beg with adults as a mechanism of survival. The clans have administrative structures with elected leaders and elders as councils. Children living in begging families are not necessarily better off, out of all the groups surveyed they had the lowest education standards. The majority of these children did not have any form of shelter.

The money earned by the child and adult is kept by the adult, and the adults are left with the responsibility of budgeting for the family. Often when someone falls sick, the clan comes together to assist. The families are normally small with two to three children and they operate as a clan which might suggest that, whole clans migrate together not individual families.

Problem.....CHILDREN ASSOCIATE WITH BAD GROUPS

Outcomes:

- They become prostitutes
- They are arrested by the police
- They become thieves
- Start smoking cannabis
- Engage in bad habits

Source : PARC

Groups / Associations

Groups and associations play an important role in children's lives. The main aims of these groups or associations include looking and providing food for each other and for relaxation. The categories that favour group structures are sex workers, children of the street and children in shelters. Sex workers for example took care of each others children when one was busy.

Children of the street often bail each other when they are in trouble with the law. These groups for all intents and purposes serve as families for most children. Some of these groups have child leaders (mostly older boys), the group leaders are called a "mtemi". However most groups had no leader or team of leaders, decisions in the groups formed by the children are mostly taken jointly, by consensus. Most groups have no perceived rules for members. This confirms the idea that these groups have very loose structures (Children en route Mulders 95). Despite this co-operation some children had negative perceptions of these groups. They said they often fought about money or indulge in "bad behavior" such as "taking drugs". Other children said they are teased and had fights over money. A large number of children though did not remember when the fights happened, which could suggest that they are not seen as "unpleasant experiences" but rather as means of self regulation. These kind of group characteristics are found most amongst groups of children who live in the city center.

In high density suburbs children groups are mostly organised by youth and adults. The majority are church groups, working groups, football and recreational clubs. Their aims are to provide children with education, income, physical fitness and to help care for children. These small community clubs and groups are run by the communities themselves through volunteers and small donations. This kind of community organization, if supported, may point the way to viable alternatives to institutional care.

Childhood and family

The global perceptions or ideals of "a nuclear family", where all children are loved and parents spend quality time with their children, is not a truth. According to this ideal, families are expected to provide adequate food, clothing and shelter in a society which does not always give families the resources necessary to do this. Also stressful is the expectation that families bring up healthy, well - adjusted, law-abiding and intelligent children who can get ahead in the world. The stress occurs because these traits and the opportunity to get ahead, are all factors which are to a greater or lesser extent beyond the control of any given family. (Parton, 85).

Children, both on the street and in communities have developed their own support structures to cope with everyday challenges. Nearly all the children surveyed said they would have liked to start their own business, which is an indication of the children's aspiration to be more self reliant. Growing up at risk or in deprivation for many children means that they face tangible dangers not only because of poor nutrition or health, lack of education or sub-standard housing, but because they are mistreated by the adults or institutions charged with their care. "Children are perhaps the most vulnerable when the people responsible for their care and safety betray that function, becoming instead direct threats to their health and development or even their lives" (UNICEF, 86).

In several cases children work to contribute to their families welfare; reflecting the high level of responsibility which children now have in ensuring "household security". During PARC a great number of children told us that they had to work help their families out. Even though children are contributing to their families development and security, very few are consulted. The small

number of children who were involved in making decisions within the family said they were consulted on family and personal matters. However the majority of children said their parents thought they were too young to be consulted. Some children and parents thought it was traditional for a child not to be consulted at all.

Unequal power relations related to gender and age exist because of culture, non recognition of roles played by children and the lack of communication between parent and child. Adults often find it hard to recognize the contribution made by children. Children complain of being punished for making what they perceive as small mistakes, such as taking money, bringing their boyfriends or girl friends home and playing too much. Street children in particular are stigmatized by adults and other children. During a feed back workshop some participants thought that street children were "inhuman" for working and living as they were. They were insistent that any future interventions for street children would have "to make them human again".

From our community forums and the feedback workshops it was evident that most adults had only one perception of childhood, "the ideal". They could not readily accept that a child could live on the streets, take drugs, have sex and look after themselves. We believe that one should not be quick to judge the real experiences of childhood just because of our own perceptions of an ideal. Children like adults are not homogenous, each child has a different thought and a way of expressing it. We should not see childhood as a transit point to adulthood, nor adulthood as the fait complet in human development. Pushing children to act and be adults at young age does not always instill responsibility. Sometimes children as seen in the research, become resentful in having to act as adults. Our challenge is balancing the joys that childhood brings with the daily realities of life. In balancing , we must ensure that we do not deny children that joy.

6.5 EDUCATION

" My father was in Liberia on a peace mission,
and I did not have anyone to find a place
for me to continue with secondary school."

Source: 15 year girl.

This section of the report gives an over view of the children's education. It looks at some of the problems that would hinder a child from going to school. It touches on why some children choose to continue with school and why others don't, as well as the conditions in schools.

Who went to school and why

Out of the 342 children surveyed 225 (66 %) have been to school at some point during their lives. To get a better perspective of which categories of children have been to school, we have to look at how many individual children within a certain PUCR category have gone to school. Within the categories the children with the highest percentages are children in the juvenile system 33 (89%), children of the street 55 (78%), 24 (69%) for new arrivals, 32 (60 %) for the sex commercial workers and begging children. Between standard 2 and 3, 96 (28%) of the children who have been to school dropped out, while 61 (18%) of the children were able to complete primary school (Std 7). Only 9 (3%) managed to get some secondary school education.

fig 10. Children who have gone to school, by category. (survey)

Category	Gone to school		
	Number	Percent	Sample size of category
Children of the streets	35	59%	59
Children on the streets	55	78%	70
Begging children	20	60%	33
Sex commercial workers	32	60%	53
Children in shelter (centres)	26	47%	55
Children within the Juvenile system	33	89%	37
New arrivals	24	69%	35
Total	225	100%	342

The major reason for going to school was "I like school". Other children said they went to school because their parents wanted them to while some wanted to have a better future. There were 4 children who did not know why they went to school at all. From the reasons given by the children, we feel that children of primary school age go to school mainly because it is what is expected of their age group. However we also feel that schools with motivated teachers and a child centered environment are also factors that make and keep children in school. Children are interested in learning about things that interest them. From PARC and the survey it's clear that children are keen to start their own businesses. This could suggest that the children are interested

in learning entrepreneurial skills that would add to and strengthen their survival mechanisms.

Who never went to school and why

We found 102 (30 %) of the children surveyed had not been to school at all. The survey shows that the highest percentages of children who have not been to schools are in the following categories: children in centres 25 (45%), sex commercial workers 20 (38%) , begging children 11 (33%), new arrivals 11 (31%), children on the street 11 (21%) and children of the street 18 (20%).

fig 11. A table showing children who have not been to school, by category. (survey)

Category	Have not gone to school		
	Number	Percent	Sample size of category
Children of the streets	18	20%	59
Children on the streets	15	21%	70
Begging children	11	33%	33
Sex commercial workers	20	38%	53
Children in shelter (centres)	25	45%	55
Children within the juvenile system	2	5%	37
New arrivals	11	31%	35
Total	102	100 %	342

The major reasons for not going to school are "no money for school fees, uniforms and books", dropping out of their own accord, not liking school and disability. The PARC findings confirm the survey findings. During PARC, children said they could not go to school because their parents could not afford to buy them uniforms and school books. Poor transportation to school was another reason. Girls said that they dropped out of school because " boys were chatting them up." They said the consequences of this was that they got pregnant, "they have sex and catch STDs", "loiter on the streets", or "stay at home without any education". A study by CARE found out that reaching the age of puberty was seen by many as a factor that was responsible for drop out of girls from school. It means a time when they experiment with sex, when men entice them into sexual activities, a time when male teachers look at them differently, a time when they experience sexual harassment and a time when parents give them more responsibilities at home. It is also the time when parents take girls away from school in order to perform puberty rituals.

(Antonia N. Tingilana, Elizabeth T. Misaokin, CARE, March 96)

Children said the consequences of not going to school were "involving themselves in criminal activities", being unable to read and write, " they were unable to get jobs" and " became drunkards". Children also said not being able to read made them feel "not bright", they became a burden to their parents" and " were chased away from home".

Children in Mnazi Mmoja, Kinondoni and Manzese prioritized "not going to school" as their

major problem. In Mnazi Mmoja, the causes were seen as parents not "wanting to take them to school", or the children "preferring to walk around rather than going to school". In Manzese, the causes of not going to school were because they spent their school fees on other things. They also felt children who were frequent truants end up being expelled from school. Some said the reason was that they did not want to go to school, while others said the cause was because they had "run away from home". In Kinondoni, children said they did not go to school because their parents had no money, or they were often sick and did not like studying. The major reason children are not going to school is because they can't afford it. As can be seen in the research many children lacked basic necessities such as books. For children living on the streets going to school is made complicated, simply because they are living on the streets. Children can not be expected to do their homework, wash their uniform and prepare for school while sleeping on a pavement and having to work for a living.

Relationship between parents and children education

To find out if the parents' education affected the children's education, we asked children whether their parents had gone to school and the highest levels reached. From the survey we know that 180 (53%) of the children's fathers have gone to school and 193 (56%) of their mothers went to school. We found 151 (84%) of fathers and 165 (85%) of mothers who have gone to school have children who have gone or are going to school. We found 27(15%) fathers and 25 (13%) mothers who attended school, with children who never went to school.

fig 12. Comparison of child and fathers' school attendance (survey)

Children going to school.	Father gone to school						Total	
	Not stated		Yes		No			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Not stated	9	13	2	1	4	4	15	4
Yes	37	51	151	84	37	41	225	66
No	26	36	27	15	49	54	102	30
Total	72	100	180	100	90	100	342	100

Of the fathers and mothers who had gone to school about half do not send their children to school. For parents who did not go to school about 40 % are sending their children to school. In short this would suggest that parents who have gone to school are a little more likely to send their own children to school. Furthermore 37 (41%) fathers and 36 (40%) mothers did not go to school they had children who have or are going to school. These figures also suggest that if a parent has not gone to school, the children have a lower chance of attending school. Children in Kinondoni also said because they had received no education, they would not educate their children.

fig 13. Comparison of child and mothers' school attendance (survey)

Children going to school	Mothers gone to school								Total	
	Not stated		Yes		No		Don't know			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Not Stated	8	14	3	2	4	4			15	4
Yes	23	40	165	85	36	40	1	50	225	66
No	27	47	25	13	49	55	1	50	102	30
Total	58	100	193	100	89	100	2	100	342	100

Problems encountered in school

The main problems encountered by children at school were not being able to pay their fees, being beaten at school and at home, and not having any food. Children at Kigogo said because they have no books for school, they get problems when their teachers give them homework, they are beaten, cannot write while they are at school due to lack of books and that they often have to scramble for the few books available. On average there is one textbook for every eight children and current allocations for instructional materials are estimated to be 10 % of requirements (UNICEF Situation Analysis, 1995). These children say they often get laughed at by their class mates and do not feel happy because they do not have a pencil to write with in school.

Classes in urban areas are often large, ranging from 50 to 150 pupils, making effective learning difficult. It was noted that the classes in schools we visited have large numbers of pupils, such that children who have learning or behavioral problems do not receive adequate assistance from the teacher. These children would often need to supplement school by attending tuition classes in the afternoon, which they have to pay for. From the survey and PARC, a lot of children mentioned that their parents "do not have money", which makes them less capable of paying for the tuition fees. These problems could also account for school drop out or truancy among the children with learning problems. Some teachers in the schools visited, mentioned that the environment at home contributed very much to the children's performance in class, as well as the behavioral problems they have at school. They also agreed with the fact that some parents did not care much about their children's welfare.

Primary education is important for development, this does not mean attendance only, it also means learning (Antonia N. Tingitana, Elizabeth T. Missokia, CARE, March 96). Children can not be expected to learn if there are no materials at schools. Education for children and their parents is a very expensive an option which most children and parents often can't afford. During our visits an elderly government official commented: "In my days a teacher could say this is a door and point to it, this is a window and point to it, now in schools there are no doors and no windows so how can a child even learn the difference between a door and a window."

6. 6 WORK AND CHILDREN

*"Kukaa na kupachika kofia juu ya goti
kunaleta maradhi ya jongo."*

*"Sitting with a cap on one's knee
causes gout. (This is a sign of laziness.)"*

Swahili sayings (S.S. Farai, 79)

Almost all of the children we worked with during the research were working. Work for most of these children is an essential survival strategy. Yet children and work is a controversial issue. While some maintain that children should not work at all, this argument does not often consider reality. This section of the report looks at the reasons why children work and gives us insights of their daily activities.

What sorts of work do the children do

fig 14. Type of work (survey)

Type of work	Frequency	Percent
Not stated	65	19.0
Working for mumu Ntille	4	1.2
Selling fish	6	1.8
Selling mandazi /chapati / sambusa	8	2.3
Selling cigarettes /peanuts/ sugar cane / sweets	6	1.8
Selling juice / cold water	1	0.3
Selling coffee and kashata	2	0.6
Selling carrier bags	2	0.6
Sex for money	41	12
Begging	63	18.4
Car washing	10	2.9
Car guarding	20	5.8
Scraping fish	1	0.3
Given money by parents	3	0.9
Sewing	2	0.6
Other	71	20.8
None	37	10.8
Total	342	100

From the survey, 240 (70%) children worked, 63 (18%) of these children were begging, 41 (12%) were engaged in sex commercial work and 20 (6%) were guarding cars. The others sold mandazi ,sambusa and fish. Other children collected sand, sold eggs and chips, while some sold second hand clothes. The age group with the largest number of working children was the 13 to 16 year olds. We found 67 (20%) of the children working for more than 2 years, while 37 (11%) have worked for just the last 6 months.

fig 15. Time spent working (survey)

Time span	Frequency	Percent
Not stated	120	35.1
One week	5	1.5
Two weeks	2	.6
One month	16	4.7
Three months	20	5.8
Six months	37	10.8
One year	43	12.6
Two years	32	9.4
More than two years	67	19.6
Total	342	100.0

Some children, particularly in Manzese and Kinondoni collect garbage for money. The garbage is collected from homes within the Wards the children live in. They said in doing this, they often get cut by pieces of glass and get bitten by jiggers (funza). Some complained of bilharzia and skin rashes. Others said due to hunger, they sometimes feel like eating the thrown away food at garbage dumps. The children in Manzese who collect sand from the river said they get bilharzia, skin rashes and are infected by insects. Their necks and back hurt because of carrying heavy loads of sand.

In Kinondoni, some girls felt that they were too young to do domestic work. They said that they were doing hard work and not being paid enough. They were not getting enough time to rest. As a result, they felt they were getting old while they were still young, due to hard work. They also complained of being sexually harassed by their employers and getting pregnant. The partners responsible rarely recognize their pregnancy. At the remand home, a girl who was a domestic servant said often she did not get a salary, was shouted at and sometimes hit and tied up with a rope.

Organised employment

Wick making

In Manzese, up to 80 children at a time, starting from the age of 8, were employed making kerosene stove wicks. They were paid on a daily rate based on the number of "dozens" they produced. Each "dozen" has 96 individual wicks and the children are paid Tsh 100 per "dozen". The raw cotton needed for the wicks is obtained from Urafiki textile mill and from Arusha. The cotton is sold in bales of 50 kg, the price for a bale at Urafiki is Tsh 500 and Tsh 460 per kg from Arusha. Depending on age and ability, a dozen took approximately 15 minutes to half an hour to produce. The wicks were then sold to local shops by the employers for Tsh 700. The children often developed skin rashes on their hands and arms due to twining the wicks on the inner arm. A lot of children were often seen coughing because of inhaling loose fibre while twining. They also complained of back pain due to long hours of sitting on the ground.

Selling snacks

One incident was reported where two boys left their home when their father died to seek employment. They worked selling ice cream briefly on the streets in Dodoma. The children were found by a woman while working on the streets. The woman offered to take the children to her home in Dar es Salaam where they now live with her in Manzese.

Source: case study

Although we do not know the full extent of this type of work, children are employed to sell snacks, such as eggs. The children get their eggs from adults already boiled and ready to sell. Some children get a commission ranging from 5 to 10 shillings an egg, while some are provided with shelter and

food.

Organized child work

There were also many cases in which children organized themselves during work. These activities are normally car washing, car guarding, menial labour and petty trade. These groups have memberships mostly based on friendship and other ties. In these cases children make daily decisions on how to run their businesses. The services and labour provided were normally conducted close to their homes or where they live. Self organized work for girls was mainly sex work. These girls lived together and would often solicit on the same streets, sometimes even go with the same customer.

What the children think of work

During PARC, children told us that by being employed, they miss out on education, are overworked by doing hard jobs and have poor health and "impaired bodies". They said they don't get paid enough for the work they do. They often end up sleeping in discos. The majority of children however felt that they need to work. The children at Ferry felt that lack of employment contributed to them sleeping outside, being arrested by the police, not being able to get food and are not trusted by neighbors. They also said they loiter, become thieves and smoke cannabis.

In Magomeni and Kinondoni children prioritized "lack of employment" as their biggest problem. In Kinondoni, the children said because of unemployment, "they hang out in jobless corners" (Kijiweni). They saw the cause of this as government not caring for the youth and lack of seminars for them. They thought because of this, they had no reliable sources of food. They were also arrested by the police, are more vulnerable to smoke bhanghi or heroine or stab each other with knives. On the whole, children seem to need and want to work although sometimes the conditions are not pleasant. They do relate work to survival. Other children such as sex workers say that "rude men can do bad things to them". They are often not paid for their services and that makes them sometimes steal or beg. A lot of these children feel victimized (Kunyanyasika).

Other means of survival and effects

Children in Kinondoni said that they have to steal because they have no other means of income. They said they get arrested by police, are put in police custody, appear in court and get taken to the remand home. They can get beaten, burnt and can get killed for stealing. Some children in Kigogo said "most of us are thieves". They get punished at home and often asked to change their behaviour. For those who worked a consequence of stealing was that they could be suspended from their job.

Other children said they mug people to get money. When they are caught by the police, the children say they are abused and are often falsely accused. In Kinondoni, some children said they stowaway on ships because they see no opportunities for getting a job. Among girls in Kariakoo say they can "easily be raped for loitering" on the street while looking for work. They say they also involve themselves in drugs, smoking cannabis and cigarettes. They see the dangers of looking

for work on the streets as being picked up by men, getting pregnant and have to run away from home. These girls were afraid that if they died on the street, nobody would be able to identify them. Although a lot of this work may be perceived as negative by the community and the children themselves, they often find no other means of making money. If it were possible, the children told us they would prefer to find other means of earning income, that did not stigmatize them or make them feel "as outcasts" in their community.

Why children work

There were 62 (18%) children who said they work because they have no other means of getting an income and 48 (14%) work to get fast money. Others said they worked to have their own income, while some worked because they were not in school. A lot of children in Manzese and Kinondoni said they worked to support their families and send themselves to school. This was because their parents had no money. Children in Magomeni said they worked because they had poor education and some girls worked to support themselves and their new born babies.

What kinds of income children get

The average weekly income for all the categories is Tsh 2,628. Sex workers earn the most at Tsh 5,795 on average per week, followed by begging children at Tsh 3,388. Children in juvenile system (before incarceration) earned on average of Tsh

Work...selling drugs -outcomes

- Caught by the police
- Always running away from the police
- Appear in courts
- I get taken to the remand home
- Face jail sentence
- Caned

Source : PARC

Problem....We have no money

Outcomes

- Stealing at home
- Having to collect sand in the evenings
- Walking without shoes
- Unable to buy things
- Having to pick coconut husk to sell

Source : PARC

2,381. The ones who had the lowest income per week were the new arrivals who earned Tsh 1,130.

What they do with the income

Although this was not fully reflected in the survey, children living in communities and the begging children gave most of their earnings to their parents. The majority of the children, according to the survey, spent their income on food and clothing. Some paid school fees and others used it as pocket money. Others saved the money so that they can buy things to sell. These include small food items such as mandazi, bagia, sambusa.

The cost of everyday things

Meals	costs (all cost in Tsh)
1 plate of rice, beans and meat	300
1 plate chips	" "
1 plate ugali	" "
1 cup of tea and donut	90
Clothes	
Trousers	1500
Shirt / blouse	500
T-shirt	400
Skirt	600
Dress	700
Shelter	
Rent for a room per month	3000
Others	
1 stick of cannabis ready rolled	50
1 cigarette	25
1 glass of local brew (gongo)	100

2 meals a day for a week = 4,200/-

1 meal a day and 2x tea and donut for a week = 3,360/-

What would the children do if they were not working

Some children 97 (28%) said if they were not in their present occupation, they would like to have the opportunity of starting a small business. These children were mainly children of the street, children in centres and children on the streets. Of the children surveyed, 83 (24%) said that they would like to go back to school and 27 (8%) said they had no idea. Children told us time and time again that they would rather be working and earning their own money, rather than depending on others for hand outs.

6.7 HEALTH

*"Kunywa maji ya chooni
kunapeleke mtu kuwa mwongo"*

*"Drinking water from the lavatory
makes a person a liar."*

(Intended to discourage unwholesome a habit)"

Swahili sayings (S.S. Fami , 79)

Health is a crucial part of survival yet most of these children do not have access to health facilities. Not being healthy for most of these children means not working. No work means no income, thus little or nothing to eat. Living in already such hard conditions illnesses and diseases are exacerbated even more. The illnesses and diseases identified by the children can all be treated. According to the research they seldom are.

In the last 6 months 238 (67%) children surveyed said they had been sick. A week before the interviews 91 (27%) children were sick, with malaria and stomach aches being the most common diseases. There were 48 (14%) children sick with malaria a week before the interview. Most of them were children on the street. They felt they were getting malaria because of sleeping in open places and were not eating nutritious food. The symptoms of malaria for the children are seen as feeling sleepy, drowsy and having hot and cold flushes. A week before the interview 21 (6%) children had stomach aches.

Some children said they did not have access to clean water. Because of this, they said they could not bath, they looked dirty and often contracted skin diseases. They also said that due to lack of clean water they could contract cholera, typhoid and were more vulnerable to mosquito bites. Apart from malaria and stomach pains, a lot of children complained of chest pains. The symptoms associated with chest pains were "tight ribs" (mbavu zinanibana) and feeling cold throughout the night. A lot of these children feel they do not receive medical treatment, because of their parents' or their own inability to pay.

Effects

A common assertion from children (during PARC) is that they were sick all the time. They said they felt unhappy, lost their appetite, were unable to play and work happily and often did not get medication when they went to hospital. They felt this greatly increased the possibility of death. We found 3 children had left school because of illness/disability.

Treatment and the sources

Overall, government hospitals and clinics were the favoured places for treatment for most of the children. There were 18 (5%) children who sought treatment. Out of the 48 (14%) children who had malaria, 38 did not seek treatment. For those who did, 4 went to buy medicines in shops and only 3 went to a government hospital or clinic. There were also 17 (5%) children with

stomach aches, who did not seek treatment. Only 2 children sought treatment, 1 went to a government hospital and 1 went to a shop. Other children, especially beggars, go to the Masais for traditional medicines because they are considered cheaper. We noticed from our information that boys are more likely to use government clinics than girls. Girls generally prefer to go to shops (duka) for medicine.

fig 16 . Nature of illness and medical treatment (survey)

Source of treatment	Type of illness							Total
	Not sick	Malaria	Stomach ache	Skin infection	Vomiting	Eye and ear infections	Injuries	
	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.
None	218	37	17	7			4	283
Government hospitals	13	3	1	1				18
Private hospital	6		1	1				8
Bought medicines at shop	5	4		3	1			13
Traditional healer	1							1
Street children's center	2	2				1		5
Other	3	11					1	6
No where	3		2	1			2	8
Total	251	48	21	13	1	1	7	342

Very few children seem to seek treatment from hospitals saying "it's too expensive" for them, or they are unaware of how to use hospitals. Most prefer self diagnosis and buying their medicines from shops.

Access to health services

Secondary information collected from the Dar es Salaam Urban Health Project (DUHP) (IEC Strategy, Luce Cloutier), concludes that there is a lot of apathy from health attendants in serving poor women and children. A section on health staff's behaviour in the report said:

"People complain a lot against the attitudes and behaviors of health workers. It seems that health worker's attitudes create communication barriers. Their complaints (of the people) concern the reception, the waiting time, the non-listening about their pains, the lack of drugs, the corruption, the non-commitment of health workers and the poor communication relation between practitioner and patients".

On the availability and price of drugs: "The economic crisis, everyday difficulties, unemployment and the price of drugs justify these critiques. The majority of people are unable to afford the price of drugs. Health workers are accused of keeping drugs for their personal use or to sell them to pharmacists in the ward. People develop a feeling of oppression and of inhumanity towards disease, comprehended as social and biological misfortune".

Although our findings did not reflect all the DUHP findings as major deterrents to access, these

findings serve as an insight on attitudes of some health workers. However some children did say when they visited hospitals, doctors were not in or "nobody cared about their illnesses", but the majority of the children said they were not gaining access because they did not have money and sometimes did not have the time to go to hospital.

DAILY DIET AND EATING PATTERNS

In Konondoni, during PARC, children prioritized "we have trouble getting food" as the most important concern. At the Remand Home, also during PARC, food and clothes were also prioritized as the most basic needs for feeling happy. A large proportion of children eat at "Mama Ntillies". These children were mainly begging children, children of the street and sex commercial workers. Many children eat from the Mama Ntillies, at the Ferry and Mnazi Mmoja. The Mnazi Mmoja Mama Ntillies' business is more active at night as a lot of children come to watch television at the ITV outdoor screen. Other children get their food from Indian tea-shops, while some of the Indian community bring left over food to the beggars at Mnazi Mmoja on weekends, during the day.

fig. 17 Sources of food by Category (survey)

Category	Sources
Children of the streets (full time)	Tea vendors On the street Mnazi Mmoja Mama Ntillies Mama Ntillie at Kivukoni Offered food by Indians (Mnazi Mmoja Area) Mama Ntillies in city center Mama Ntillie near Kariakoo Mama Ntillie at Kisutu
Children on the streets (Part time in economic activities)	Uncle's house My employer's home Mnazi Mmoja Mama Ntillies Mama Ntillies at the Ferry Kariakoo Home
Begging children	On the street Mnazi Mmoja Mama Ntillies Along Bibi Titi Road
Sex Commercial Workers	Mnazi Mmoja Mama Ntillies Mama Ntillies at the Ferry Guest house At my house At any place
Children in the Juvenile system	Remand home Home (before incarceration) Bus stand
Children in Shelter	Street children's centres Mama Ntillies at the Ferry
New Arrivals	On the streets

The children have a normal Tanzanian diet such as tea and mandazi or chapati in the morning, ugali or rice with beans, green vegetables or meat in the afternoon and evenings. Most children eat at least two meals a day, although some said the food was small in quantity. Other children

confirmed this by saying they often did not have breakfast before going to school. They said that this made them sleep in classes, or beg from fellow students for something to eat. Other children said because of not getting enough to eat, they got hungry, could not work happily and started remembering home. While others commented on the quality of food they ate by saying "they did not understand what they ate". One incident was mentioned where begging children were given a cooked cat. They said when they eat bad food, they get stomach aches, diarrhoea, feel bad and see worms in their stools. Children said when food is scarce, they become thieves, beggars, get sick from time to time and "lack direction". When they are hungry, they say they can often "hit somebody with anything", "begin to hate others", and fight.

DRUG USE

Children said they take drugs to help them cope with their difficult situations. Others say they take cannabis to help them think and suppress hunger. They say the consequences of taking cannabis are that they feel light-headed, lose direction like mad men, get frustrated, and look down on their parents and teachers. Some children said they lie about losing money to their parents in order to obtain money for buying drugs. Others said they steal chickens or mug people to obtain money for drugs.

fig 18. Children smoking cigarettes by sex and category. (survey)

Smoking	Sex	Category							Total
		No	No	No	No	No	No	No	
		Children of the street	Children on the streets	Begging children	Sex commercial workers	Children in shelters	Child offenders	New arrivals	
Not stated	Boys	4		1		3	2	1	11
	Girls		1	1	3				5
Yes	Boys	25	7	1	1	21	10	17	82
	Girls	3	5	7	21				36
No	Not stated								1
	Boys	26	36	11		30	23	1	142
	Girls	1	21	12	28	1	2	16	65
Total		59	70	33	55	55	37	35	342

A total of 87 (25%) children surveyed said they take drugs, although this figure is inconsistent with the responses on what types of drugs they used. There might have been some tendency from the children not to answer the questions about drug use honestly. The authors are aware of reported cases of chronic drug abuse among teenagers, especially the use of cannabis. Hence the fact that this survey failed to find a significant incidence of abuse does not suggest that this does not occur. As we can see 117 (34%) children smoked cigarettes with the most prominent group being the 13 -16 year olds. Cigarettes were used by 59 (17%) Children on the street, 70 (20%) children of the streets, 55 (16%) children in shelters and 53 (15%) sex commercial workers. It was noticed that 82 (24%) boys said they had cigarettes compared to 36 (11%) girls.

fig 19. Cannabis smoking by category. (survey)

Smoking cannabis	Age group					Total
		5-8 yrs	9-yrs	13 - 16 yrs	17- 18 yrs	
		No.	No.	No.	No.	
Not stated			4	11		16
Yes		2	13	28	24	68
No		9	55	123	65	257
Total		11	72	162	89	342

Cannabis use was admitted by 68 (20%) children, with 13 -16 years olds being the most prominent users. Only 2 children within the 5-8 age group said they used cannabis. It was noticed that children who smoked cigarettes also smoked cannabis. There were 44 (13%) boys smoking cannabis, compared to only 24 (7%)) girls. Of the 24 girls 17 were sex commercial workers.

We found 33 (10%) of children surveyed who took heroin (unga) or cocaine. These were mostly taken in the 9 - 12 age category and the 17 - 18 age category. It was interesting to note that 10 out of a total sample of 53 sex commercial workers used cocaine and heroin this group was the biggest users , followed by children of the streets. It is thought that sex commercial workers use heroin or cocaine the most due to their higher levels of income. It is interesting to note that while 41 respondents said that they sold sex for money, 53 identified themselves as 'sex commercial workers'. This inconsistency illustrates the difficulty of categorising PUCR, or perhaps the limitations of using closed forms of data gathering such as questionnaires.

Addiction and Dependency

We were able to get an indication on addiction by asking children during the survey what the easiest and most difficult drugs to stop taking were. Cannabis was said to be the hardest to stop taking by 60% of the children. This was mainly sex commercial workers, children in the juvenile system and full time street children. Addiction to cannabis was mostly expressed by boys except in the case of girl sex workers. Cigarettes were found by 19 (50%) children to be the hardest drug to stop taking. Amongst these, the categories with the highest number were sex commercial workers and full time street children. Only 7 children said cocaine and heroin were the most difficult to stop. A smaller number of children said cocaine and heroin were most difficult because there are fewer users.

The easiest drug to stop taking as stated by 32 children are cigarettes, followed by alcohol 25, then cannabis 20. Other drugs (heroin, petrol, mandrax etc) were seen as hardest to give up by 8 respondents. The vast majority of children did not have an opinion. It would seem for children taking cannabis and cigarettes, that it is easier to stop taking cigarettes. At the remand home, children prioritized cannabis as being one of the things they miss most after food and clothes.

SEXUALITY

Almost half (153) of the children surveyed are sexually active. Our findings show that children are having sex at a very early age. This is confirmed as 5 (1%) children in the 5 to 8 year age group and 5 (1%) children in the 9 to 12 group said they are having sex. The latter group said they have been having sex for 2 years. The most sexually active age group is the 13-16 group. Apart from the sex commercial workers, the most sexually active group are the children in centres and children who live full time on the streets. The inconsistency of responses concerning sexuality, particularly among sex workers, highlight how difficult it was for them to talk about this, and also perhaps the sharp distinction they would make between sex with a client and sex with a partner.

fig 20. Sexual activity by category. (survey)

Type of categories	Not stated	Yes	No	Total
Not stated	0	2	0	2
Children of the streets	1	27	31	59
Children on the streets	4	34	30	68
Beggars	1	14	17	32
Sex commercial workers	2	16	32	50
Children in shelters	4	27	22	53
Children within the juvenile system	1	12	20	33
New arrivals	0	15	15	30
Total	13	147	167	327

It was reported that 98 (29%) boys had sex regularly compared to 48 (14%) girls. A couple of days before the interview 26 (8%) children said they had sex. The majority were between the ages of 13-16 and 17-18 years. On the same day as the interview 25 (7%) said they had sex.

Some children during PARC were of the opinion that boys were becoming more feminine. They said this manifested itself by boys having anal sex with other boys and putting on make-up. Most of the time, these boys walk like girls and are seen hanging out more with groups of girls than boys. These boys are also involved in sex work. The consequences are that these boys are rejected by society. The children also felt that the relatives might kill them. We were told by the children that sex between boys was either for initiation into a new group or for earning money. Children did not relate anal sex between boys as a sign of homosexuality.

During PARC, some boys said they raped girls because they felt unable to court them and most of the time, the girls were teasing them by playing hard to get. As a result of raping them, the boys thought they could contract AIDS or STDs, or might stand a chance of being arrested.

A lot of girls mentioned that a consequence of rape was having their private parts hurt, getting infected with HIV/AIDS or that they could die. In view of the effects of rape mentioned, the children said the rapist "should get tough punishment in court" or "be revenged for the rape".

Girls said they are seduced to have sex with bus conductors by being offered free rides and what is perceived to be a better life. Most girls see the promises of a better life as lies. They often have to lie to their parents and sleep outside the home. The consequences of this are that girls often get pregnant at an early age and the partners run away.

We learned that 217 (64%) children were aware of STDs and STIs. Of the children surveyed 29 (9%) had suffered from a STD. The group most affected were 21 (6%) sex commercial workers and children on the street 14 (4%) and children in the juvenile system 14 (4%). The most common known sexually transmitted diseases is gonorrhea. According to most children, it was also the most prevalent STD. There were 18 children that had contracted gonorrhea, 5 were boys and 13 were girls. The STD's were most prevalent among the 17-18 age group. Other STD's mentioned were syphilis, but some children did not know the names of the STD that they had contracted.

fig 21. Distribution of children who suffered from STDs by sex and category.

Category	Sex	Suffered from STDs			
		Yes		No	
		No.	%	No.	%
Children of the streets	Boys	4	14	31	17
Children on the streets	Girls	0	0	2	1
Begging children	Boys	4	14	27	15
	Girls	2	7	15	8
Sex commercial workers	Boys	1	3	7	4
	Girls	3	10	10	6
Children in shelters	Boys	1	3	0	0
	Girls	6	21	37	21
Children within the juvenile system	Boys	2	7	20	11
	Girls	0	0	0	0
New arrivals	Boys	1	7	19	11
	Girls	0	0	0	0
Total	Boys	4	14	10	6
	Girls	0	0	0	0
		29	100	178	100

AIDS

Very few children seemed to recognize their risk of getting AIDS and HIV. Only 31 (9%) children thought their chances of getting AIDS were great and 87 (25%) said they were at no risk of contracting AIDS. There were 105 (31%) children who said they did not know. The predominant categories of children who said that they were at no risk were sex commercial workers and children on the streets. This could be because they are also the highest users of condoms, and because of this they perceive their chances of getting AIDS/HIV as being small.

Only 147 (43%) of the children had received education on AIDS, whilst 128 (37%) had never been educated on this subject. The 106 (31%) boys who had received AIDS education were using condoms compared to 92 (27%) females.

Contraceptive Use

Of the sexually active children, 70 (47%) use contraceptives, mainly condoms. We found 67 (45%) children said they used condoms to prevent the transmission of HIV/AIDS. The condoms were mainly obtained by 37 (25%) children from shops/dukas. Other sources included the pharmacy 11 (7%) private hospitals or clinics 8 (5%) and government hospitals 2 (1%).

Of the children surveyed 75 (51%) did not use contraceptives of any type. Reasons given for not using contraceptives included trusting partners and diminishing sexual pleasure. Some do not realise the effect of having unprotected sex, while some said condoms are cumbersome to use.

6.8 PROTECTION

*" Kids run away from the house when parents drink, then beat them.
On the street it is easy to get influenced and so we take to begging and stealing.
But at the same time it is possible to improve ourselves."*

- Street youth age 18 India (SKI annual report 95)

This section of the report will look at unpleasant experiences that the children reported during the survey. The survey findings largely support the findings from the law review contained in Appendix 1. Before coming on to the streets children said being beaten by their parents was one of the major concerns. Afterwards they say that being arrested at night for not having ID cards and for being suspected of being thieves is also a big concern. The categories of children most vulnerable to being arrested are Child sex workers and Children of the street.

Before coming on the streets 77 (23%) children said they had been beaten excessively by their parents/guardians. For those on the streets the 13 - 16 age group seem the most affected. While living on the street 33 (10%) children reported of being excessively beaten by the police, they were mainly 13 - 16 years of age. During PARC we were told by these children that they were also hit by their own peers.

Girls who were engaged in sex work stood a higher chance of abuse. Child sex workers mentioned that besides the police they were beaten or raped by gangs of boys on the street. During PARC, rape was reported in all sites, by mainly girls. In Magomeni children thought girls were being raped mainly because of the lack of employment. Boys were lustful because "a lot of girls refused to make love". In Ilala girls thought they were raped because men did not respect women and because of lack of religious ethics within the community (upungufu wa maadaili ya dini).

Problem: We are raped (sometimes gang raped)

Outcomes:

We get STD's

We are forced to have sexual intercourse

We are wounded in the private parts

Feel victimized

Feel humiliated or shameful in front of friends and society

Loss of fertility

Source : PARC

The formal survey came up with a much lower level of reported rape, due to the sensitivity of this subject. Many children were unable to talk about their own experiences in an individual interview, but during PARC rape and the fear of rape was a very common topic. From the survey, 4 (1%) children reported having been raped. Ten children reported being sodomized by adult inmates and the police while in prison. Some 4 children perceived being deprived of food also as an unpleasant experience. Before coming on the streets 17 (5%) children said they were deprived of food.

7. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The children in Dar es Salaam face a lot of daily challenges. From poor access of public services to persistent illnesses and constant police harassment. Children from communities face domestic violence and the break down of family support. Girls are vulnerable to rape and mugging. Lack of information/education is making it difficult for children to know their rights and the responsibilities that accompany them. However these children are not helpless. They run their own lives with little or no adult support and as mentioned before, some even support their families. Despite these challenges the children still dream. Their dreams consist of love, care and hope for the future.

1 . "By the end of the century, half the world's population will live in cities. Many new inhabitants, in some instances the majority, will be young people under 20 years old. For the young, the metropolis can be a place of excitement, challenge and opportunity, but can also bring suffering, deprivation and bitter frustration. The challenge for the next millennium is how to ensure that young people benefit from the possibilities available in the city and not become its victims (Jo Boyden with Pat Holden, children of the cities)" . To come to grips with this challenge, we have to be bold in programming decisions. We have to get over our adult and noble notions that children living alone need our help and the only help we can offer is putting them in a centre in the middle of the city or hidden away places where such a problem does not exist.

2 . Experience has shown setting up centres and simply working with visible street children is only part of the solution. However it is also clear that visible children do have access to certain services from local N.G.O's and members of the public. However what we do not seem to be paying attention to in Tanzania is prevention. How can we hope to bring down the numbers of street children if all we do is focus on the visible children in the city center. It's like saying your going to decrease the number of refugees coming across a border by setting up more camps to accommodate them; it does not work. What we have to do is also work with children who are vulnerable within our communities. This and other research conducted suggests that the communities around Dar are a major contributing factor to growth in the population of street children. This is a good starting point to try and prevent increasing numbers. Even if our aim is not to prevent it's also clear that children living in poor urban communities face ever growing dangers and challenges. More research might need to be done on their conditions and what "risk" really means for these children. This research has tried to point out some areas, but more needs to be done. Lets not wait till they reach the street for us to intervene.

3. I believe that the causes of success or failure of interventions for poor children are often misunderstood and that one of the major draw backs is the problem of NOT LISTENING TO OUR CHILDREN. How can we hope to develop good interventions if we do not listen to those whom the interventions are aimed at. We have to convince those in the decision making positions, that children's experiences and opinions really count! We recognize that children's participation has its problems but so do conventional ways of working with children. We have to escape (although it's hard) the development blue print way of programming. We have to make our programs more organic and demand driven. Sometimes this might mean starting initiatives as a response to an expressed need of the children, instead of a "proper" programming approach. This will mean that the programme will be a process rather than a mechanically defined project. The key word here is leaning and adapting in respect to new knowledge success and failures. SCF has a real opportunity here to lead in working with PUCR's. Leadership sometimes entails taking risks to innovative, not sitting on a wall. As an organization committed to children we have to listen and define new ground with children, not for them. We have to strive to work with children as partners in development not victims of circumstance or as the helpless poor.

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Appendix 1

The Law Review

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

The Government of Tanzania is a signatory of the Convention on the rights of the Child (CRC). The government has re-affirmed this commitment through the provision of a policy on child development (1996) which largely reflects and harmonizes the aims of the CRC and existing child development guidelines such as the National Program of Action. This action has two important implications: that the government sees the CRC as an applicable standard for enhancing and monitoring child development .

However changes in legislation have been slow to follow, currently Tanzanian law for children in some areas contradicts the policy and the CRC. An example of this the age of a child, the policy and some laws state that a child is anyone under the age of 18, while other laws suggest 16 and some 12. Contradictions such as these add further to destabilize the situation of children whom are in conflict with the law. Through this review we know that children as young as nine are being tried in adult courts and been sent to adult prisons.

Although lack of legislative and policy harmony contributes to the problem of child offenders, other social and economic factors are also at play. The change to a market oriented economy has meant that people have to live without state subsidies, life has become harder as the role of the state shrinks. Consequently children have had to start working to support themselves and their families. Most survival methods used by children are legal, while others like selling drugs and petty theft are illegal. Therefore a large number of children especially unaccompanied children are in constant contact with law enforcement agencies and the judicial system.

To further understand the lives of juvenile offenders and to complement it's research on street children, Save the Children Fund (SCF) (UK) carried out a law review between March and June 1997. Child offenders were chosen, because a large number of them are street children or children from low income families, with special protection needs. It was also important to understand the daily challenges that children face, while in conflict with the law.

While we were conducting this review we were lucky to have the full cooperation of the regional police, Dar es Salaam district courts and the Commissioner of Social Welfare, their help was invaluable. The police provided us with arrest records of children, the courts allowed us to review judgements given to children and the department of social welfare let us work with the children at the remand home. It is our hope that this cooperation will further strengthen legal protection for our youngest citizens.

1.1 OBJECTIVES.

I) To establish through a review whether the juvenile justice system is practised as provided by Tanzanian and international law. So as to identify overlaps, gaps and opportunities for enhancing a positive understanding between law enforcement agencies, the judicial system, government departments and child offenders in Dar es Salaam.

- ii) To prepare a written plan of action to facilitate greater understanding of the overall objective.
- iii) To prepare a method of gathering information from children's court judgements.
- iv) To record and review 200 court judgements given in the last 2 years from the district courts of Dar es Salaam.
- v) Establish a working relationship between the project and the Department of Social Welfare, Police and the Judiciary.
- vi) To review existing laws that affect urban children at risk with children at the Dar es Salaam children's remand home through participatory methodologies and literature review.

1.2 Research participants

Child offenders (juvenile offenders): children under the age of 18 who are or who have been in conflict with the juvenile justice system.

The Definition of Juvenile

In international law the definition of a child is generally directly or indirectly related to age. The term juvenile, however, does not necessarily correspond to the concept of "child". According to rule 2(2)(a) of the Beijing Rules, a juvenile is a child or young person who under the respective legal system may be dealt with for an offence in a manner which is different from an adult. It is a manner in which a child is treated for an offence which dictates whether a child is also a juvenile.

The definition of a juvenile is critical because the standards incorporated into the Beijing Rules, many of which are improvements on existing standards, only apply to children who are defined in national legislation as "juveniles". This provision contains a gaping hole, because it allows the national legal system to define juvenile. (Geraldine Van Bueren 1995). In Tanzania a juvenile is between the age of 12 to 16.

1.3 APPROACH

The review was conducted in Dar es Salaam, focusing on the Central Police Station, Dar es Salaam children's remand home and the three districts courts of Dar es Salaam. In order to achieve the objectives of this review, we employed the following methods for information gathering.

1.3.1 Literature Review.

Various published and non-published materials in the form of reports, books, public policy documents and other papers presented in meetings/seminars were reviewed.

1.3.2 Holding A Meeting With The Members Of Police.

Permission was obtained from the office of the Regional Police Commander to meet with members of the police force. The meeting proved to be very important in providing us with a police perspective on their interaction with child offenders. We were also successful in obtaining two sets of police arrest records of children. One set from the central police station which contains 212 child offenders arrested between October 1996 to April 1997 and the offences arrested for. The second set of police records was from district police stations which also contained 42 child offenders (from 1st October 1996 to 30th April 1997) arrested for different offences and the action taken against them.

1.3.3 Dar es Salaam Children Remand Home Visit.

After having obtained permission from the Commissioner of Social Welfare to work at the remand home, we started our work by introducing ourselves and the objectives of the study. For us to get familiar with the children, we played games such as 'name ball', cat and mouse and musical chairs, this helped us build a strong relationship between us and the children. The review at the remand home was conducted through PARC, which is a qualitative research methodology in which children through facilitation, conceptualize and analyse their own problems. It took 3 days to complete PARC. A survey was also conducted for four days in which we sought to gather more individualized information from the children. In total 37 children from the Dar Es Salaam Children's remand home participated. Of these children 35 were boys and 2 were girls. Our sample of children was the total population of the remand home taken on the 14th of May 1997.

PARC was conducted in four small groups, each researcher worked with seven children. The first day was for the identification of problems. Through facilitated discussion each child identified his/her own problems and its outcomes. On the second day, we outlined on a flip chart the children's identified problems and outcomes. This was very important so as to ensure that the problems outlined the day before were the real and felt problems of the children. Then followed the categorization of problems on the third day. We started by explaining the three major groups of which their problems would be categorized, these were political, economical and social cultural. The three categories were simplified for the children as follows : economic (money), political (events or issues that you have little or no control over) and social cultural (things that you have grown up with). As there were many (21) problems and (105) outcomes, it took us along time to finalize the categorization which in turn affected the participation of children during the session.

The prioritization of problems and the analysis of variables was done on the last day of PARC. The prioritization was done through voting. The problem that was given priority was 'being remanded'.

After we had finished PARC, individual discussions with six children were conducted. This was to compile case studies and gain an insight on individual experiences. The discussions focused on the following issues:

- Historical backgrounds
- Family particulars and relationships
- Factors leading to street life or being remanded
- Perception of their situation; negative and positive point of view
- Future aspirations.

1.3.4 Court Visits.

The collection of 205 court judgement records (between 1995 and 1997) was done through a simple questionnaire which was based on the format of a court judgement so as to facilitate the collection of information. However it took a long time to find the judgements due to poor record keeping by the concerned authorities. The bad record keeping is demonstrated by inadequate storage facilities for files and unsystematic filing.

The collection of case records at Temeke District Court unfortunately was not done because there is no registry for criminal cases at that court. Most of the criminal cases for Temeke are conducted at Kivukoni Resident Magistrate's Court. Therefore we reviewed court records and judgements at Kivukoni court.

1.3.5 Focused Group Discussions.

We also conducted focused discussions with lawyers who are prominent with matters pertaining to children's rights. The discussions aimed at reaching a consensus on the implications of the information collected during the review.

2.0 FINDINGS.

2.1 International Legislation and Its Implementation in Tanzania

The Convention on the Rights of the Child of 1989 is the latest series of comparatively recent treaties which recognize that individuals have a status under international law, by which state parties agree to be bound in order to implement specific rights to all individuals and additional rights to specific groups such as women and children. The CRC serves as a facilitator for further developments in the international law on the rights of the child, which in turn helps to improve the acceptability of the specific rights for children.

2.1.1 Contact with parents or guardians

The CRC emphasizes the well being of the child in the administration of juvenile justice. One aspect of helping a child achieve this sense of well being is his/her parents or guardians are to be informed and know the charges against them [article 9[4] and article 40[2][b] of the CRC]. This law conforms to our municipal law that is section 56 of the Criminal Procedure Act, 1985. Furthermore the CRC advocates for the right to regular personal relations and direct contact between children and their parents [article 9[3]]. In Dar es Salaam arrested children seldom have the opportunity to inform their parents of their arrest, due to physical

barriers such as lack of transport and an inadequate communications network, the authorities find it hard to contact their parents. This is perpetuated by a poor understanding by the law enforcement agencies on the rights of children. Not knowing and unable to exert this right, children often stay in remand or prison without the knowledge of their parents. In the case of street children, the problem is even greater because some parents live a great distance away.

2.1.2 Criminal responsibility and age

Another basic principle enshrined in international law is that criminal responsibility should be related to an age at which children are able to understand the consequences of their actions. Therefore State Parties should put a minimum age below which children should be presumed not to have the capacity to infringe the penal law [article 40[3][a] of the CRC]. The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966), article 14(4) provides that, in the case of juvenile persons, the criminal procedure shall be as such that it will take into account their age and the desirability of promoting rehabilitation. In Tanzania the Penal Code provides that children below seven years are not criminally responsible for any offence committed as they are expected not to know the implications of their offence. However for children below twelve can be criminally liable if it is proved that the child knows what s/he did at the time s/he committed an offence [section 15]. Furthermore, there is confusion over the age of a child. Different institutions or laws classify the child using different age limits. The Age of Majority Ordinance (Cap.431) considers a child to be anybody below the age of 18 and is not allowed to cast a vote in a civil election. Cap.13 defines a child as a person who is below the age of 12 and a young person is a person between 12 and 16 years of age. The confusion over age creates a problem in trying to exercise special treatment towards children. An example was given by the police, where sometimes children are treated as adults because, the police are unaware of what law to apply according to the child's age. Due to ignorance of these laws by some law enforcement officials children are kept in the same detention cells as adults.

2.1.3 Juvenile court proceedings

The Convention on the Rights of the Child encourages, that child offenders should be dealt with in a manner proportionate both to their circumstances and offence. It further emphasizes that a child's case should be determined under the competent authority which undergoes juvenile proceedings and the penal law used should be responsible for children. According to the law in Tanzania, child offenders should be dealt with according to the nature of their offences but in reality children are tried in the same courts and under the same legislation as adults. Although children's sentences may differ or be reduced on account of their age. The CRC also recommends the child's right to privacy. In other words it allows for the public to be excluded from juvenile proceedings and for the child's judgement not to be made in public. Furthermore the information leading to the identification of a child offender should not be published. However if the information is published it shall not include the name. This protects the child's privacy and serves to prevent the child from being identified as an offender or a victim. In our country this right is provided under section 3 of the Children and Young Persons Ordinance which guarantees the child's identity and his/her evidence to be adduced in camera upon trial. Due to limited facilities and sometimes congested courts these

laws are not implemented as required because children's trials are rarely conducted in camera and the child's identity is not reserved. Although for child abuse cases this right is normally observed.

2.1.4 Punishment

The CRC also requires that any reaction to child offenders should always be in proportion to the circumstances of the offenders and the offence. That is the child's background and the circumstances should be made known to the competent authority through social inquiry reports or pre-sentence reports before any action is taken against him. In Tanzania this is the responsibility of the department of social welfare's probation service. This law also views that sentencing of child offenders is a deprivation of liberty. However if sentencing is to be imposed it should be imposed as a measure of last resort and for the shortest appropriate period of time. In addition the CRC views that institutionalization is the least favoured alternative. In other words child offenders should not be sent to institutional care because of the negative impact of the institutional care can have on child offenders. However if the child offender is to be sent to institutional care, s/he should be sent there for the minimum necessary period of time. Apart from the restrictions which CRC places on States in depriving children of their liberty, it also prohibits specific forms of punishment such as corporal punishment and the imposition of death penalty on children. Furthermore article 6(5) of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966) provides that sentence of death shall not be imposed for crimes committed by persons below eighteen years of age.

In Tanzania, section 22[1] of the Children and Young Persons Ordinance provides that no child shall be sentenced to imprisonment. If the court finds that there is no suitable alternatives to imprisonment the child may then be incarcerated, but shall not be associated with adults while in prison.[section 22[3] of Cap.13]. The law further states that child offenders convicted of an offence punishable with imprisonment should be committed to custody by the court to an approved school. As there is only one approved school and it is only for boys, most child offenders are sentenced to imprisonment with adults. According to the lawyer at Legal and Human Rights Centre, since penal facilities for girls do not exist they are often imprisoned with adult females. Furthermore corporal punishment is still administered to child offenders below 16 years of age as it is reinforced and seen lawful under section 6 of the Corporal Punishment Ordinance. However according to the Ordinance, caning should not exceed twelve strokes.

Although the Convention on the Rights of the Child and Children and Young Persons Ordinance advocates for the legal rights of children, there are some problems hindering their practicability in Tanzania. In comparison with the rate of criminal offenders amongst children there is a shortage of facilities such as juvenile courts, remand homes, detention cells for children and approved schools. That is there is only one approved school and five remand homes. Unfortunately there is only one juvenile court in the country. Consequently child offenders are tried in adult courts, remanded in prisons and finally sentenced to imprisonment.

Lack of training administrators also contribute to the lack of practice of the juvenile justice

system. Although sometimes the magistrate may try to reconstruct a juvenile court, still s/he may not be conversant in dealing with juveniles especially street children. S/he may hold a juvenile court but it will not be in camera as sometimes courts may be crowded or congested.

2.2 CHILDREN IN THE EYES OF TANZANIAN LAW.

2.2.1 The Law of Marriage Act No.5 of 1971.

This law governs all matters related to the child's rights to have a family or domicile and enjoy all rights to that effect. If it happens that the parents have divorced, the child is guaranteed custody by the court either to the father or mother. Children below the age of seven are normally put under the custody of their biological mother. The biological father is supposed to maintain the children by giving financial assistance. Due to economic liberalization the amount of money stipulated by the Affiliation Ordinance has proved very little to many divorced women. The maintenance allowance in 1996 was 2000 shillings (1\$ = 600 tsh) per month.

However problems have arisen when women try to enforce this law. Some women are afraid of taking their male partners to court fearing to strain further their social relationship. As a result of women not being proactive in enforcing this law, due to frustration created by the system, many have decided to remain quiet and try to take care of their children alone.

2.2.2 National Education Act No.25 of 1978.

Access to education is one of the basic social rights of a child guaranteed under national law. This means every child has the right to have access to free education when reaching the age of seven. However economic changes have contributed greatly to differing educational opportunities for some children. Some children cannot attend school unless they have 'proper' school uniforms. The uniform consists of one white shirt/blouse, blue shorts/skirts, white socks and shoes. One uniform costs about 14,000 shillings and coupled with the need for constant replacement, as a child is growing up, is far beyond the means of many low income families. Furthermore communities and parents are having to pay school fees and contribute towards the building of school infrastructure. For example, Maria a 17 year old girl at the remand home had to leave school at the age of 14 because her parents could not afford to buy her a school uniform or pay the fees. Not being able to attend school has contributed greatly to Maria's present situation; she is in remand on a charge of murder, with a 2 month old baby, which she gave birth to, while in remand.

2.2.3 Penal Code, Children and Young Persons Ordinance and Corporal Punishment Ordinance.

Child offenders are normally dealt with according to the nature of their offences, their age and the law governing that offence. The Penal Code is the law which governs criminal offences for children and adults. Criminal liability is exempted for children who are below the age of seven. Children between the age of seven and twelve are not criminally liable for any offence, except if proved that the child cognizes the implication of the crime committed.

The Children and Young Persons Ordinance protects children's rights when a child is in conflict with the law. The law provides for different treatments for child offenders to those of adult offenders. As it has been explained earlier, child offenders need to be tried under the juvenile court, their identity to be closely guarded and the evidence is adduced in camera. In addition the child offender while in custody is not to be associated with adults inmates.

Under the Corporal Punishment Ordinance section 6 it is lawful to cane juveniles who have been convicted of offences under the Penal Code. Caning is often the preferred punishment given to children. To give children protection from severe punishment caning under the Ordinance is not to exceed twelve strokes. As demonstrated above the laws of our country, despite their shortfalls serve to protect children, the problem comes with enforcing the laws.

One of the factors which constrains the practice of the children's legal rights is the lack of facilities as explained by the lawyer of the Ministry of Community Development, Women Affairs and Children. The lawyer gave an example, that there is only one juvenile court in our country, which has just been built.

2.2.4 The Employment Ordinance, Cap.366.

This Ordinance prohibits the employment of children under a prescribed age or any children who are in school. It also protects the child from economic exploitation and work that may be harmful to their health and well being. The Employment Ordinance, Cap.366 part VIII prescribes for working conditions to young persons and children by criminalising certain working conditions. For instance the employment of children in industrial undertakings, mines and in open-cast workings etc is forbidden. However the minimum age of entry into work of a contractual nature in approved occupations is set at the apparent age of fifteen years section 48 of Cap.366.

Furthermore children are not to be employed under the age of 12 and against the wishes of parents or guardians. It should be noted that where children are permitted to be employed under the Ordinance, the conditions in which they may work are laid down by Regulation 2 of the Employment Regulations (Restriction of Employment of Children), 1957. These conditions are that a child may not carry more than twenty five pounds, work more than three consecutive hours, nor more than six hours in a twenty four hour period and work between 6.00 p.m and 6.00 a.m. Children are also not required to enter a room or shed containing machinery, nor work during the hours in which they are supposed to be in school. This law is designed to protect children in terms of working hours and the nature of their work. Moreover, the labour Commissioner, an authorized officer is empowered to prohibit the employment of children where the conditions of employment are not satisfactory. However these laws are seldom practised in our country, that is children work till midnight selling eggs and fried fish, children also work in hazardous situation using machinery as seen in garages.

However there are weaknesses in this Ordinance. Cap.366 prohibits the employment of children under the prescribed age which is the apparent age of twelve and fifteen. The word 'apparent' raises doubt as to the age of the child, this can be used as a loophole to employ

children because there is no minimum age of employment. Furthermore restrictions concerning conditions of employment of children are provided in respect to daily wages, protection against injuries, dangerous work, hours of work and light work. The consent of parents or guardians and non-interference with schooling are spelt out as important conditions. The protection of children is not extended to the informal sector, for example, to domestic service, work in bars and guest houses. Furthermore, the sectoral coverage under the ordinance is inadequate as it does not extend to other sectors such as construction, plantation and other occupational areas which are obviously dangerous.

The situation as regards enforcement and implementation of this Ordinance, is even more unsatisfactory. There is virtually no enforcement of the current legislation, much as it is imperfect and inadequate. The responsibility for enforcement and implementation of legislation relating to employment of children lies with the Ministry of Labour and Youth Development. The labour officers are empowered to institute legal proceedings against any employer who contravenes the provisions relating to employment of children. However this is not practically done hence there is no consolidated approach towards enforcement of the legal provisions relating to the employment of children.

2.3 Causes That Lead Children To Commit Crimes.

While the central focus of this report is the child offender, it will also focus on the causes that lead the children to commit crimes and the nature of their offence. Forms of punishment will also be discussed. Time is also given to look at difficulties law enforcement agencies have in enforcing children's legal rights.

2.3.1 Poverty

Poverty can be defined and conceived as a way of life 'inability to attain a minimum standard of living, 'that is inability to access to education, social support, health, nutrition and a balanced physical environment [C.K.Omari 1994]. Therefore because of poverty many children's basic needs are not satisfied. Consequently children and families have to find alternatives in obtaining their basic needs. These alternatives include children working to support family incomes, where such work or opportunities are not available, children are sometimes compelled to commit crime.

Some of the survival mechanisms that children use while in urban areas, are illegal e.g selling of drugs, smoking of bhang, prostitution (soliciting of) and petty theft. For instance the case study of 14 year old Ali Nassoro. Ali lives in *Yombo Sunflower* Manzese with his mother. Ali has not been able to attend school because of his mother (a *mama nitilie* ; a food vendor) has not been able to provide for uniforms and fees needed for school. Because Ali does not attend school he often use to hang out with friends at *kijiweni* (a name given for street corners where the jobless congregate). One day while hanging out at *kijiweni* Ali was arrested by the police for smoking marijuana. Ali is currently at the remand home while his case is being processed.

2.3.2 Separation.

Other research (kulcana) and lawyers at the Legal and Human Rights Centre noted that marriage break ups or unstable families contribute to the increase of juvenile offenders. Single parent families sometimes cannot afford to look after the child and provide them basic needs. As a result the burden shifts from the parent to the children. As mentioned before, children have to do some supporting activities to help their parents increase the income of their family.

Step parents can constitute a lack of parental love and care for some children. According to these children step parents create hatred between them and the father and the step parents' biological children. Eventually these children to satisfy their basic needs commit lesser offences. An example of this is Ramadhani's case study, a twelve year old boy who lived with his step mother at Keko (an area in Dar es Salaam). Ramadhani told us that his step mother would often deny him food or clothing. Eventually one day Ramadhani's patience with hunger ran out, he decided to steal 2000 shillings from his step mother. For his error in judgement his step mother took him to the police. Ramadhni is currently waiting in remand to be sent into imprisonment at the approved school (children's prison) in Mbeya.

2.3.3 Social and macro economic changes

The current economic changes are contributing significantly to family disintegration. These economic changes have brought about reform of the social services sector. Most social services for example, health, have started cost sharing schemes to pay for the provision of services. With these new initiatives from the government in trying to recover costs, the result has been a reduction in support to social services such as education and health. Most people's lifestyles are still oriented towards a state subsidized economy rather than one dominated by market forces. The inability to adopt to the new economic climate can be attributed to the lack of tools and information on how to cope with the new changes. Family care has also suffered under this transformation, in most families these days both parents have to work to feed the families. The consequences of both parents working is that young children are often left with inadequate caretakers, who are sometimes the same age as them. With inadequate care, children are susceptible to "hanging out with the wrong groups", to take drugs and drink alcohol. Alcohol and drugs were seen as the most important things after food and clothes by children at the remand home. Out of 32 children, 17 prioritized alcohol and drugs as the things they most missed while in remand.

To assist families and particularly children to deal with this new climate, in 1996 the government launched a child development policy. The policy attempts to harmonize the CRC and present child development guidelines. However legislation has been left behind, one consequence of this is a child's age, in the policy a child is deemed eighteen which is in contradiction to present national laws (ref. 2.1.2). We feel that this contradiction will add to the confusion of who a child is and what entitlement a child has before the law.

2.4 Problems Experienced By Child Offenders

2.4.1 Discussions held with children at the Dar es Salaam children remand home

Most of the child offenders we talked to were street children, meaning children who live and work on the streets. Their problems are related to their personal security, assault and sexual abuse. For example Mwanaisha a 16 year old girl who is currently in remand told us, that while sleeping on the pavements at night, she was normally arrested by the police or sometimes elder boys attempted to rape her, she would often try to give them money to fend them off. Most of these children who are homeless, during the day while begging or picking food in markets they are arrested by the police for loitering. Loitering is an offence in Tanzania. The other reason they are normally arrested for is for having no identity card or abode (which is an implied requirement in Tanzania). Selemani an eighteen year old boy further explained to us that you don't have to be homeless to be arrested. He went on to say that he was granted bail after he was charged for theft, but his mother was unable to pay.

Maria (17) used to be a house girl before she was arrested. She complained of constant harassment from her employer and she sometimes worked for months without getting paid. If she complained she would be accused of stealing.

From PARC we know that, when children are arrested they are often beaten, subjected to ridicule by the police, they are kept in detention for more than twenty four hours as required by section 32(1) of the Criminal Procedure Act, 1985. Once charged with an offence and in remand children tell us that it takes an average of two to three years for their cases to be processed. The children told us sometimes when they are due for court appearance, they are not collected from the remand home.

2.5 Arrest By Police.

2.5.1 Offence committed by children according to records provided by Dar es Salaam central police station.

By law, the police can arrest any person suspected of breaking the law and this is provided under section 14 of the Criminal and Procedure Act of 1985. The police only come into direct contact with street children when they commit a crime, rarely for protection, as pointed out our discussions by a Police Constable. He went on to say that most unaccompanied children were arrested for loitering. This was confirmed by the arrest records we reviewed. Out of 212 children (between 9-16 years old) arrested between October '96 to April '97, 102 were arrested for loitering. Amongst them 88 were boys and 14 were girls. Salehe a 17 year old boy told us that most children were arrested for loitering, because they were walking on the street looking for employment. An assistant superintendent of police at the central police station told us they often arrested children for loitering in an attempt to keep them off the street.

From the data provided from the police we also know that as children grow older their crimes get more violent. At the age of nine (1) child was arrested for loitering, after the age of fourteen 62 children were arrested for violent crimes such as robbery (9), stealing (23), fighting (27), murder (2) and burglary (1). Also as children get older they seem to be more susceptible of breaking the law or being arrested. At the age of twelve only eighteen children

were arrested, at the age of fifteen, fifty seven children were arrested for various charges ranging from bad language (2) and being in possession of drugs. Girls are also arrested for similar crimes. From the figures provided by the police we know that girls are arrested as young as ten, in this case for loitering. Between the same period of time (October 97 to April 97) twenty girls were arrested in total. There were fourteen children arrested for loitering as mentioned before, murder 2, under police arrest without charge 1, fighting 1, being in possession of drugs 1 and stealing 1.

2.5.2 Treatment during arrest and police detention.

After arresting a child, the police are supposed to exercise special treatment for the child, which is different from that given to adults. The police we talked to seem to be aware of this fact, that children were supposed to get special treatment. The special treatment includes informing the child's parents of their arrest and charge, and while in custody children were not to be associated with adult inmates, according to section 56 of the Criminal Procedure Act, 1985 and section 5 of Cap.13. Due to inadequate lock-ups for children and other physical barriers such as lack of transport, communications children are often locked up with adults in police cells and the children's parents are rarely contacted. Fifteen year old James at the remand home complained that he could not get in contact with his father, despite asking the police and the warden at the remand home. The police said that it was sometimes made harder by the child to contact their parents, since children did not always make this information available to them. The police went on to say it was easier to contact centres where street children live such as Dogodogo.

When taking down statements police are also meant to provide special treatment so as not to scare or degrade the child. The police told us they found it very hard to interrogate children especially street children. They felt that most of the time the children were lying to them. They went on to say that they had to use austere measures to get some children to talk. The fact that police use austere measures was confirmed by eleven children during PARC at the remand home. They said that the police sometimes beat them, that they also felt degraded for not having money to bribe the police to release them and having to "clean whole police stations". A sixteen years old girl, called Anna explained her treatment while in police custody. When she was arrested for loitering, she was taken to the police station and one of the police officers ordered her to mop the office so that she can be set free. The Criminal Procedure Act (1985), section 55(2) prohibits the person under restraint to be subjected to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment. Sub-section 1 of the same section further provides that, a person under restraint shall be treated with humanity and with respect for human dignity.

2.5.3 Action taken after arrest.

The police also provided us with information from Dar es Salaam district police stations. The information contained the arrest records and action taken of 42 children of which 79% were male and 21% were female. These records showed the same pattern of offence committed by children as the ones provided by central police.

The police pointed out that a lot of children who were arrested for loitering were released once they appeared at the magistrate's court. The children are released because, the police cannot often substantiate charges of loitering, and magistrates are often lenient because of the child's age and the triviality of the offence. Magistrates often give this kind of treatment, when large groups of street children are arrested, in large and indiscriminating police roundups. This fact is confirmed by the information collected from the police and courts. According to this information 75% of the children arrested for loitering were taken to court. However looking at the court records, only 3 of the 205 cases reviewed were for loitering, 67% of children were taken to court for fighting and 33% were given warnings and released by the police.

According to the data provided to us by the police only 6.3% of girls were taken to court, while 57% were released by the police and given a warning. Girls in our society are rendered invisible, most girls stay home performing household chores. That is why a small number of girls are arrested and fewer are sent to court. For instance girls who are seen walking around at night, smoking cigarettes, bhang and drinking alcohol are labelled as prostitutes. Due to being stigmatised in such a way women and girls are rarely seen outside their homes. Crimes committed by girls are perceived by the police and the court not to be as serious as crimes committed by boys. Although according to our information it would seem girls do commit the same crimes as boys. This perception is contradictory because our evidence shows that girls commit such serious crimes as murder.

For more serious offences such as murder, robbery, stealing and rape, the offenders are not set free. All 100% of the children arrested for murder, robbery and possession of drugs were not released. Also 85% of children arrested for stealing were not set free. After being charged for stealing, 15% were released. This could be because of the children being young, lack of proper evidence by the police and according to some children because of wrongful arrests.

The older children get the higher chances of being taken to court. For example 100% of 16 year olds were taken to court. Whereas 33% of twelve year olds had most of their charges dismissed or they were warned. Furthermore 50% (13 years), 80% (14 years), 89% (15 years) and 67% (17 years) were taken to court. Elder children were more likely to be taken to court than younger ones because the police might view older children as capable of realising the implications of their crimes.

2.5.4 Delay of Justice

According to the police most children held in detention stay there for more than twenty four hours required during weekdays and forty eight hours during the weekends. This contravenes section 32(1) of the Criminal Procedure Act (1985), which provides that offenders are to appear before the court after twenty four hours of arrest or forty eight hours if it is during the weekend. The reasons given by the police for contravening this law are that children are not aware of the time they should be held in detention, consequently children stay for an average of more than two weeks in detention. Other reasons for arbitrary detention are the police take a long time to gather and complete their investigation. The police went on to say that most of their law ranking officers are poorly trained and have a very low level of education, which

sometimes effects their performance.

2.6 Court Judgement Review

2.6.1 Offences tried in court.

Child offenders after being arrested by police are taken to court so as to be charged according to the law and the offence committed. According to the data obtained from the 205 questionnaires, 95% of the offenders are males and 5% are females. The most common offence tried in court is the unlawful possession of illicit drugs like bhang; 76 children were tried for this offence. Of the 76 children, 74 were boys and 2 were girls. The 74 boys were caught for unlawful possession of illicit drugs, 43 of them were between the age of 13-16. The unlawful possession of illicit drugs is tried according to section 2(b) of the Noxious Plant Ordinance, Cap.134 and 19(1)(b) of the Drugs and Prevention of Illicit Traffic and Drugs, Act no.9/1995. Stealing and "house breaking" also featured high on the list of offences tried in court. There were 25 children tried for stealing and 14 for house breaking and stealing. During our review we could only find records of two repeat offenders. We found this strange because a lot of the children at the remand home had been there before. We think that this inaccuracy could be due to poor record keeping at the courts.

2.6.2 Treatment during court proceedings

When children are in conflict with the law they are entitled to special treatment according to section 3 of the Children and Young Persons Ordinance, (Cap.13). Cap.13 as mentioned before includes a provision for juvenile courts which in turn provides a protective environment for children during court proceedings. Unfortunately this provision is hardly used. According to the information gathered from the courts all 205 cases reviewed were tried in adult courts.

In Tanzania most people have no legal representation in court, there are very few state attorneys, to little to be able to comprehensively represent offenders. Most people who have legal representation in court use private lawyers, who charge high prices for their services. Unfortunately most children and adults can not afford private lawyers, therefore defend themselves. All 205 children had no legal representation in court. The implications of not having representation in court are quite serious. It is hard to understand how a child of nine years can defend himself.

2.6.3 Bail.

According to section 4 of the Children and Young Persons Ordinance, (Cap.13) provides for the right of bail for children and young persons arrested. From the information we have, we know that out of the 205 court cases reviewed 132 or 64% of children were granted bail. Although 72 or 35% were not, this could be because the offences committed by these children were more serious or they could not raise the bail money.

Having seen that there are some child offenders who have not been granted bail, then where are they sent? The law provides that children who are not given bail should be remanded in the care of a fit person or an institution, like the remand home. Our information shows that 10% of the children who did not get bail went to adult remand prison. Between the ages of 13-16 (14%) and 17-18 (26%) of cases were incarcerated with adults. This is because there exists very few juvenile facilities and children between the age of 17-18 are not seen as juveniles by Cap.13. While in remand prison, a lot of child offenders complain of being abused or beaten by adult inmates. Nipashe a Swahili newspaper on 13th June 1997 reported a case of a child refusing to be sent back to Keko (a remand prison) because he had adults fighting amongst themselves to sexually abuse him.

2.6.4 Punishment.

The most common forms of punishment given by courts to children are fines (19%), corporal punishment (15%), sentenced to imprisonment (11%), conditional discharge (12%) and approved school (2%). These figures again clearly indicate that although magistrates use alternative sentencing to avoid institutionalising children, like fines, a high proportion of children are still sentenced to imprisonment or given corporal punishment. Courts should use a probation order which is provided under section 18 (1) of Cap.13 as a means of avoiding custodial punishments or sentences. As mentioned before, imprisonment and corporal punishment is contrary to the spirit of the Constitution (due to the indignity caused) and Cap.13 which states that juveniles should be committed to an approved school. Enforcing these laws is very hard. Currently there exist only one approved school and this is just used by boys. Girls have no separate facilities and are normally imprisoned in female adult jails.

3. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS.

Tanzania has still got a long way to go to meet the standards it has set for itself in protecting children who are in conflict with the law. It is heartening to know that steps are being taken by the government in addressing this issue. This is demonstrated in policy, openness and cooperation given to us during this review. However more needs to be done, a concerted effort has to be made to improve the facilities available to juveniles. This does not necessarily mean building more juvenile courts or penal institutions for children (although this would be a great step), more practical solutions can be adopted, for example courts could have special times for just hearing children's cases.

We all have to work together much harder to stop children from being sent to adult prisons and being abused. Detention and prison conditions have also got to be improved so that they are better geared for rehabilitation rather than training grounds for criminals.

A way also has to be found to promote access to free legal representation. Perhaps through the existing law associations or strengthening government services such as those provided by the probation department. Probation orders should also be encouraged to avoid custodial punishment or sentences. Law enforcement agencies and the judiciary should be provided with training on how to address juvenile issues.

A lot more preventative work should also be done with children in communities and on the streets. To raise the awareness of children on their legal and constitutional rights. Currently information for children on law does not exist, simple booklets such as those of *kuleana* could be used to inform children on where they stand within the law.

4. Recommendations.

4.1 A review of existing legislation would be useful to enable consistency and relevance. Outdated laws should be repealed or amended. Laws such as (uzembe and uzururaji) undermine the street children's lives since they have no abode.

4.2 The Employment Ordinance(Cap.366), prohibits the employment of a child below the age of fifteen years or any child who is in school. This does not reflect the reality that children are now and probably will have to continue to work.

4.3 The Law at present on child work is openly flouted. It might be more practical to amend laws and more stringently enforce laws that would prevent exploitative child work.

4.4 It would be helpful to make the definition of what a child is in Tanzania clearer.

4.5 Remand home places are very limited. Alternatives to custody for child offenders could offer more effective and cheaper

4.6 The Police force might benefit from sending some of its staff for social training so that they know how to interact with children, know their rights and the reasons why they end up offending. Training should include ways of getting information from child offenders, tactics of investigation and keeping of records. Likewise, there must be a follow up after the training so as to create an environment for better practice.

4.7 Keeping of records needs to be improved.

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APPENDIX 2

CASE STUDIES

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Case 1

Mwanaisha was born at Muhimbili Hospital 16 years ago, although she is not really sure of the exact date. Mwanaisha lives with her grandmother and mother in Kinondoni. Her parents are divorced and her father lives in Mwananyamala. The family has seven children.

Mwanaisha went to school at Mbuyuni School in Dar Es Salaam, and only completed standard one. The school fees at the time were one thousand five hundred shillings and her mother could only afford to pay five hundred shillings. According to Mwanaisha her father could not pay the fees as he had three wives and a drinking problem.

When she dropped out of school at Std 3, Mwanaisha and her sisters started selling groundnuts, to support the family. After working for a while selling groundnuts some of Mwanaisha's friends talked her into going to live in the city. As they talked to her Mwanaisha became more convinced day by day that going to town would mean more opportunities. When she got to town at first she was sleeping along the pavements around Avalon cinema, and would get money from begging or having paid sex. Mwanaisha used to go to her mother's home on Saturdays or Sundays. She used to take some money to her mother, and waste potatoes collected from Kariakoo market.

While sleeping on the pavements, one old watchman invited Mwanaisha to live at his home in Kigogo. Mwanaisha agreed and also invited her girl friends to join her in Kigogo.

Mwanaisha thinks that some of the benefits of living on the streets are earning money to buy clothes, and to pay to see films at Avalon cinema. Although she says, she finds that street life can be sometimes troublesome. She says her and her friends are often arrested by the police,

and gangs of boys attempt to rape them. The boys would sometimes be deterred from raping her if she gave them money.

At the time of the interview, Mwanaisha was at the Remand Home for loitering. We were told that the court was hesitant to release her because they say she had nowhere to go. Mwanaisha's mother died while she was in custody at the Remand Home. When she is released, Mwanaisha says she will go and live in Kigogo. Alternatively, if there is a man who wants to marry her, she would like to get married.

Case 2

Nassoro is a boy who thinks he's around 14 years old. Nassoro's father is dead and he lives with his mother in Dar es Salaam. He has never been to school because his mother could not afford to pay his fees as she does not make enough money as a food vender (commonly known as Mama Ntillie).

Most of the time, Nassoro walks around with his friends or sits in jobless corners (places where most unemployed people hang out, waiting for casual jobs, jobless corners are referred to as "vijiweni"). He told us at vijiweni many youths smoke bhang. Sometimes after smoking, Nassoro would go and steal so that he could have money to buy clothes, shoes and bhang. He was introduced to bhang smoking by his friends. He said his mother did not know that he was smoking bhang.

One day whilst smoking bhang with his friends at a kijiweni, the police arrived unexpectedly. His friends managed to escape by climbing over the wall. Nassoro failed and was arrested by the police. He appeared at Kinondoni Primary Court and was charged for possession of illicit drugs. He had appeared previously in court charged for "public fighting". His mother was able to bail him out on his first offence however this time, she could not afford to raise the bail money.

At the time of the interview, judgement on his case was still pending. Nassoro said, "if I am released, I will stay calmly at home".

Case 3

Ramadhani is a twelve year old boy born in Unguja his parents are separated. After the separation of his parents Ramadhani went to live with his mother in Unguja. His father was by that time already living with his stepmother in Dar Es Salaam.

Ramadhani started primary school at Chang'ombe in Unguja and completed standard two. Ramadhani's father took him out of school because he wanted Ramadhani to live with him in Dar es Salaam. In accordance with his father's wishes he was brought to Dar es Salaam where he now lives with his new stepmother. Ramadhani said that because he was taken out of school he doesn't know how to read and write.

Ramadhani says his life with his stepmother was not good. He claims he was being harassed

by her. When his father was around Ramadhani was provided with all the basic needs such as food, clothes etc. But he said when his father would travel his stepmother would not provide any of these basic needs. Ramadhani said he tried to tell his father, but his father would not listen to him. His father would just listen to what the stepmother was saying.

One day, Ramadhani's stepmother did not give him any food for the whole day. Ramadhani said that he got so hungry that he took 2,000 shillings from her purse so that he could buy some food to eat. When his stepmother realised that Ramadhani had taken the money, she took him to the police. From the police Ramadhani was taken to Temeke Primary Court where he was charged with stealing. He was then taken into remand at the Dar Es Salaam Children Remand Home as nobody was able to bail him out.

Since Ramadhani has been in remand, his father has never come to see him. His mother in Unguja is not even aware of his arrest. Ramadhani believes that his mother thinks that he is living with his father.

After a long running trial (2yrs), Ramadhani has been convicted for stealing. He is waiting to be sent to an approved school in Mbeya for three years. However, he does not want to go to Mbeya as he has heard that conditions there were worse than the Remand Home. After his three years of conviction elapses, Ramadhani does not want to go and live with his father and stepmother again. He would like to go to Unguja and live with his mother.

Case 4

Maria was born in Iringa Region. She thinks she maybe 17 years of age but cannot say for sure. Maria was happily living with her parents even though they were not wealthy enough to provide her with basic needs such as clothes, food, school fees etc.

Maria started primary school at Malangali Iringa and completed standard five. She was unable to continue further because her parents could not afford to pay her fees or buy her a school uniform.

When Maria left her studies, her uncle took her to Iringa town to work. Maria then started working as a house girl for an Indian family for six months. While working there, another Indian from Dar Es Salaam would often come to visit and liked Maria. He often told Maria that he wanted her to work for him. As a result of his interest in Maria, Maria was brought to Dar Es Salaam in November 1995 by that Indian.

Maria then lived in Ilala with the Indian family and worked there as a house girl. Living with that family was good for Maria and she was paid her salary without being harassed. Later on, the Indian family moved to Mombasa. They asked Maria if she would like to accompany them, but Maria refused because she had to inform her parents first and could not.

Before the Indian family left for Mombasa, Maria was taken to one of their friends who were also Indian. The friends employed Maria and she lived with them at Jangwani. After the move Maria's life soon changed. She was harassed and was sometimes not given her salary.

Her salary was only five thousands shillings per month. Maria then decided to quit the job.

After sometime, Maria met one of her friends from Iringa. Her friend found her a job with another Indian family who lived in Upanga. Maria worked there as a house girl and was paid six thousands shillings per month. On the advice of her friend Maria started to look for a room to rent. At this time Maria had a boyfriend who assisted her to pay the rent for a room. Her boyfriend then bought her a bed and she moved to Magomeni Kagera. Maria started commuting from her home to Upanga in the morning and returning home in the evening.

Maria lived with a friend whom was unemployed. Every Sunday Maria and her friend went to her friend's uncle in Temeke. Her uncle's friend was living with the landlord's son. The landlord's son asked Maria where she worked, Maria being quite open used to tell him all he wanted to know about where she was working. A month later the landlord's son went to Maria's work. He forced Maria to open the door and threatened her with a gun to keep quiet or else he would kill her. Maria kept quiet and the boy stole a television, video deck and other things of value. While he was getting his stolen things together, the Indian man walked in and was shot by the landlord's son.

When Maria heard the shot she got scared and ran away. She went home without reporting the matter to the police. After a week Maria was arrested by the police. This event occurred in July 1996. Maria was brought to the Police Station and charged for murder in a Magistrates Court, in July 1996. Maria is now at the Dar es Salaam Children's Remand Home. The landlord's son was also arrested and charged with the same offence.

While Maria was in the Remand Home, she found out she was pregnant. She delivered a baby girl who she called Anne. After having the baby Maria's boyfriend used to come to visit her and the baby at the Remand home. As time went on the boyfriend's visits became fewer and fewer. At the time Maria was telling me this story the boyfriend had not visited for quite some time. However Maria receives maintenance money from the department of Social Welfare. Maria's mother knows the problems her daughter is facing but she is not able to come and see her due to a lack of money. While Maria was in Dar Es Salaam her father died. Maria says when she gets acquitted she would like to go back home to Iringa and start a small business or be employed as a house girl again.

Case 5

Sauda is a girl aged ten. Her father is from one of the Northern regions of the country while the mother came from the West. Sauda's father is living in Dar Es Salaam and her mother is in Tabora. The father has remarried.

Sauda's father met her mother while trading in one of the western towns of Tanzania. When Sauda's parents broke up, her father took her away from her mother and placed her under the care of her paternal grand-parents. When Sauda was eight years old, she was enrolled in school. When she reached Std 3, she began to be truant.

In November 1996, Sauda came to Dar Es Salaam to visit her father. This was her very first

time to visit the city. Her father told us that on that first visit to Dar, Sauda ran away from home and went as far as Ubungo and Mwenge alone. She was then taken back to her grandparents so that she could continue with school.

In April 1997, Sauda left the village for Moshi and then boarded a bus to Dar Es Salaam. On the same bus was a woman who came from the grandparents village she also knew where Sauda's father was living. So the lady took Sauda to her father. Due to Sauda running away from her grandparents, her father became very strict on her. He was so strict that he did not allow her to go outside the house.

Sauda's father lives in a single room which serves as the bedroom and sitting room. The room is divided by a curtain. At first Sauda was sleeping on the couch and after a few days, one of the neighbors (who came from the same region as the father) offered to share a room with her.

One evening, while the lady had gone out, Sauda went through the lady's personal belongings and opened up her sewing machine. It is said she broke one of the parts of the machine. When the father was told, he beat Sauda and tied her with a rope for the night. The following day, she ran away from home through the gate at the back of the compound.

The father reported her missing at the local police post. Two days after, she was seen at the market by one of her father's neighbors. The lady wanted to take her to her father, but she escaped and ran away. On the same day she was picked up by the police and taken to the local police post, but she escaped again.

While doing outreach, one member of the research team spotted Sauda at one of the busiest markets in Dar Es Salaam. Her dress was torn and she had a khangas around her neck. The researcher then approached Sauda by asking her for directions. While asking for directions the researcher started creating conversation. During the conversation Sauda claimed that her father beat her up daily and the father had four wives. She explained that two of her father's wives had run away from him because he was always fighting with them. She also said that she went to school and her father was really strict with her. She went on to say that her father wanted her to stay indoors all the time. The researcher later found out that Sauda did not go to school in Dar Es Salaam.

While the researcher was talking to Sauda the father arrived. He grabbed her and took her home. When the researcher got to Sauda's home the father explained that this was the fifth time Sauda had ran away. The father's version of Sauda's story was slightly different to Sauda's. It was very difficult for the researcher to know which version of the story was true.

The father insisted that Sauda go school in a place where " her movements could be closely watched ". He asked to be assisted to identify a school. He said he was prepared to pay the fees, provided the school met his requirements. The father was advised by the researcher that there were two centres for girls in Dar Es Salaam that could get help. He insisted that he would need help by the researchers in arranging for Sauda to be placed in a school. He seemed reluctant to do it by himself.

However Sauda said she wanted her father to enroll her at the local school which is across the road from her house. The father did not accept the idea. Sauda's step mother proposed that Sauda be taken to her mother for a short visit as she thought Sauda was probably missing her. The father accepted this proposal reluctantly. He said he would contact Sauda's Uncle (the mother's brother) so that they could arrange the visit.

Several follow up visits were made to Sauda's house. The reports received indicate that Sauda has settled down well. The father now also allows her to go outside the house to play with her friends. The step mother also said Sauda had also started assisting her in doing household chores. During the last follow up visit the step-mother was expecting her first child.

Case 6

Marwa is a thirteen year old boy. He has a very small body which makes him look like a ten year old. He was born in a kurya family of four boys and four sisters. Marwa is the sixth child. Their father died five years ago. Two of the sisters and one brother are married whilst the rest of the children are living with their mother in Mwanza. Marwa is the only child who was living with the maternal grandmother in Kigamboni, he lived with her until the time he ran away.

Marwa's grandmother lives in a village in Kigamboni with three grown up sons. One son is married and lives within the same compound. Marwa's grandmother decided to live with three of her grandchildren when Marwa's father died. The grandmother helped her daughter three years ago because she thought her daughter was unable to cope.

Marwa started school last year. According to his report, since he came to live with his grandmother, the uncles (his mother's brothers) accused him of stealing their money and beat him up. He said he was always being beaten whenever the grandmother was away. He also said sometimes his auntie (in collaboration with her husband) would refuse to give him food.

Marwa also reported that the two unmarried uncles drink alcohol excessively, and one of them also smokes bhang. According to Marwa's report it was when they were drunk or high on marijuana that they became very violent. When his mother came to visit, she took two of the younger children back to Mwanza. Marwa wanted to go with the mother but the grandmother persuaded him to stay behind so that he could continue with school.

Despite the fact that Marwa reported to his grandmother and mother that the uncles were physically abusing him, Marwa says the beatings never stopped. In February 1997, one of the uncles accused him of stealing some money again. Marwa was taken to a police station and was locked up for one night. When he was released the following day, the uncle beat him and tied him with a rope and threatened to burn Marwa to death.

During that night, Marwa managed to untie himself and escaped. The following day, he crossed the pontoon to Dar Es Salaam city. He met a boy aged about ten years old who told Marwa of a center for street children in the city center. He lived at the center for a few days and moved to another center in one of the residential areas in the city.

One of the uncles traced him to the center and took him back home. After two days, Marwa came back to the center. At the time of the interview, Marwa was receiving preparatory lessons which are given at the reception center. After lessons and assessment, he will be moved to the main center and start school.

Marwa is very keen on going back to school, he said he would like to get educated and be fully independent from his uncles. He would also like to go back and live with his mother, but going to school is a priority.

Case 7

Schola is a girl aged 17 years and lives in one of the high density areas of Dar Es Salaam. She comes from a family of three girls and three boys and is the second eldest child. She went to school up to Std 7 and could not continue to secondary school because she did not pass her Std 7 examinations well.

Her father works as a clerk at one of the companies in the city while the mother is a full time housewife. According to Schola's report, their mother is often away from home and she is left responsible looking after the family. This involves cooking, cleaning the home and other household related tasks. Schola shares the tasks with her younger sister who is 15 years old, she stopped school at standard 7.

It could not be established whether the mother leaves the home to do business or whether she goes back to the village. The impression the researcher got was that the mother was not home for long periods of time, leaving Schola to look after the other children.

The family is renting two rooms and Schola shares her room with her younger sister and two younger brothers. The elder brother, who is working, has rented a room nearby where he sleeps. Although he has his meals at the family home.

Schola would like to continue with secondary school but she says her father cannot afford to pay the school fees. Alternatively she would like to get some training in tailoring so that she can earn some money for herself.

Case 8

Selemani is a 18 year old boy, born in 1979 in Pangani Tanga. His nick name is 'brotherman'. After he was born, Selemani lived with his stepmother as his mother moved to Dar es Salaam, due to divorce. Selemani's life with his stepmother was not good. His stepmother had a son who Selemani said was a thief. According to Selemani one day his stepbrother stole some money. When his stepmother found out some money was stolen, she accused Selemani. When his stepmother told his father, he was beaten by his father using 'mkia wa tata' (stingrays tail). The Mkia wa tata was used by his father for fishing. Selemani also had

a scar on his right arm which he says he got from his stepmother when she threw a knife at him.

One day Selemani decided to tell his father that he wanted to go to Dar Es Salaam. His father refused. Lucky enough his uncle came to visit them. Then Selemani told his uncle of his wish to go to Dar Es Salaam. Selemani was given money by his uncle and left without informing his father.

Selemani came to Dar Es Salaam and lived with his mother at Magomeni. Later on Selemani started primary school. When he was in Std 6, while playing football he attacked another student and fractured his arm. Selemani was scared therefore he ran away from school. After one month, Selemani received a letter from his school, dismissing him. His mother tried to ask for forgiveness from the school but failed. His mother tried to transfer him to another school but Selemani was rejected because he could sometimes be stubborn.

When Selemani found that he was not admitted to any school, he decided to become a conductor in a daladala. While he was a conductor he was paid between 7,000 to 8,000 shillings per day which he thought was a good salary. With the money Selemani was able to buy some clothes and sometimes assisted his mother with her basic needs. Selemani said he had a brother who was a thief. Selemani used to assist his brother by giving him pocket money or bail him out of jail when he needed it. Since Selemani helped his brother he was also associated by the neighbors with his brother's crimes.

During Ramadhani this year (1997), his brother stole a video deck and television and sold them. When the police came to look for his brother, his brother had already left for South Africa. The police arrested Selemani as it was said he was implicated in the case. The owner of the stolen goods tried to tell the police that Selemani was not the one who stole. Although the police did not see this side of the story. Therefore Selemani was taken to Kariakoo Primary Court for theft. His mother tried to bail him out but she failed, eventually Selemani was brought to the Remand Home. Although he says there was no evidence, Selemani was later sentenced to go to an approved school in Mbeya for six years. Selemani now thinks that, when he is set free he will find another job and if possible he will move to Tanga and stay with his grandmother.

Case 9

Anne is a 16 year old girl born in Temeke. Her parents are divorced and she lives with her mother. Her mother is a traditional doctor and lives at Kigamboni. Anne tried to live with her father, but he wanted her to live with her mother. Her father does not give Anne or her mother any assistance. Anne has not been to any school so she does not know how to read and write. Anne's life with her mother was not good. Her mother used to beat her and her sister when they did not bring enough money.

Due to being constantly beaten by her mother, Anne decided with her sister to run away from home. So Anne and her sister came to town. They lived on the streets, along Jamarthini near Avalon cinema. Anne soon met up with some friends called Mwanaisha and Chiku. They

begged passers-by to earn money. When they got some money they would often go to Avalon cinema to watch films. If Anne and her friends could not earn any money they would pick potatoes from the market which they cooked in tins to eat.

At night, Anne slept on boxes along the corridors with watchmen. Anna finds living on the streets difficult. She is often confronted by hooligans who beat her and her friends and took away their money. Anne was later arrested for loitering. While she was at the police station one policeman wanted her to mop the station. Anne was told by the policeman if she mopped the station she would be released without charge. However another police officer standing by told his fellow officer that Anne could not be released even if she mopped the floor. Anne was brought to court for loitering. The court did not want to set her free as it thought she would not have a suitable place to go. Anne while explaining her story was crying and said she wished to go to the Dogodogo center.

Anne says when she is set free, she would readily be taken in by a good samaritan to live and work for her. If that good samaritan would allow Anne to study, she would be willing to do so.

APPENDIX 3

PARTICIPATORY ACTION RESEARCH WITH CHILDREN : FINDINGS.

The following table contains a list of problems regularly experienced by the children. The symptoms or outcomes of these problems were elaborated upon by the children themselves. As maybe seen in these table's problems and symptoms seem to play interchanging roles i.e what might one child problem, maybe another child out come of a problem. This normal because children a have different a perspective of their problems and how they problems affect them . Since this research aims to promote children's participation it was decided to leave the findings as the children told us and not to try add or give a " adult meaning" (although this might frustrate adults who have lost touch with they childhood !) while translating them from swahili to english.

The letters in the brackets are abbreviations of the site names.

N - Manzese
N 1 - Manzese 2
M - Magomeni
R - Remand Home
F - Ferry (fish market)
G - Kigogo home
Z - Manzi Mmoja
K - Kinondoni
K. 2 - Kinondoni 2

These indicate which sites listed a particular problem and outcome. The numbers in brackets are index numbers that relate raw data.

THE STEPS OF ACTION RESEARCH

1. Fun, Fun, Fun and more Fun :

Playing games and mucking about with children to build a relationship of trust and dialogue, so as to uncover they problems, wishes, and interests in relaxed child friendly environment.

2. Identifying problems :

The children are asked by animators what their major problems are ?

3. Data collection :

The children, with the assistance of the animators collect data on the manifestations of their problems.

4. Classifying the information

The children put their outcome/ symptoms in the three broad categories : Socio - cultural, economic and political.

5. Prioritization :

This session concentrated on how to identify and focus on problems this was conducted through voting.

6. Variables :

Here the children looked at some of the causes of their problems.

Identification of problems and Data collection

PROBLEMS	SYMPTOMS
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1. Getting beaten by the police and other adults (R) (1)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. My legs or arms can be broken b. My joints get twisted c. We get bruised d. We are admitted in hospital unconscious. e. Ankle gets twisted
2. Sleeping in uncomfortable and unsafe place (R) (2)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. I get cold b. We are bitten by mosquitos. c. We get fever. d. We get bitten by insects. e. We do not sleep well.
3. Getting sick every time (R) (3)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. I am not happy b. I can't eat c. I get no medication d. Death e. I go to the hospital
4. Not enough food. (R) (4)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. We get hungry b. We can't work happily c. We remember home d. No medicines
5. Court cases take too long to be heard (R) (5)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. We are not happy b. We feel its unfair c. We remain suffering at remand home for too long. d. We are denied our rights
6. No water (R) (6)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. We don't get clean water b. We get stomach aches c. We can't take baths d. We get typhoid
7. I am wrongfully accused (R) (7)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. We are taken to the wrong courts to answer charges b. We get victimized while in custody c. We catch diseases while at remand home d. Adopt new bad behaviors and attitudes e. Jailed
8. Lack of employment (R) (8)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. We sleep outside b. We are caught by police c. Feel unhappy d. We don't get food e. We are not trusted by neighbors f. We are loitering g. We become thieves
9. Smoking bhang(marijuana) (R) (13)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. We get confused head and mind b. I think of being a thief c. Thinking about life d. We get strength for work
10. Fighting (R) (14)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. I get bruised and have wounds b. Get-arrested by the police c. Taken to court d. Jailed

11.Sleeping outside (R) (9)	a.I get arrested by police b.We feel cold c.I get diseases d.Being unhappy.
12.The punishment we get is more than we can take (R) (10)	a.To collapse unconscious b.To be admitted to hospital. d.To be unhappy c.Painfully body joints c.Become disabled f.We get disabilities
13.Our parents are poor and can't cope (R) (11)	a.I am not going to school b.I have to drop out of school c.No food at home d.I run away from home e.I became a thief
14.Stealing (R) (12)	a.I get arrested by police b.To go in to police custody c.Appear in court d.I get taken to the remand home e.Face jail sentence
15.I am not educated (R) (15)	a.I became a thief b.Loitering c.No work d.No self confidence c.I feel stupid.
16.Having a court case (R) (16)	a.To go to custody b.Time wasting c.set free d.Jail sentence
17.I mug people (R) (17)	a.Take peoples money b.Getting arrested by police c.Being abused by the police d.Appear in court e.Getting charged with murder
18.Rape (R) (18)	a.Appear in court b.Jail sentence c.Fighting and grievance ? d.Humiliated by the society
19. Loitering (R) (19)	a.To be abused b.To be beaten c.No food to eat d.People hate you.
20.I am domestic servant (R) (20)	a.I am tide up with rope b.I get shouted at c.I don't get a salary d.I get hit
21.Selling drugs (R) (21)	a.Caught by police b.Running away from Police c.Appear in courts d.I get taken to the remand home e.Face a jail sentence d.Canned

22.Children are not getting educated because of no money (N2) (1)	a.Girls sell themselves b.No proper work to do c.I become a thief d.Because I am not educated,my children will not be educated e.Lack of educated people
23.Carrying sand from the River (N2) (2)	a.I get bilharzia b.I have to carry heavy loads of sand c.I get skin rushes d.I get infected by insects
24.I rape girls (N2) (3)	a.I catch STD's b.The girl gets pregnant and I have to run away from home c.We get arrested d.We get AIDS e.There is a possibility that the rape child will not be healthy
25.Loitering (N2) (4)	a.To be thief b.I smoke bhang and heroine c.I get arrested by the police d.I cant get place to leave e.Being accused of theft
26.There is no employment (N2) (5)	a.Stealing b.Smoking bhang c.I stay hungry d.Running from home e.Girls turn to prostitution
27.I store away on ships (N2) (6)	a.I get arrested and jailed b.Leaving home for a long time c.My health deteriorates d.I get thrown over board e.I get involved in drugs
28.Children get kidnaped (N2) (7)	a.Children face hardships b.Parents face problems in tracing their children c.Children get killed and their bodies are used as a means of smuggling drugs d.Children are used in occult ceremonies (kuchinja na kupika makongoro) e.Children being forced to work f.To take our blood and sale it(the blood sometimes is used for occult ceremonies or just sold as a product)
29.Collecting garbage for money (N2) (8)	a.Getting cut by pieces of glass b.bitten by jiggers(funza) c.I get bilharzia,cholera and skin rushes d.You feel like eating the thrown food e.I get itchy skin
30.Children abused and neglected (N2) (9)	a.They become thieves b.They get beaten c.They get their things taken away from them d.They feel inferior and abused

31.Children associate with bad groups (N2) (10)	a.They became prostitutes b.they are arrested by police c.They become thieves d.Start smoking bhanghi e.Engage in bad habits.
32.Water is a problem (N1) (1)	a.We get dirty b.I get skin diseases c.We get bitten by mosquitoes d.I get chest pains e.I get cholera
33.We have no money (N1) (2)	a Stealing at home b.Having to work to collect sand in the evening c.To walk without shoes d.Unable to buy things e.Having to pick coconut husks
34.Getting headaches (N1) (3)	a.I feel dizzy b I get worms in my stool c. Leave school
35.I have no materials to use at school (N1) (4)	a.Not going to school b.I steal other peoples pens and pencils c.To get hit by teachers at school d. Begging
36.Not having parents(N1) (5)	a.Lack of direction b.Being dirty c.Not wanting to go school d.Begging e.Stealing
37.Children smoking bhanghi (N1) (6)	a.Beating people b.Loosing direction like a mad man c.To look down on parents d. To look down on teachers
38.Lack of clothes (N1) (7)	a.Walking without clothes b.Stealing clothes at market c.Having to buy clothes from bad people d.There is no money.
39.I get bullied by elder children (N1) (8)	a.People take things away from me b.To bring about disagreement c. I have money stolen d.Hanging out with bad groups so I don't get beaten
40.Swearing at parents (N1) (9)	a.To get disowned by parents b.Not being liked by neighbors c.Parents look for a bad person to beat you up d.Starting arguments
41.Stealing (N1) (10)	a.Getting caught and taken to the police station b.People won't like you c.To get burnt hands d.Being beaten e.We have no money

42.Lack of recreation activities (N1) (11)	a.Parents don't allow me to play b.There is no sport equipment c.To feel weak
43.Misbehaving in front of our parents (M) (1)	a.Not listening to our parents b.Getting chased from home c.Elder people don't listen to us d. bringing back our boy friend or girl friends while our parents are in e.Being cursed by our parents
44.Female students are seduced by bus conductors. (M) (2)	a.To get free bus rides b.Leaving school for a better life c.To get pregnant and your partner running away from you. d.To get seduced,to make love. e.Being late to return home f.To tell lies to our parents g.Sleeping out of home
45.Boys changing to look like girls (M) (3)	a.They have anal intercourse with other boys b.They put on cosmetics c.Get rejected by society. d.Wearing girls clothes. e.Most of the time they stay with groups of girls f.His relatives may decide to kill him g.Walking like a girl h.Selling their bodies (intercourse for money)
46.Employment of Children.(m) (4)	a. We miss out on education b.We are over worked (hard jobs) c.We are paid very little d.We girls turn to the sex business e.We lack nutritious food f.We sleep in discos g.Having poor health h.We have impaired bodies
47.Poor education (M) (9)	a. We employ our selves b.lack of employment c.Not knowing how to read and write d.No development e.You can feel separated from the community
48.There is a lot of temptations (M) (10)	a.Storing away on a ships. b.Run away from home c.Being caught by the a police d.To get pregnant e.Looking for a job f.Dropping out of school g.Giving birth at very young age h.Abortion i. We get married at young age j. We get defiled k.Boys lie to us to seduce us. l.Getting girls pregnant and running away from them. j.Stealing.

49. Separation of parents.(M) (11)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a.Children have no direction. b.experimenting with drugs c.We lack parental care d.Lack of good health e. We become beggars f.Asking for help from people. g.Having to push pull carts. h.Unhappy life i.Children can be employed j.we can commit suicide k.We get victimized by step parents l.Mothers remain with heavy work burden;taking care the children m.We get over worked beyond our age and capacity.
50.Not having a place to sleep (M) (12)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. We run away from home to live on the streets b.we get tempted by different things like smoking bhanghi,Stealing, gambling(kamari),and became rude(wahuni) c.we start loitering(kuzurura) d.We become beggars e.we are caught by police for loitering
51.Not wanting school / rejecting going to school (m) (13)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a.we become thieves b.we involve ourselves with bad groups c.Loitering d.Girls turn to the sex business. e.we commit suicide because we loose hope. f.Being disowned Parents accept us (kukataliwa na wazazi)
52. The rape of young girls.(m) (14)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. To get badly hurt in private places. b. A child could die c. A child could get infected by AIDS. d. The rapist can be locked up. e. To be revenged f. The rapist could get tough punishment in court.
53.Not having both parents (M) (15)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a.Not having enough nutritious food. b.We can easily be victimized c.We lack medical treatment when sick d.We get sick frequently e. We pick rubbish and resale e.g: sand, gravel, cans. f.Suffering on the streets g.we become beggars h.Loitering i.We lack school fees,utensils and money for contributions j.My inheritance is taken from me k.I am not valued
54.I feel a lot of problems and I am suffering (F)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a.I have to find money b.I feel weak c.we beg in mosques d.I need help from friends
55.I don't have a place to stay(F)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a.I didn't complete my primary education b.We are caught by police c.we don't have a job d.Not given food at home by my step parent. e.we lack clothes f.I don't have a definite job for my own income

56.Lack of school materials. (C) (1)	a. We run away from home to find income b.Dropping out of school c.Becoming rude d.Getting sickness like AIDS and Gonorrhoea e.I can be a thief or bandit and get jailed.
57.Victimized (kuteswa) by a step parent (C) (2)	a. We run away from home b.We became bhanghi smokers c.We lack a reasonable life d.We girls force our ourselves to have sex so that we can get money
58.We lack education (C) (3)	a. We involve our self in criminal activities. b.We can't read and write c.We can't get a job d.We can get pregnant. e.You can become a drunkard
59.Lack of discipline and good behaviour in front of our parents (C) (4)	a.Chased away from home b.We get no where to stay (live) c.Loitering and suffering d.being denied an education. e.Beaten by local guards at night in the streets.
60.Going out with a man at an early age (c) (5)	a.getting pregnant b.We catch AIDS and STDS c.Your sexual parts can get injured. d.She can lack discipline e.Loss of life f.She can give birth to a mentally retarded child. g.She can throw her baby away h. you can lose your capacity to give birth (kizazi)
61.We are leaving in a poor unhygienic environment (G) (3)	a. We get diseases like cholera b.We stay dirty c.We get jiggers in our feet. d.The environment is not beautiful and attractive.
62.Starvation in rural areas (G) (4)	a. We may die b.We loss a lot of weight c.We steal d.We get malnutrition problems like kwashiorkor e.We get peptic ulcers f.We collapse g.We commit robbery h.We don't get strength we remain weak i.All of the time we think about food
63.We get cancer (G) (8)	a. We die b.Parts of our body can be removed c.We become very thin d.We get mental frustrations
64.Lack of (bus)fare to come from the countryside to the city center(G) (6)	a. We are beaten by conductors b.We are brought to jail c.Caught by police and brought to police station. d. We board buses without paying fair e.We are asked for our tickets f.We are dropped in the middle of forests. g. We are usually asked lots of questions

65.No rain in the city (G) (7)	a.Plants do not grow b.Plants die out c.Our mothers get water problems. d.The soil dries out. e.Our people are dying f.There is no electricity
66.We don't have identity cards (G) (8)	a.We are usually caught by police b.When we get in an accident its hard to be identified c.Its easy to be arrested by the police d.We pay adult fairs (transportation)
67.We have a transport problem (G) (9)	a.We are thrown off buses b.Teachers beat us when we are late at school c.We are tired of school d. we get beaten by our fellow students e. We could get hit by cars. f.Very young children remain at the bus stop for a long time.
68.We go to school without having breakfast (G) (10)	a. We sleep during class. b.I yawn in class c.I beg my fellow students for something to eat
69.We don't know how to read (Z)	a. We don't get jobs b.We are chased away from home c.We become a burden to our parents d.You feel we are not bright e.You stay without money
70.Becoming a thief (Z)	a.People beat you b.You may die c.You may turn mad d.You smoke bhang e.Your hands get burned
71.Our property gets stolen (Z)	a.We are suffer b.I have trouble carrying my luggage when it's rains(clothes and other essentials) c.We have to pay for a place to sleep d.I sleep under a tree
72.When think of a way to get money I feel crying (doing sexwork) (Z)	a.Rude men can do bad things to me. b.I can go and steal c.I can go to arabs and beg d.I feel victimized (ninanyanyasika)
73.We are taught to smoke bhang (Z)	a. I become mad b. I get hungry c. I feel light headed
74.We don't have food (Z)	a.We eat things that we do not understand (bad looking and tasting food). b.I can sleep hungry c. My friends refuse to give you food

75. Dropping out of school because of men chatting us up. (C) (6)	a. I can get pregnant b. You can be forbidden where there is no your parents ? c. We have sex and catch stds. d. (kutangatanga) you remain suffering on the streets ? e. I can stay home without education.
76. The loss of both or one parent (C) (7)	a. Get humiliated by step parents. b. You remain orphan c. You can't get clothes d. You don't get food e. I get abused and victimized by relatives f. I get confused and frustrated
77. We are forced to get married so our parents can get a bride price (C) (8)	a. We are stopped from school b. The marriage doesn't last long c. You can run away from the man d. I can commit suicide e. We can lack understanding between us in the house f. Feel unhappy
78. We are raped (C) (9)	a. We get stds b. We are forced to make love c. We are wounded and injured in private parts of our body d. Feel victimized e. Feel humiliated of shameful in front of society and friends. f. Loss of fertility.
79. Loitering in streets (C) (10)	a. begging on the streets b. We can easily be raped because of loitering c. I can find a man get pregnant and have to run away d. We are caught by police e. When I die on the street no one will identify me. f. I can involve myself with drugs g. I can smoke bhang and cigarettes
80. We have a lot of thoughts (feelings) (G) (1)	a. We become mad b. We get frustrated c. I can talk alone d. I loose weight e. You become mentally retarded
81. No school books (G) (2)	a. I don't feel happy b. We get problems when teachers give us home work c. We are beaten d. We can not write at school e. We are scrambling for books at school f. My fellows (age mates) laugh at me
82. Most of us are thieves (G) (11)	a. You can get beaten and burned. b. You can be killed c. You can be brought to jail d. You can suspended from your job. e. We get punishment at home f. We are asked to change our behavior
83. I am hungry (N3) (1)	a. I can hit somebody with anything b. I hate others c. I fight

84. My father is dead (N3) (2)	a. I don't have any money to buy books. b. I don't have any flip flops, I get diseases c. I carry sand for an income d. I have trouble in getting food
85. My ribs are tight (N3) (3)	a. I can't breath properly b. I can't play happily
86. My stomach ache (N3) (4)	a) I have diarrhea
87. When I am sent on an errand I refuse (N3) (6)	a. I get little with anything ? b. I sleep at other peoples houses c. I'm chased from home
88. I'm sick with fever (N3) (7)	a. I dose from time to time b. I don't play happily c. I vomit d. I can't work because I'm sick e. I cough f. I don't eat properly I vomit g. I feel cold and have chills
89. I like playing a lot (N3) (8)	a. I stay the whole day without food b. My stomach aches
90. My family doesn't have any money (N3) (9)	a. I carry sand for an income b. I give my mother all my money c. I don't have money to buy shoes d. I walk bare footed e. I get diseases
91. To smoke Bhang (N3) (10)	a. I feel mad b. I steal chickens c. Fighting without a course d. I am confused e. I insult people without course f. Walk around naked g. I lie about money being lost
92. I have a headaches (N3) (11)	a. I feel bad b. I feel dizzy
93. To carry sand (N3) (12)	a. My neck hurts b. My back huts
94. My mother can't afford to buy my school uniform (N3) (13)	a. I don't go to school b. I become a thief c. I sell noddles to buy books
95. My chest hurts at night (N3) (14)	a. I cold from night till morning b. My mother doesn't have any money to take me to the hospitals c. I miss out on medical treatment
96. Food is scarce (K1) (3)	a. I become a thief b. I become a beggar c. I don't get enough food d. I get sick from time to time e. Luck of direction

97. Hanging out in jobless corners(K1) (4)	a.I get caught by the police b.I smoke bhang/Heroin c.To become a thief or a rapist d.We rape one another while the other is asleep e.We fight and stab each other with a knives f.Girls turn to sex work
98. We don't have a proper place to live (K1) (5)	a. We sleep on the street b. We are accused of being thieves and set on fire
99. We don't have any parents or guardians in town (k) (6)	a. Being accused of theft b. To get involved in stupid groups c. Lack of education d. No direction e. No food
100. Lack of employment (K) (7)	a. I become a thief b. I stay the whole day without eating (hungry) c. I have no working tools d. I store away on ships e. I collect cans to sell f. I am not respected by my community g. I feel I'm of no worth
101. I become a prostitute (K1) (8)	a. I get STD's b. I get pregnant and my partner does not recognize the pregnancy c. Giving birth while you are young d. I don't get paid (tipped) and I don't get money (from clients after sex) e. Dying early f. I get hit by men g. I get stabbed with a knives
102. To give birth to a child who does not have a father (K1) (9)	a. My children is in bad health b. I don't get any food c. My mother does not take care of my child
103. Parents don't have money to take care of their children (K1) (10)	a. Lack of education b. The children have to find work when they are young c. Getting married by force d. getting pregnant while young e. Being in bad health f. Being harassed by the employer
104. Being a domestic servant at a young age (K1) (12)	a. Doing hard work b. Not being paid enough c. Being sexually harassed by my employer d. Not enough time to rest e. Getting pregnant and not having your partner recognize it. f. Getting old while young due to hard work
105. Boys not recognizing their girls pregnancies (K1) (13)	a. Because they can't take care of the child and the mother b. We don't believe the girls c. Lack of employment d. The baby does not have a father e. The Child won't have a good upbringing. f. The child would lack good care g. The girl will lose hope h. To throw away the child i. The girl gets forced to become a prostitute, to look after their children j. The mother herself will be in bad health

106.The child will become the beggar (K1) (14)	a.To have bad things done to you like being raped b.Becoming a loiterer c.Not being in good health d.Won't get enough nutritious food e.To be sick from time to time
107.Not going to School (K1) (15)	a.Gambling b.Becoming a thief c.To sell peanuts and other small items d.Loitering e.To run away from home
108.My parents are alcoholics (K1) (16)	a.Getting fired from work b.Selling the house c. Hitting children without reason d.They don't care about the family (food, place to sleep education etc) e.They don't listen to our problems f.Having lots of women g.Father gives all of his money to women that he has affairs with h.Having debts
109.Parents don't have jobs(K1) (17)	a.Selling house holds items b.The family depends on the small children
110.Women sell chapatis and donuts (K1) (18)	a.When mama's get stopped selling chapatis and maandazi the family looses out b.Lack of direction from my mother c.Children having to chip in for food d.The family a parent to look after it from time to time ?
111.My mother tells me off for no reason (K2) (1)	a.I'm not happy b.I feel victimized c.I feel lonely d.I find life hard e.I feel like running away from home
112.I don't have any money to go and see the video's at the club (K2) (2)	a.I loiter b.I try to earn money c.I don't go to a school d.I go fishing
113.We are poor and we can not mange our lives (K2) (3)	a.My sister is in town and has many problems b.I feel sorry for my sister c.We have trouble getting food d.our lives has no direction
114.My sister sleeps outside (doing sex work) (K2) (4)	a.We feel shy b.If we tell her off ,she hits us c.She is endangering her life.
115.I don't like school (K2) (5)	a.I don't attend class b.I go and gambling c.I am truant at school

116. My mother and father are separated (K2) (6)	a. My sibling lives with an elder aunt and has lots of troubles and feels victimized by my aunt b. I have trouble in getting food c. We lack the care of our mother and father d. Marginalised
117. The food is bad (K2) (7)	a. I get stomach aches b. I have diarrhea c. I feel bad d. I have worms in my stool
118. There is no money (K2) (8)	a. We can't go to school until our father has money b. I will walk bare footed c. I found it hard to get clothes d. I live a troublesome life e. There is no school fees so I have to sell ice cream
119. I'm chased from home (K2) (9)	a. I sell my self b. I leave school c. I have no proper place to live d. We learn bad manners e. I walk the whole day in town looking for opportunities
120. I like luxury (K2) (10)	a. I drink other people's beer without paying B. being abused (sexually anal abused) C. My private parts get damaged d. I get diarrhea e. I urinate blood
121. I live with my step mother (K2) (11)	a. Being chased away from home b. I'm tortured c. I'm harassed d. I feel under developed
122. I didn't finish school I stopped at class three (F) (1)	a. I live at the ferry because I have no other place to live b. I get hit by bad people c. I get caught by the police d. When I go and report to the Police that I have been beaten, I get locked up e. I don't have any work
123. I didn't finish primary school (F) (2)	a. I was leaving with my step mother b. I'm denied food at home c. I run away from home d. I don't have a place to live e. I get raped by the boys at the ferry f. Getting caught by the police and being locked up g. Not having clothes to wear
124. I get fever from time to time (F) (3)	a. Some times my head hurts b. I get hot and cold flushes c. My legs hurt
125. I get fever from time to time and I feel weak (F) (4)	a. I have no apatite

126. We struggle to find the place to live(F) (5)	a. We get hit by bad people b. I become a loiterer c. We sleep at the ferry d. Having to do sex work
127. I don't have any clothes (F) (6)	a. I wear clothes for a long time b. I ask boys for money
128. Being arrested by the police without reason (F) (7)	a. Going to jail from time to time b. Being disturbed by the police
129. Not having a place to live (F) (8)	a. I sleep outside b. To get bitten by mosquitoes
130. I get fever from time to time (F) (9)	a. I lack vitamins C and A b. I eat nonnutritious food
131. I have no capacity to help my self (F) (10)	a. I don't have adequate clothing b. Sleeping at ferry c. I don't have a stable place to live
132. I have no work (F) (11)	a. I have no money b. I do have a place to sleep c. I don't eat food like I meant to
133. I sleep outside (F) (12)	a. I get harassed by police and watch men b. I get sick
134. I get hit (F) (13)	a. I get hurt b. You get money taken away from you c. We get misused sexually at night (anal sex or rape)
135. I sleep outside (F) (14)	a. Diseases b. I have tables eating
136. Not being able to study (F) (15)	a. I feel cold b. I get hit by the police c. I don't have any food d. I get skin diseases e. I get wounds
137. I don't have a relatives to live with (F) (17)	a. I sleep at ferry b. I don't have anybody to help me c. I don't have a husband d. I lack of love e. I get harassed by the community
138. I don't have a place to sleep (F) (16)	a. feel cold b. I get hit by the police c. I don't have any food d. I get skin diseases e. I get wounds
139. I get disturbed by bad people at night (F) (17)	a. To have money taken away b. To get raped c. Get beaten

Categorization

This is the third step of the research in which the Symptom are put into one of three categories; Political, Economic and

Cultural according to what the children perceived to be the basis of a certain symptom. the following definitions were given for each of the categories :

- Politics - Something that is beyond our control or that influences status
- Economic - Money
- Social cultural - Traditions and customs

POLITICS	SOCIAL CULTURAL	ECONOMIC
1. My legs or arms can be broken(1)(R)	1. I get cold(2)(R)	1. I get cold(2)(R)
2. My joints get twisted(1)(R)	2. We get fever	2. We bitten by mosquito(2)(R1)(N11)
3. We get bruised(1)(R)	3. We do not sleep well	3. We get bitten by insects(2)(R1)(N2.1)
4. We admitted in hospital unconscious (1)(R)	4. I am not happy(2)(R)	5. I am not happy(3)(R)
5. Ankle get twisted (1)(R)	5. I don't eat (R)	6. I get no medication(2)(R2)
6. I am not happy (R)	6. We go to hospital (R)	7. Stealing(2)(N21)(N11)?
7. Death (R)	7. We can't work happily (R)	8. We feel its unfair (R)
8. We get hungry (R)	8. We denied our rights (R)	9. We catch diseases while at remand home (R)
9. We remember home (R)	9. We don't get clean water (R)	10. Feel unhappy (R)
10. We remain suffering at remand home for too long (R)	10. We get stomach aches (R)	11. We don't get food(3) (R)
11. We denied our rights (R)	11. We can't take baths (R)	12. We are loitering(4) (R2)(1)(M2)
12. We are taken to the wrong courts to answer charges (R)	12. We get typhoid (R)	13. We become thieves(8)(R3)(N2.2)(M1)(K1.2)
13. We get victimized while in custody	13. Adopt new bad behaviors and attitudes (R)	14. Thinking about life (R)
14. We catch diseases while at remand home(2)(R)	14. We sleep outside (R)	15. I am not going to school (R)
15. Jailed(8)(R7) (G1)	15. Feel unhappy(4)(R3)(G1)	16. I have to drop out of school(3)(R1)(M1)(G1)
16. We are caught by police(5) (R2)(M2)(F1)	16. We are not trusted by neighbors (R)	17. No work(3)(R1)(N2.1)(G1)
17. Feel unhappy(3) (R)	17. Thinking about life (R)	18. Take peoples money (R)
18. We get confused head and mind (R)	18. I am not going to school (R)	19. I don't get a salary (R)
19. I think of being a thief (R)	19. I have to drop out of school(R)	20. Girls sell themselves(2)(R1)(M1)

20. Thinking about life (R)	20. We don't get food(2) (R)	21. Because I'm not educated, my children will not be educated (N2)
21. We get strength for work (R)	21. I run away from home(3)(N2.2)(M1)	22. I have to carry heavy loads of sand (N2)
22. I get bruised and have wounds (R)	22. We become a thieves (5)(R3)(N2.2)	23. The girl gets pregnant and I have run away from home (N2)
23. Get arrested by the police(7)(R4)(N2.3)	23. To go into police custody (R)	24. We get AIDS (N2)
24. Taken to court(6) (R)(N1.1)	24. No work (R)	25. I stay hungry (N2)
25. I get diseases(R)	25. No self confidence (R)	26. Girls turn to prostitution(2)(R2)
26. To collapse unconscious (R)	26. I feel stupid (R)	27. Children get killed and their bodies are used as a means of smuggling drugs (N2)
27. To admitted to hospital (R)	27. Time wasting (R)	28. Children are used in occult ceremonies(kuchinjw a na kupika makongoro (N2)
28. Painfully body joints (R)	28. Set free (R)	29. Children being forced to work (N2)
29. We get disabilities (R)	29. Fighting and graveness ? (R)	30. To take our blood and sale it(the blood sometimes is used for occult ceremonies or just sold as a product) (N2)
30. I am not going to school(2)(R1)(N1)	30. Humiliated by the society (R)	31. I feel inferior and abused (?)
31. I have to drop out of school(2)(R1)(N1.1)	31. To be abused (R)	32. Having to work to collect sand in the evening (N1)
32. We don't get food (R)	35. People hate you (R)	33. To walk without shoe(N1)
33. To go to police custody(3)(R)(N11)	36. I am tide up with rope(R)	34. Unable to buy things(N1)
34. I get taken to the remand home(R)	37. I don't get a salary(R)	35. Having to pick coconut husk(N1)
35. No proper work to do(R)	38. I can't get a salary(?)	36. I steal other peoples pens(N1)
36. Abuse by police(2) (R)	39. Running away from police(R)	37. Not wanting to go to school(N1)
37. Getting charge with murder(R)	40. Canned(R)	38. Stealing(2)(R1) (M1)
38. I am tide up with rope(R)	41. Girl sell themselves(N2)	39. Walking without clothes(2)(N.1)(G1)
39. Get shouted at(R)	42. Because I am not educated, my children will not be educated(N2)	40. Stealing clothes at the market(N1)
40. Canned(R)	43. Lack of educated people(N2)	41. There is no money(N1)
41. Lack of educated people(N2)	44. I get skin rashes(3)(N22)(N11)	42. To have man stolen(N1)
42. I get bilharzia(2)(N22)	45. I catch STD's(2)(N2.1)(K1)	43. We have no money(N1)
43. I get skin rushes(2)(N22)	46. The girl get pregnant and I have to run away from home(2)(N11)(M1)	44. There is no sports equipment(N1)

44.I catch STD'S(N2)	47.We get AIDS(N2)	45.Selling their bodies(Intercourse for money)(M)
45.We get AIDS(N2)	48.There is a possibility that the rape child will not be healthy(N2)	46.We miss education(M)
46.Being accused of theft(N2)	49.I smoke bhang and heroine(4)(N2.3)(K1.1)	47.We are over worked (hard jobs)(M)
47.I get arrested and jailed(2)(1)(N1.1)	50.I cant get a place to live(N2)	48.We paid very little (M)
48.We get beaten by mosquitoes(1)(N1.1)	51.Stealing(N2)	49.We lack nutritious foods(2)(M2)
49.I get chest pains(1)(N1.1)	52.Leaving home for a long time(N2)	50.Having poor health(M)
50.I feel dizzy(N1)	53.My health deteriorates(N2)	51.We impaired body(M)
55.I get worms in my stool(N1)	54.I get thrown over board(N2)	52.We employ ourselves(M1)(K1.1)
56.To get hit by teacher at school(N1)	55.I get involved with drugs(N2)	53.Lack of employment(2)(M)
57.Lack of direction(N1)	56.Children face hardships(N2)	54.No development(M)
58.Loosing direction like a mad man(N1)	57.Parents face problems in tracing their children(N2)	56.Storing away on a ship(2)(M1)(K1)
59.Hanging out with bad groups so I don't get beaten(N1)	58.Getting cut by pieces of glass(N2)	57.To get pregnant(M)
60.Parents look for a bad person to beat you up(N1)	59.Beat by jiggers(Funza)(N2)	58.Looking for a job(M)
61.To get burnt hands(N1.1)(Z1)	60.I get cholera(3)(N2.1)(F1)(N1.1)	59.Giving birth at a very young age(M)
62.Getting chased from home(M)	61.You feel like eating thrown food(N2)	60.We get married at young age(m)
63.Being cursed by our parents(M)	66.I get itchy skin(N2)	61.Boys lie to us to seduce us(m)
64.Bringing back our boyfriend and girl friend while our parents are in(M)	67.I get hit(Beaten)(3)(R1)(N22)(N11)	62.Lack of good health(M)
65.Living school for a better life(M)	68.They get their things taken away from them (2)(R1)(N11)	63.We become beggars(3)(M3)
66.To get pregnant and your partner running away from you(M)	69.Engege in bad habits(N2)	64.Asking for help from people(M)
67.To tell lies to our parents(M)	70.We get dirty(3)(N22)(F1)	65.Having a push pull carts(M)
68.We miss education(M)	71.We get beaten by mosquitoes(1)(N11)	66.Children can be employed(M)
69.We paid very little(M)	72.I get chest pains(N1)	67.We get over worked beyond our age and capacity(M)
70.Lack of employment(M)	73.I get worm in my stool(N1)	68.We lack medical treatment when sick
71.We get married at young age(M)	74.Begging(2)(N22)	69.Suffering on the streets(M)
72.We get defiled(M)	75.Not wanting to go to school(N1)	70.We lack school fees utensils and money for contribution(M)

73.Children have no direction	76.Beating people(N1)	71.My inheritance is taken from me(M)
74.We get victimized by step parents(M)	77.To look down on parents(N1)	72.We have to find money(G)
75.Mother remain with heavy work burden of taking care the children(M)	78.To look down teachers(N1)	73.I don't have a definite job for my own income(G)
76.loitering(M)	79.Walking without clothes(N1)	74.We may die(G)
78.Being disowned by parents accept us(kukataliwa na wazazi)(M)	80.Having to buy clothes from bad people(N1)	75.We loose a lot of weight(2)(G)
79.To get badly hurt in private places(M)	81.To bring about disagreement(N1)	76.We collapse(G)
80.A child could die(M)	82.To get disowned by parents(N1)	77.We commit robbery(F)
81.A child could get infected by AIDS(M)	83.Not being liked by neighbors(N1)	78.We get mental frustrations(F)
82.The rapist can be locked up (M)	84.Parents look for a bad person to beat you up(N1)	79.We asked for our tickets(G)
83.To be revenged(M)	85.Starting arguments(N1)	80.We dropped in the middle of forest(G)
84.The rapist could get tough punishment in court(M)	86.People wont like you(N1)	81.Plants does not grow(G)
85. We can easily be victimized(M)	87.To get burnt hand(2)(N1.1)(Z1)	82.Plants die out(G)
86.We get sick frequently(M)	88.Parents don't allow me to play(N1)	83.Our mothers get water problem(G)
87. We pick rubbish and resale eg. sand,gravel(M)	89.To feel weak(3)(M2)(G1)	84.There is no electricity(G)
88.My inheritance is taken from me(M)	90.Not listening to our parents(M)	85. We pay adult fares(Transport)(G)
89.I am not valued(M)	91.Elder people listern to us(M)	86. We are thrown off buses(G)
90.We get peptic ulcers(G)	92.Being cruised by our parents(M)	87. We are tired of school(2)(G)
91. We get beaten by conductors(G)	93.Bringing back our boyfriend and girl friend while our parents are in(M)	88.I yawn in class(G)
92. We caught by police and brought to police(G)	94.To get free bus rides(M)	89.I beg from fellow students for something to eat(G)
93. We are usual asked lots of question(G)	95.To get seduced to make love(M)	90. We don't get a jobs(Z)
94.Plant do not grow(G)	96.Being late to return home(M)	91. We become burden to our parents(Z)
95.Plants die out(G)	97.To tell lie to our parents(M)	92 You stay without money(Z)
96.The soil dries out(G)	98.Sleeping out of home(2)(M2)	93. We have to pay for a place to sleep(Z)
97.Our people are dying(G)	99.They have anal intercourse with other boys(M)	94.I sleep under a tree(Z)

98. When we get in an accident its hard to be identified(G)	100. They put on cosmetics(M)	95. I can go and steal(Z)
99. Teacher beat us when we are late at school(G)	101. Get rejected by society(M)	96. I can go to Arabs and beg(Z)
100. We get beaten by our fellow students(G)	102. Wearing girls clothes(M)	97. I get hungry(Z)
101. We don't get a jobs(G)	103. Most of the time they stay with groups girls(M)	98. I can sleep hungry(Z)
102. We chased away from home(Z)	104. His relatives may decide to kill him(M)	99. You become mentally retarded(G)
103. People beat you(Z)	105. Walking like a girl(M)	100. We get problem when teacher give us a home work(G)
104. You may turn mad(3)(Z2)(G1)	106. Selling their bodies(Intercourse for money)(M)	101. We are scrambling for books at school
105. You may die(Z)	107. We overworked(Hard job)(M)	102. You can be killed(G)
106. We are suffer(Z)	108. We girls turn to the sex business(2)(M2)	103. You can suspended from your job(Z)
107. I have trouble in carrying my luggage when it's rain (clothes and other essentials)	109. We lack nutritious foods(M)	104. I will become a beggar(K)
108. Rude men can do bad things to me(Z)	110. Having poor health(M1)	105. I don't get enough food(K1)
109. I feel victimized (Ninanyanyasika)(Z)	111. We have impaired bodies(M)	106. I become a thief or rapist(K1)
110. I get hungry(Z)	112. Lack of employment(M)	107. Girls turn to sex workers(K1)
111. I feel light headed(Z)	113. Not knowing how to read and write	108. Lack of Education(K)
112. I can sleep hungry(Z)	114. No development(M)	109. I collect cans to sell
113. My friend refuse to give you food(Z)	115. You can feel separated from community	110. I don't get paid(tipped) and I don't get money(from clients after sex (K1)
114. We get frustrated(G)	116. To get a pregnant	111. I don't get any food(K1)
115. I can talk alone(G)	117. Giving a birth at very young age(M)	112. Lack of education(K1)
116. We are beaten (G)	118. Abortion(s)	113. The children have to find work when they are young(K1)
117. My fellows laugh at me(G)	119. We get married at young age(M)	114. Doing hard working(K1)
118. You can be killed(G)	120. We get defiled(M)	115. Not being paid enough(K1)
119. You can bought to jailed(G)	121. To experimenting drugs(M)	116. To through away the children(k1)
120. You can suspended from your job(G)	122. We lack parental care(m)	117. The girl get forced to become prostitute, to look after their children(K1)
122. To get involved in stupid groups(K)	123. Unhappily life(m)	118. Selling their house(K1)

123. We feel shy(K2)	124. We can commit suicide(2)(M2)	119. Selling house holds items((K1)
124. If we tell her off, she hits us (K2)	125. We get victimized by step parents(M)	120. When they stopped selling chapati and maandazi the family looses out
125. I get stomach ache(K2)	126. Mother remain with heavy work burden of taking care the children(M)	121. I'm not happy(K1)
126. I have diarrhoea(K2)	127. We get over worked beyond our age and capacity(M)	122. I try to earn money(K2)
127. I feel bad(K2)	128. We run away from home to live on the streets(2)(M2)	123. I go fishing(K1)
128. I will walk bare footed(K2)	129. We get tempted by different things like smoking bhang, stealing, gambling(Kamari) and became rude(wahuni)(M)	124. My sister is in town and has many problems(K2)
129. I found it hard to get cloth(K2)	130. We involve ourself with bad groups(M)	125. We have trouble getting food
130. I have no proper place to live(K2)	131. To get badly hurt in private places(M)	126. She is endangering her life (prostitute)(K2)
131. I get diarrhoea(K2)	132. A children could get infected by AIDS	127. I am go and gambling(K2)
132. I urinated blood(K2)	133. The rapist can be locked up(M)	128. We cant go to school until our father has money(K2)
133. Being chased away from home(K2)	134. We can easily be victimized(M)	129. I will walk bare footed(K2)
134. I am touchiered(K2)	135. We luck medical treatment when sick(M)	130. I found it hard to get cloth(K2)
135. I'm harassed(K2)	136. We get sick frequently(M)	131. There is no school fees so I sell ice cream(K2)
136. I get feel underdevelopment (K2)	137. We pick rubbish and resale eg. sand gravel(M)	132. I sell my self(K2)
137. Being disturbed by the police(F)	138. Suffering on the streets(M)	133. I drink other people's beer without paying(K2)
138. I sleep outside(F)(2)	139. My inheritance is taken from me(M)	134. I don't have any work(K2)
139. I don't have a stable place to live(F)	140. We need help from friend(G)	135. I wear cloth for a long time(F)
	141. I didn't complete my primary education(G)	136. I ask boys for money(F)
	142. Not given food at home by my step parent(G)	137. I sleep outside(F)
	143. We get worms in our feet(G)	138. I don't have adequate clothing(F)
	145. The Environment is not beautiful and attractive(G)	139. I have no money(F)
	146. We loss a lot of weight(2)(G)	140. You can get money taken away from you(F)

	147. We get malnutrition problems like kwashiorkor(G)	141. I have money taken away(2)(F)
	148. We get peptic ulcers(G)	142. I become a thief(F)
	149. We collapse(G)	143. I sell noodles to buy books(F)
	150. All of the time we think about food	I get hit (R)
	151. We die(2)(G)	
	152. Parts of our body can be removed(G)	
	153. We become very thin(G)	
	154. We get beaten by conductor(G)	
	155. We board buses without paying fair(G)	
	156. We asked for our tickets(G)	
	157. We dropped in the middle of forests(G)	
	158. We are usually asked lots of questions	
	159. We usually caught by police(G)	
	160. Its easy to be arrested by the police(G)	
	161. Teacher beat us when we are late at school(G)	
	162. We are tired of school(2)(G)	
	163. We could get hit by car(G)	
	164. Very young children remain at the bus stop for a long time(G)	
	165. We sleep during class(G)	
	166. I yawn in a class(G)	
	167. We don't get a jobs(M)	
	168. We chased away from home(Z)	
	169. We become burden to our parents(Z)	
	170. You feel we are not bright(Z)	
	171. You may turn mad(Z)	
	172. We are suffer(Z)	
	173. I have trouble in carrying my luggage when it's rains (clothes and other essentials)(Z)	

	174. We have to pay for a place to sleep(Z)	
	175. I sleep under a tree(Z)	
	176. Rude man can do bad things to me(Z)	
	177. I can go and steal(Z)	
	178. I can go to Arabs and beg	
	179. I feel victimized(Ninanyanyasika(2)(Z1)(k2)	
	180. I get hungry(Z)	
	181. We eat things that we do not understand(Z)	
	182. I can sleep hungry(Z)	
	183. I can talk alone(G)	
	184. I loose weight(G)	
	185. We can not write at school(G)	
	186. We are scrambling for books at school(G)My fellows laugh at me (G)	
	187. You can get beaten and burned(G)	
	188. You can be killed(G)	
	189. You can suspended from your job(G)	
	190. We get punishment at home (G)	
	191. We asked to change our behavior(G)	
	192. I can hit somebody with anything(N.3)	
	193. I hate others(N.3)	
	194. I do fighting(N.3)	
	195. I get beaten time to time(K1)	
	196. Luck of direction(K1)	
	197. I get caught by the police(K1)	
	198. To become a thief or a rapist(K1)	
	199. We rape one another while the other is a sleep(K1)	
	200. We rape and each other is a sleep (K1)(?)	
	201. We sleep on the street(K1)	

	202.We accused of being thieves and set on fire(K1)	
	203.Being accused of theft(K)	
	204.No direction(K)	
	205.No food(K)	
	206.I stay the whole day without eating(Hungry)	
	207.I have no working tools(K)	
	208.I am not respected by my community(K)	
	209.I feel I'm of no worth(K)	
	210.I get pregnant and my partners does not pregnancy(K)	
	211.Giving birth while your are young (K1)	
	212.Dying early(K1)	
	213.I get hit by men(K1)	
	214.I get stubbed with knife(K1)	
	215.My children is in bad health(K1)	
	216.I don't get any food(K1)	
	217.My mother does not care of my child(K1)	
	218.The children has to find work when they are young(K1)	
	219.Getting marriage by force(K1)	
	220.To getting pregnant while young(K1)	
	221.Being in bad health(K1)	
	222.Being harassed by the employer(K1)	
	223.Being sexually harassment by my employer(K1)	
	224.Not enough time to rest(K1)	
	225.Getting old while young due to hard work (K1)	
	226.Getting pregnant not having your recognize it	
	• 227.Because they cant take care of the child and the mother(K1)	
	228. We don't believe the girls(K1)	

	229.The baby don't have a father(K1)	
	230.Child would luck good care(K1)	
	231.The girl will loose hope(K1)	
	232.The mother her self will be in bad health(K1)	
	234.To have bad things done to you like being raped(K1)	
	235. Becoming a loiter(K1)	
	236.To run away from home (K1)	
	237.Getting fired from work(K1)	
	238.Hitting children without reasons(K1)	
	239.They don't care about family(Food,place to sleep,education)(K1)	
	240.They don't listern to our problems(K1)	
	241.Having a lots of women(K1)	
	242.Father gives all of his money to women that she has an affair with them(K1)	
	243.Having debts(K1)	
	244.Family depending on the small children(K1)	
	245.Lack of direction from my mother(K1)	
	246.Children having to chips in for food (K1)	
	247.The family a parent to look after it from time to time(K1)	
	248.I have to live school(K2)?	
	249.I feel lonely(K2)	
	250.I find life hard(K2)	
	251.I feel like running away from home(K2)	
	252.I loiter(K2)	
	253.I don t go to school(K2) ·	
	254.My sister is in town and has many problems(K2)	
	255.Feel sorry to my sister(K2)	
	256.We have trouble getting food(K2)	

	257.Our live has no direction(K2)	
	258.We feel shy(K2)	
	259.I don't attend class(K2)	
	260.If we tell her off,she hits us (K2)	
	261.I am truant at school(K2)	
	262.My sibling lives with an elder aunt and has lots of trouble and feel victimized by my aunt(K2)	
	263.I have trouble in getting food(K2)	
	264.We lack the care of our mother and father(K2)	
	265.Marginalised (K2)	
	266.I get stomach aches(K2)	
	267.I have diarrhea(K2)	
	268.I feel bad(K2)	
	269.I have worms in my stool(K2)	
	270.I have no proper place to live(K2)	
	271.We learn bad manners(K2)	
	272.I walk the whole day in town looking for opportunities(K2)	
	273.I drink other people's beer without paying(K2)	
	274.Being abuse(sexually annual abuse)	
	275.My private parts get damage(K2)	
	276.I urinated blood(K2)	
	278.I have diarrhea(K2)	
	279.Being chased away from home(K2)	
	280.I am touched(K2)	
	281.I'm harassed(K2)	
	282.I get feel under development(K2)	
	283.I live at ferry because I have no other place to live(F)	
	284.I get hit by bad people(F)	
	285.I get caught by the police(F)	

	286. When I go and report to the Police that i have being bitter, I get locked up(F)	
	287. I was leaving with my step mother(I')	
	288. I m denied food at home(F)	
	289. I run away from home(F)	
	290. I don't have a place to live(F)	
	291. Getting caught by police and being locked up(F)	
	292. Not having cloth to wear(F)	
	293. Some times my head hurts(I)	
	294. I get hot and cold flashes(F)	
	295. My legs hurts(F)	
	296. I have no apatite(f)	
	297. We sleep at ferry(I')	
	298. I become a loiter(F)	
	299. Going to jail from time to time(F)	
	300. We get hit by bad people(F)	
	301. To get beaten by mosquitoes(F)	
	302. Lack vitamins A and C(F)	
	303. I eat nonnutritious food(F)	
	304. Sleep at Ferry(F)	
	305. I don't have a place to sleep(F)	
	306. I don't eat food like I meant to(F)	
	307. I get harassed by police and watch men(F)	
	308. I get sick(F)	
	309. I get hurt(I')	
	310. We get misused sexually at night(anal sex or rape(F)	
	311. Diseases(F)	
	312. I have troubles in eating(F)	
	313. I feel cold(2)(F)	
	314. I get hit by police(2)(I')	
	315. I don't have any food(2)(I')	
	316. I get skin diseases(2)(F)	

	316.I get wonders(2)(F)	
	317.I sleep at ferry(f)	
	318.I don't have anybody to help me(F)	
	319.I luck of love(F)	
	320.I get harassed by the community(F)	
	322.To get raped(F)	
	323.I don't go to school(F)	
	324.Get beaten(F)	

Prioritization

At this stage of the Research the children prioritized the symptoms in the category with the most information. As each site has prioritized a different category, the data has been listed Individually.

KIGOGO HOME - -SOCIAL CULTURAL

- 1.Sent to the police because you have no I.D. cards(15)
- 2.You could get hit by the cars(15)
- 3.We are usually arrested by police(13)
- 4.Chased away from job(13)
- 5.You get problems when teacher gives us home work(13)
- 6.We are beaten by conductors(13)
- 7.You get diseases(12)
- 8.You sleep during class(12)
- 9.We get peptic ulcers(11)
- 10.All the time we think about food(11)

- MANZESE 1 - SOCIAL CULTURAL

- 1.Not going to school(44)
- 2.I don't play happily(33)
- 3.People hate you(32)
- 4.They get beaten(32)
- 5.Being beaten by anything(30)
- 6.Get neck hurt(30)
- 7.No food to eat(28)
- 8.Lack of direction(28)
- 9.Walk without clothes(25)
- 10.People take things away from you(20)

MANZESE 2 - SOCIAL CULTURAL

1. Giving birth to unhealthy children(16)
2. Girls sell themselves(16)
3. The girls get pregnant and I have to run away(15)
4. I stay hungry(15)
5. Running away from home(15)
6. Being accused of theft(14)
7. To become a thief(13)
8. I get bilharzia, chorela and skin rushes(11)
9. I catch STD's(10)
10. You may become a thief(10)

MAGOMENI - SOCIAL CULTURAL

1. No employment(21)
2. Getting chased away from home(20)
3. They turn to the sex business(20)
4. Running with girls(scx)(20)
5. To get badly hurt in private places(19)
6. Most of the time they stay with groups of girls(18)
7. We have lack of medical treatment when sick(18)
8. Get inheritance taken away from me(18)
9. Being disowned by parents (14)
10. We get sick frequently(12)

KINONDONI - SOCIAL CULTURAL

1. We have trouble getting food(24)
2. I don't go to school(24)
3. We don't have proper work to do(23)
4. I found it hard to get clothes(23)
5. I drink other people's beer's without paying(23)
6. Being abused(sexually abuse)((23)
7. My private parts get damaged(23)
8. Marginalised(23)
9. I get stomach aches(23)
10. I try to earn money(22)

KINONDONI - SOCIAL CULTURAL

1. Stay the whole day at jobless corners(22)
2. No direction(19)
3. Lack of education(19)
4. Girls turn to sex work(prostitution)(15)
5. I get caught by the police(15)
6. We sleep on the street(13)
7. No food(13)

- 8.The girls get forced to become a prostitute to look after their children(12)
- 9.They don't listen to our problems(11)
- 10.I collect cans to sell(10)

REMAND HOME - POLITICAL

- 1.Set free(30)
- 2.Taken to court, appear in court(23)
- 3.We catch diseases while in custody(22)
- 4.Time wasting(22)
- 5.Get arrested by police(20)
- 6.We get hungry(19)
- 7.I get taken to the Remand Home(19)
- 8.We are bitten by mosquitos(18)
- 9.To be abused(16)
- 10.We get strength for work(16)

FERRY - POLITICAL

- 1.You get money taken away from you(9)
- 2.I don't have a certificate for work(7)
- 3.I sleep outside(7)
- 4.I get wonders(7)
- 5.I get hit by police(7)
- 6.Being accused a case(7)
- 7.I feel unhappy(6)
- 8.No medication(6)
- 9.Getting to court(6)
- 10.To get raped(5)

MNAZI MMOJA - SOCIAL CULTURAL

- 1.I don't go to school(10)
- 2.I can go and steal(9)
- 3.I feel victimized(8)
- 4.We have to pay for a place to sleep(9)
- 5.Become a thief(9)
- 6.You smoke bhang(8)
- 7.We are chased away from home(7)
- 8.Rude men can do bad things to me(7)
- 9.I have trouble carrying my luggage when it rains(clothes and other essentials)(7)
- 10.You can't get clothes (7)

Major Causes

Once the symptoms with the highest priority had been identified, the children proceeded to establish its major causes. This was done using variable diagrams. The symptom is placed in a box and the various causes are written around it. If a cause influences any of the others, an arrow is drawn from the origin to the result.