

University of Strathclyde
School of Social Work and Social Policy

Thesis Title

**An Exploration and Analysis of the Role which Local Non-Governmental Welfare Organisations Play in Social Service Provision
and their Impact on Service Users in Tanzania**

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**A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Degree of Doctor of
Philosophy**

2021

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Signed..... 

Date..... 13 September 2021.....

Acknowledgements

Researching and writing a PhD thesis is a challenging undertaking. Without the support of many people, this work could not have been successful. Therefore, I would like to express my gratitude to those people who kindly provided me with invaluable assistance in many ways.

Special thanks go to all the brave participants in my research, who willingly shared their precious time and experience-based knowledge related to research questions during interviews. Participants who took part in interview meetings included: older people, street children, women, and people with disabilities—also, employees within the local non-governmental welfare organisations.

My heartfelt thanks go to the leadership of the three local organisations, MAPERECE; Dogodogo Street Children Trust, and SMGEO, who kindly agreed for this research to take place in their organisations and enabled their respective clients to participate in the investigation. Their participation made possible the writing of this thesis.

I would also like to express my heartfelt gratitude to my academic supervisors, Prof Dr Bernard Harris, and Dr Gillian MacIntyre, for their encouragement, constructive criticism, and direction throughout the PhD study. I would also like to thank Dr Chris Deeming, for his insightful feedback during my annual reviews.

I thank my fellow students for their support and encouragement.

Besides, I am grateful to Miss Louise Goodwin, who proofread my written English.

I would also like to thank my family Esther and Henry Kanyumi; Moses, Joseph, Bless; Ethan and Lydia, for their love, support, and encouragement.

Finally, I thank Saskia, Lily, Brigitte and Juergen for their unwavering trust, financial support and bearing with me during my PhD process.

David Henry Kanyumi

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Abstract

Much research has been done on social problems in African nations, with significant attention being paid to the prevalence of social issues in Tanzania. Older people, street children, women, and people with disabilities are among those affected by a diverse range of problems. In the absence of general social welfare provision by the Tanzanian Government, many people rely on the social services provided by NGOs. This thesis examines the development of welfare provision in Tanzania since the end of the nineteenth century before focusing on the attitudes and activities of three current organisations: Magu Poverty Focus on Older People Rehabilitation Centre (MAPERECE), Dogodogo Street Children Trust, and the Social Mainstreaming for Gender Equality Organisation (SMGEO). The thesis explores the different ways in which these organisations understand their role and respond to social issues. It also examines the ways in which service users experience the impact of the different organisations. One-to-one interviews with people associated with these organisations—managers, employees, and service users—were undertaken.

This study recruited and interviewed a total number of fifty-seven participants across the three organisations. Within MAPERECE – Magu Poverty Focus On Older People Rehabilitation Centre, I interviewed twenty-two participants. Another fifteen participants took part in interviews from within Dogodogo Street Children Trust. Furthermore, twenty participants took part in an interview from SMGEO – Social Mainstreaming for Gender Equality Organisation.

The thesis uses Dominelli's distinction between maintenance, therapeutic, and emancipatory approaches to social work to explore the organisations' activities in greater depth. In addressing problems that affect people's wellbeing, the organisations' responses focus mainly on advocacy and on targeting social structures. This focus on structural change means that the organisations can overlook people's immediate tangible needs and concerns. Adopting Dominelli's model in studying the organisations' work helps us understand areas that service providers may need to improve.

The study concludes that maintenance and therapeutic approaches alone are insufficient to tackle social problems. However, using only the emancipatory method is also insufficient to meet clients' needs. The organisations need to do more to address clients' needs for immediate help, whilst also recognising that many of these problems are rooted in community and social structures.

1 Introduction to and Rationale of the Study

To start with, let me, at the outset, clarify my background. In professional terms, I do not hold a professional social work qualification. My professional background is in practical theology, involved in missionary and church work in Africa, particularly in Tanzania and Malawi. Indeed, in my professional experience, missionary work, and theological teaching, I endeavoured to help in the community, assisting a church-run orphanage and homeless centre programme and older people in Tanzania and Malawi. This work increased my awareness of the prevalence of social problems, such as economic poverty, hunger, gender inequality, and discrimination and their impact on people's wellbeing and experiencing life, particularly those from disadvantaged backgrounds, such as orphaned children and older people in urban and rural communities. This exposure to various situations and working with people experiencing problems laid a burden on me and stimulated my interest in academic research. Therefore, a desire and interest grew within me to undertake academic research to understand the role that different groups can play in addressing social problems in Africa. In contemplating what study discipline may be suitable for me to understand social issues and ways to respond to social issues thoroughly, I chose the academic disciplines of social work and social policy. Therefore, the current research belongs to the social work discipline. This research required me to learn various theories and approaches that social workers might take to respond to social issues.

This qualitative, case-based study involved three local Tanzanian non-governmental welfare organisations. The thesis aims to understand the role that local non-governmental welfare organisations play or fulfil in solving social problems in contemporary Tanzania. The study also includes examining the history of social welfare in Tanzania from the late-nineteenth century to the present day.

This research took place in three separate communities in Tanzania, including rural areas of Mwanza-Magu, city areas of Dar es Salaam, and suburban areas of Morogoro-Chamwino. This research aims to gather the experiences and perspectives on social issues and services from social services providers and users of services. The inclusion of multiple perspectives ensured the development of a holistic picture that reflected the points of view of both service providers and users of services. The groups that participated in the interviews are leaders, employees of the organisations, and users of the services provided by these organisations.

The literature review, Chapter Two, provides insights and perspectives about the existing issues that affect specific social groups' social wellbeing. Additionally, the reviewed literature gives insights into a possible cause for these issues in the Tanzanian society. Numerous studies conducted by social science researchers have reflected and demonstrated the existence of social problems and matters of welfare concern, focusing on the Tanzanian context. Chitereka (2009) discussed vulnerable groups in the Tanzanian society. These groups comprise women, people with disabilities, children, the elderly, and people living with HIV/AIDS.

The impacts of social problems on an individual's lived experience and general societal conditions are severe, partly due to a lack of welfare service intervention from the government. This lack of governmental involvement in addressing social welfare concerns leaves many people, mostly from poor and disadvantaged areas, in vulnerable situations. They struggle to protect themselves, and often these struggles lead them to secure other social coping mechanisms such as reliance on their relatives who have a good income. Some would resort to taking a loan, begging in the streets, and others appeal to charity organisations to get help to ensure their wellbeing.

The Tanzanian government provides very minimal social welfare services to its citizens. Many citizens in society lack the reliable means and support to address their situations that affect their wellbeing. Therefore, various people, especially those from impoverished and disadvantaged backgrounds, look to the voluntary sector to solve their social problems. In Tanzania, many local non-governmental welfare organisations have stepped in to fill the gap created by the government's disengagement in helping citizens with social welfare needs. Literature acknowledges the existence of local non-governmental welfare organisations in Tanzania (HelpAge International, 2016; HelpAge International, 2017).

Various local organisations focus on a specific aspect of social issues and are currently involved in supporting people to deal with problems in society. In doing so, they facilitate the realisation of an individual's social function and reach their full potential. However, the work and contribution of local non-governmental welfare organisations towards social problem-solving is an under-researched topic. There is currently a limited understanding of how people who work in local non-governmental welfare organisations, and people who use these organisations' social services, understand social problems, how they experience them, and what impact these organisations have on their experiences. Campbell, Taylor and McGlade (2017:69) maintained that "the important question for a

service profession is about the perceptions that clients have of their needs and their experience of services." Focusing on 'user-experience' is one key aspect of the approach employed in this study.

Hence, the current research aims to gain knowledge about the role of local non-governmental welfare organisations and their significant contribution in addressing issues and supporting those faced with various problems in Tanzania.

The following research objectives facilitated the achievement of this aim:

- i. To understand the social issues that are addressed by each of the organisations in their respective contexts.
- ii. To assess and determine the interventional approaches to problem-solving applied by local social organisations in Tanzania.
- iii. To understand whether a client plays a part in assessing and deciding the service needed in their situation, or whether it is only the organisation that makes this decision.
- iv. To understand the users' perspectives (recipients' reflection) on the organisation's service provision.
- v. To understand the differences and similarities between the organisations in terms of the conceptualisation of social service delivery.

The reviewed literature has played a vital role in clarifying and shaping the focus of this study. The emergence and involvement of local non-governmental social welfare organisations in social problem-solving occurs amidst a prevalence of social problems that affect citizens' livelihood and wellbeing. Tanzania is currently witnessing a lot of changes. These changes include rapid urbanisation, industrialisation, and the movement of young adults from rural areas to cities. Additionally, there are changes in the economy and the attitudes and practices of the labour market, influenced by globalisation. Mkenda, (2005a:3) understood globalisation as "the process of increasing economic, political, social, and cultural integration, whereby influences beyond national boundaries have a crucial impact on constraining and influencing all aspects of national wellbeing." In Tanzania, this interaction manifests itself through an increased flow of goods, ideas, and services; increased capital; and the migration of people. This new economic model and a unique way of realising livelihood entice young adults to move away from farming activities. Migration to cities is not a straightforward process. These social and economic phenomena have an enormous impact on family structures, changing how family support networks function. During a crisis, people, in general, previously relied on the extended

family network for support in their attempt to secure some normality in life. People in a vulnerable state, those experiencing health problems, and vulnerable individuals such as older people and young children who have lost parents were supposed to rely on the extended family network model of support. However, this support model is currently weak, and its existence is rapidly diminishing.

Understanding what responsibilities and social activities local organisations fulfil in response to social issues, how they do their work, and their impact on situations and individuals is essential to understand the importance and usefulness of these organisations' services in Tanzanian society.

Regarding the current study's approach, this falls within a social science discipline, and it is a qualitative study with a focus on social work. The research has applied a social constructionist perspective in understanding specific problems affecting social wellbeing and the functioning of specific disadvantaged social groups in Tanzania society discussed in this research. The social constructionist approach to understanding issues is elucidated clearly in Chapter Four, the theoretical perspective.

The current research has taken significant steps to address the identified knowledge gaps. It focused on two aspects of knowledge gaps: methodology and social knowledge. This methodological gap that this study aims to fill is based on the fact that various studies that have been carried out previously have not asked people their views concerning their experiences regarding social problems and service provision. The researcher believes that maintaining direct face-to-face interviews with research participants in real-time and securing first-hand information about their experiences on a topic or phenomenon during the research process is significant in social science research. Involving clients as participants in the study provided distinct valuable perceptions, nuances, and perspectives, which would otherwise be missing if the investigation had involved only individuals working in the organisations.

Individuals who participated in this study expressed their lived experience of issues and how they experience social support. The study explored aspects such as: what issues an organisation addresses, how they address problems, and their impact on individual situations and the wider community.

The research adopted a case study approach and therefore used three local non-governmental welfare organisations as cases to understand the role voluntary organisations play in addressing the social welfare concerns of the citizens of Tanzania.

As a qualitative study in its design, this research has used semi-structured interviews as the primary data gathering method. The researcher was able to gain primary and original information relevant to the topic at the heart of this investigation. During the study, the researcher asked for the thoughts of both those who work in local non-governmental organisations involved in social service provision and those who use social services and their perceptions and experiences of social issues and social services. A thematic approach was instrumental in analysing and making sense of the gathered data.

The investigation of this topic and data findings could benefit both academic communities and the general public in Tanzania and global communities. The research adds new perspectives on thinking and engaging with social situations and service delivery in these contexts. Notably, this research will give the three local organisations a perspective on considering and intervening in social problems. One aspect that could prove valuable is the consideration of service users' perspectives and their understanding of problems and solutions. This aspect of knowledge could help organisations improve working relationships between service providers and clients.

Furthermore, this research could inform these organisations about other ways and frameworks to consider problems and practice solving issues. Mainly, Dominelli's social work practice model could be a tool to re-think and perhaps reshape the organisations' practice and approach to problem-solving.

The research can also provide Tanzanian academic communities with information concerning local non-governmental welfare organisations' contributions towards social problem-solving, particularly regarding the importance of having an intellectual and research-based understanding of social concerns and research-informed practice. Hence, this research will benefit the academic scientific community and the general public.

The study can also be a source of reference for debate on how best to integrate and utilise the voluntary sector as an interventional mechanism in enhancing people's social wellbeing in society. Finally, the study could also be a starting point for information, helping to facilitate a meaningful dialogue between the local voluntary sector and the general public.

Furthermore, this research can be of value to other cultures too. The research project was conducted under the supervision of the University of Strathclyde (Social Work and Social Policy academic community). Hence this study assists in adding knowledge to this academic community too. The research can particularly be of value in the humanities and social work and social policy disciplines.

More than at any time in human history, we live in an increasingly globalised world. People and cultures are connected and easily accessible. Therefore, academic communities must learn about how social issues manifest in other cultures and how people deal with social problems in different cultures.

To acquire information relevant for this study, I conducted this research in multiple locations and regions within Tanzania, where the three identified local non-governmental welfare organisations operate: Mwanza, Dar es Salaam and Morogoro. The three organisations that participated in this investigation focus on different social problems and provide services to particular social groups affected by difficulties within their operational areas.

The first organisation involved in this study was the Magu Poverty Focus On Older People Rehabilitation Centre (MAPERECE). This organisation is based in the Mwanza region, and it is involved in addressing social problems that affect older people's social welfare in rural areas. The second local non-governmental organisation involved in this investigation was the Dogodogo Street Children Trust. This organisation addresses issues that affect the social wellbeing of street children. It reaches and supports children and youths living and working on the streets of Dar es Salaam. The third local organisation that participated in this research was the Social Mainstreaming Gender Organisation (SMGEO). This organisation addresses gender inequality and discrimination against women and people with disabilities in the Morogoro region.

I decided to focus on these issues because, as per the literature review, they are issues that significantly impact the population at large. Additionally, I decided on the three organisations because they address those issues. They cover vital specific problems, including the four topics discussed in this study that many Tanzanian faces. More explanation about why the research focused on these issues and organisations is provided in Chapter Two, the literature review, on pages 17-20.

I interviewed a total number of fifty-seven people across the three local non-governmental welfare organisations for this study. However, at the stage of writing this thesis, only data from fifty-three respondents formed this thesis. I did not include the data from the other four respondents because of the space limit and repetitiveness.

The map below shows the three chosen organisations' different Tanzania locations where the research took place.

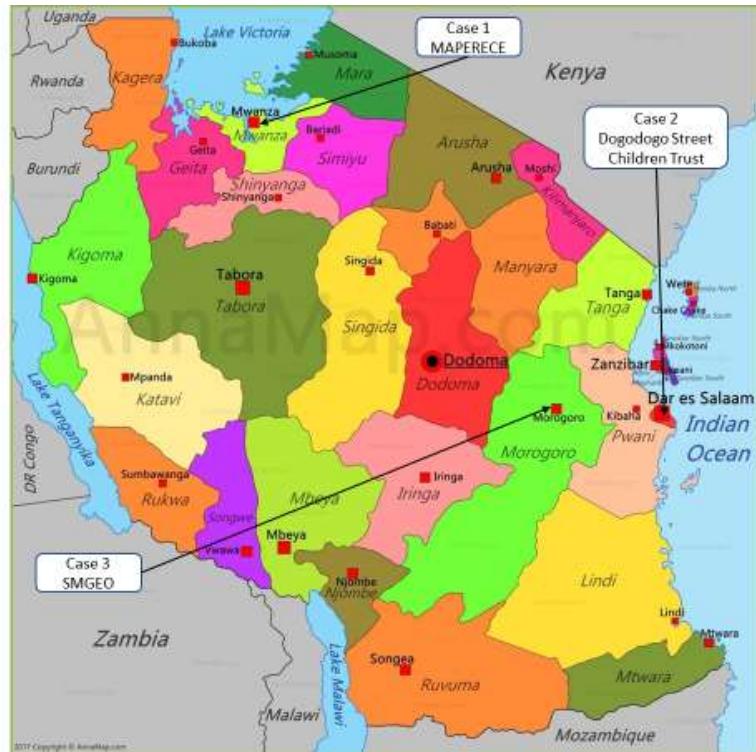


Figure 1: Map of Tanzania. (Source of map (without organisation locations) (<http://annamap.com/tanzania/>, accessed on 15 August 2020).

The thesis is structured, consisting of the following chapters:

Chapter One: Introduces and elucidates the rationale, aim and structure of the thesis.

Chapter Two: Examines the current literature on the subject.

Chapter Three: Explains the research design and methodology adopted in the course of the research investigation. It explains how the core settings and relevant data sources for the empirical parts were chosen. It outlines the development of an appropriate research strategy, how access to the relevant data was gained, and the approach to data collection.

Chapter Four: Discusses the constructivism framework. Social constructivism is the idea that reality is socially constructed (Thomas, 2017). The constructivism theoretical approach impacted the current research inquest in understanding problems affecting people's social wellbeing. As a researcher, I have the view that social issues are socially formed. Hence, I employed the perspective of social constructivism to understanding social problems affecting people. In order to understand the response to those problems of their clients by the three local social welfare organisations, Dominelli's model was used as a framework. This model comprises three processes: maintenance, therapeutic, and emancipatory approaches (Dominelli, 2002).

Chapter Five: Discusses the history of the development of social welfare in Tanzania. This chapter considers aspects of pre-colonial social welfare arrangements and those

made during colonial times and those following the independence of Tanzania. It also considers the role of voluntary organisations.

Chapter Six: Presents Case study 1: Magu Poverty Focus on Older People Rehabilitation Centre (MAPERECE). This chapter provides contextual information about older people in Tanzania and the origins of the organisation. The key focus of this chapter is to present the data obtained during the empirical part of the research.

Chapter Seven: Presents Case study 2: Dogodogo Street Children Trust. Contextual information about street children in Tanzania, and more specifically in Dar es Salaam, is covered in this chapter and the origins of the organisation. The emphasis of the chapter, however, is on the data gathered during the interviews.

Chapter Eight: Presents Case study 3: Social Mainstreaming for Equality Organisation (SMGEO). This chapter provides contextual information about gender inequality and discrimination of women and people with disabilities in Tanzania. But the focus of this chapter lies in the presentation of empirical data.

Chapter Nine: Discusses and concludes the thesis. This chapter presents the themes that emerged across the three case studies, indicates what has been learned from the data, and demonstrates how the data provided evidence for the thesis' findings. It concludes by specifying some implications of the research and provides some thoughts for future research and some recommendations.

2 Literature Review

The current chapter presents an overview of the literature on the debates focused on subjects relating to social problems and their impact on people, describing the existing state of knowledge concerning the issues under investigation by the current study. It discusses social matters that mark the study area's width and depth and provides a premise for linking the present research to earlier investigations. As well as informing and enhancing the present study, the literature review enabled the researcher to see where the present thesis could contribute to current knowledge. Furthermore, an analysis was made of the contributions by leading scholars in the study areas, which were then related to the problems addressed by the present research.

This chapter's discussion is composed of the following sections. Section one is an account of the approach I took regarding the relevant literature review concerning this research. Section two describes the main issues or challenges facing Tanzanian society. Section three describes the identified knowledge gap and specifies the research questions which emerged from the literature analysis

2.1 Approach to Literature Review

Scholars see a literature review as aiming to accomplish several purposes. Wellington et al. (2005) recognised the challenges of shaping a useful literature review and offered the advice that it should be framed by the research questions and relate to the study, implying that it is best if the research questions are set or prepared before the literature review happens. The idea conveyed here is that research questions are not born out of a literature review but guide the literature review process. However, others would argue that the research questions should emerge from the literature review process itself rather than the other way around. Indeed, the conceptualisation of the current research literature review played a central role in identifying the questions that formed the heart of the research. Through reviewing literature related to social problems and efforts in solving social issues in Tanzania, I was able to identify research questions. Ridley (2008:18) maintained that when considering the content to include in the literature review, it is important to reflect on the purposes one wishes to address. Indeed, research does not take place without a specific purpose. The current study was launched and implemented in Tanzania to learn about the role that local non-governmental organisations play and their impact on the social situation affecting people in Tanzania. One purpose of the

literature review is to share with the reader the results of other studies closely related to the one being undertaken (Boote and Beile, 2005).

Furthermore, the literature review relates a study to the larger, ongoing dialogue in the literature (Cooper, 2010; Marshall & Rossman, 2011). When one undertakes new research, they must bear in mind that there may already be studies on either the same research subject or part of it. Indeed, Hart (1998) explained that a literature review involves evaluating documents related to the research study to fulfil specific aims or express views on the topic. Additionally, Creswell (2014:57) explained that a literature review helps determine whether the topic is worth studying.

The above brief discussion concerning the literature review's role in the research process has provided me with an insight into how to select the literature that formed part of the review process related to the study's subject. The researcher's judgement guided the selection and inclusion of any written work as part of the literature review.

The section below describes the procedure followed in identifying materials, themes, or issues related to the subject matter at the heart of the current research. In undertaking the literature review, I primarily used books loaned from the University of Strathclyde library that contained a discussion about the role of social work in social problem-solving in Africa and Tanzania. I also used various online databases, including the University of Strathclyde's Library SUPRIMO search facility. Additionally, the JSTOR Humanities and Social sciences data source was used. The Cambridge Database has plenty of useful African journals filled with discussions regarding the social issues concerning Africa, and a handful of journals were focused on social problems in Tanzania. The Sociology Database ProQuest gives users access to full-text journals in sociology and social work.

Before choosing the literature for the research subject, I identified a way to determine the proper literature relevant to the study's focus. Hence, I used specific searching terminologies, including individual and combined keywords search terms, to acquire material related to the research topic. For example: "social problems and Tanzania"; "social welfare service AND Tanzania"; "social work practice"; "socially disadvantaged groups in Tanzania", "the role of gender and gender inequality", "social challenges face people with disabilities and Tanzania", "older people AND rural life", "Government AND social welfare provision", "traditional African form of care", "urbanisation and migration in Tanzania", "victimisation and abuse of older women in Tanzania", "government protection measure of a vulnerable group", "social protection

measures in Tanzania”, “the plight of street children in Tanzania”, “elderly care support in Tanzania”, “the role of the Voluntary Sector in Tanzania.” Sometimes the search yielded correct results, in a sense that information explicitly focused on the country of investigation. Other times results were more general, and sometime searches revealed very limited or unwanted information. When that happened, I attempted to extend the search parameter to gain a broader picture. Interesting results emerged; some social problems seem to characterise societies in other parts of the world and countries in Africa, not just Tanzania. Learning about the issues and their impact on people in other parts of Africa was useful. It placed the current research inquiry in Tanzania and Sub-Saharan Africa in a broader context.

The above paragraph explained how I accessed the material that formed part of the literature review. However, another important factor worth discussing is how I decided what material to access and include in the literature review. What material to include and exclude was based on the relevance and quality of a written work. My starting point for finding material for review was the topic itself. I chose the literature included in the review process for this study because it contributed to the current state of knowledge on the subject at the heart of this study. I also chose literature that supported the research problem and explained why this study is necessary, as I was able to identify knowledge gaps in previous studies' literature and methodological weaknesses.

I continually evaluated the material I was reading regarding its relevance and specific connection to the research topic or subject aspects, adjusting the search accordingly. My awareness of the importance of concepts or theory in research led me to consider literature related to theoretical concepts and methods. Some of the material I included in this review provided a historical perspective on issues. Some offered a general view of the social situation affecting people's social well-being in East Africa and sub-Saharan Africa. Other material discussed how social problems affected specific social groups in Tanzanian society and indicated which social groups experienced these problems- For example, Lerisse et al., 2003; Bujari, 2004; Lerisse et al., 2007, Mesaki 2009; Waziri 2013, to mention but a few.

Discovering this material gave the current study a sense of perspective regarding specificity when discussing the impact of social problems.

The following describes the insights regarding the existing social problems identified by the literature relating to Tanzanian society. By examining the literature, it is hoped that an understanding of social issues and any current non-governmental welfare

agencies' efforts to intervene in social problems to support those facing these issues will become apparent.

2.2 Main Social Issues Facing Contemporary Tanzania

Various scholars and literature within social science and social work have researched and interpreted social problems and their impact on Tanzania's population. Tanzania faces a whole host of social issues; according to the literature consulted for review as part of this study, those affected more by social problems are from socially disadvantaged groups. The literature reviewed has revealed discussion and perspectives on social issues affecting the welfare of disadvantaged social groups. This study has focused on four problem areas and referenced literature providing insight into problems surrounding old age, gender, street children, and disability. These are significant issues in contemporary Tanzania's social situation.

At this juncture, before going further into exploring scholars' perspectives on social issues in literature, it is essential to understand why this research has chosen to focus on the above four issues—old age, gender, street children, and disability.

I have focused on these problems in this study because these issues have drawn a lot of attention in recent literature debate regarding social problems in Tanzania society. Numerous studies conducted by social science researchers reflected and demonstrated social problems and welfare concerns, including the four issues discussed in this study, focusing on the Tanzanian context. For example, Spitzer (2019) explored contemporary social problems in the East Africa region. He observed that particular groups face a danger of being discriminated against, socially excluded, mistreated, and persecuted within this region and Tanzania. Population groups whose lives and wellbeing are affected by social challenges include older people, disabled people, street children, and women regarding widespread gender-based violence, to name just a few (Spitzer, 2019).

Similarly, Mesaki (2016) observed that in that society, particular populations, especially those in disadvantaged areas, are vulnerable and at risk of a diverse set of outcomes such as impoverishment, ill health, and social exclusion. Similarly, Lerisse et al. (2003/2007) investigated the necessity of social protection and identified "Extremely Vulnerable Groups". According to Lerisse et al. (2007:8), these extremely vulnerable groups include individuals and households with a high exposure to risk and low capacity to cope. The vulnerability level varies from group to group due to differences in access to assets, whether social or capital, and the physical capability necessary to mitigate the

effects of impoverishing forces. Lerisse et al. (2007) identified the social groups that they consider to be the most vulnerable in rural and urban Tanzania: children and street children; persons with disabilities; unemployed youths; older people; people living with a long-term illness, for instance, HIV/AIDS; women and widows; and people with substance misuse issues, and alcoholics (Lerisse et al., 2007:8). Besides, Spitzer and Mabeyo (2011) observed that diverse ranges of problems in Tanzania threaten older people's wellbeing. Due to the government's apparent lack of general welfare provision and other protection schemes that could benefit older people in rural areas, older people suffer a lot. The existing pension scheme, characterised by a pay-as-you-earn system, excludes most older people in rural areas whose whole life has depended mainly on subsistence farming and small business, which may not always be reliable. In this context, older people rely on their extended family (children and grandchildren) to meet their welfare needs in managing their day-to-day problems. However, meeting these welfare needs for older people is becoming an increasing challenge due to the rapid diminishment of Tanzania's extended family support network. Older people find themselves increasingly socially isolated and unprotected. Bruggencate et al. (2017:1745) wrote, "Social needs are important basic human needs. When social needs are not satisfied, this can lead to mental and physical health problems." This observation is correct. Indeed, the chances for older people to stay physically and mentally healthy without the availability of ways to satisfy their social needs are slim in Tanzania's rural areas.

In Tanzanian society, the Government provides no general social welfare to its citizens, except for a small part of the population, mainly in urban settings, covered by a protection system and pension plan. There was evidence that only around five per cent of the older generation benefit from a pension in Tanzania. Hence, the predominant majority rely on informal and non-state regulated social protection, mainly provided through family and community support structures (Stiglitz 2011:18 cited by Spitzer & Mabeyo, 2011). There also exists a disparity in terms of access to resources and services. Others such as Rwegoshora (2014) also explored social security challenges in Tanzania. He considered social security a basic human right and a fundamental means for creating social cohesion. The existence of a social security scheme is essential for workers' well-being and their families and other community members. Yet, Rwegoshora observed that lack of general social security provision is a reality in Tanzania. Therefore, he examined Tanzanians' social needs and opportunities through social security provisions.

Besides, other literature, such as Niboye (2013) and Railway Children Organisation-Street Children (2014), explored problems affecting the wellbeing of street children. The problem of street children is a significant issue that characterises most cities in contemporary Tanzania. By leaving home and residing on the streets at a young age, children expose themselves to a physical and social environment cluttered with many dangers. They miss out on the care that is essential to their personal and social development. Some children as young as six years old find themselves in unfortunate, complex living situations on the streets due to the loss of parents, lack of care from extended kinship, and other complicated reasons. Fulfilling individual needs is a critical human demand; however, it is incredibly challenging, if not impossible, for the social needs of a child or younger person living on the streets to be met. Street children experience stigmatisation. The implications of living on the streets cause street children to become trapped in a cycle of poverty and neglect that few can escape (Moncrieffe, 2006; Nolan et al., 2007; Nolan et al., 2011; Afolabi, 2013). The vulnerability of a child living in the street manifests itself in an insufficient living environment, characterised by a lack of food, malnutrition, and a lack of emotional support and security (Hai, 2014; Tsoka-Gwegweni et al., 2016).

The current research intended not to address the underlying root causes or situations that influence children to live and work in the streets but to understand and address the aftermath of living on the streets and the social problems children living on the streets experience. Therefore, the research focused on the availability of social services by a local organisation committed to ensuring the realisation and sustenance of children's wellbeing and needs. Indeed, what can be done to ensure that children or youths receive the necessities they require for their physical, mental, and general social wellbeing while living on the street? Or what can be done to reverse street children's phenomena altogether in Tanzania? Other research has suggested that the emphasis of research on street children should shift away from attempts to define street children and engage more in the analysis of street children's relationship with the street environment (Connolly and Ennew, 1996; Parveen, 2014).

Another literature body has explored the impact of inequality and discrimination on people with disabilities in Tanzania. People with disabilities face challenges regarding their social welfare needs. They experience discrimination in accessing social and job opportunities (Mostert, 2016; Stone-MacDonald and Butera, 2014). Misconceptions surrounding disability, including the attribution of disability to superstitions and

witchcraft beliefs, consequently put people with disabilities, including children, in a risky position (Groce et al., 2013; Franklin et al., 2018; Aley, 2016). The suffering of this social group impacts society's whole image and social progress; therefore, this research must investigate it.

Furthermore, I looked at gender inequality because it is an issue that seems to cut across all three of the other problems. Gender inequality and discrimination against women in Tanzania, in particular, has received a lot of attention in recent literature. The discrimination and mistreatment of women are apparent at the domestic and societal levels in the country. The widespread dominance of patriarchal culture in Tanzania has shaped the community's perception of women's role and position in society, creating a problem that should not be underestimated. Women have and do experience abuse and discrimination, encountering obstacles in their quest for justice and experience their rights (Hamel, 2016; Mbepera, 2017); Tanzania Media Women's Association, Tanzania Gender Networking Programme, 2012; Tanzania Gender Indicators Booklet, 2010). One way to address gender inequality and its effects on women is to have a paradigm shift in understanding gender relations, the position status attributed to women in society, and promoting women's rights (Tibaijuka, 1994; Shastri, 2014).

Having established the issues' existence, I then decided to focus on understanding how local NGOs respond to these issues. I looked at a range of different local organisations. Therefore, the organisations that participated in this research aimed to address the critical social problems identified to be relevant here and were willing to participate in the study. These organisations address issues and support older people, street children, women, and people with disabilities in their respective settings. These organisations were deemed ideal for illustrating or giving an idea of how the voluntary sector—led by local non-governmental welfare organisations—is operating, bearing in mind that there may exist separate limitations regarding issues covered as regional restrictions apply. It needs to be noted that the voluntary sector is shaped and formed by various types of non-governmental organisations ranging from international, secular or faith-based, to locally initiated ones. As this research focuses on local organisations, it is correct to say that the chosen ones represent a typical local social welfare organisation in Tanzania, particularly regarding the challenges they face in their operations. These three local non-governmental welfare organisations work with some of the groups of people in the Tanzanian society who are particularly disadvantaged, excluded, and discriminated against when accessing social and economic opportunities.

The sections that follow below provide more information concerning each of the four social problems discussed in this study:

- The challenges that affect older people's welfare in rural areas.
- The issues are affecting street children's wellbeing
- Gender inequality and the impact of this on women's wellbeing.
- The inequality and social discrimination faced by people with disabilities.

2.2.1 Problems Affecting Older People in Rural Areas

Growing old in rural Tanzanian environments remains a vulnerable state of affairs for many. Various studies have attempted to understand, explain, and perceive the issues behind the problems experienced by older people. A study by HelpAge International (2002) in the Mwanza rural area found that older people's problems included:

- Food shortages.
- Problems with drinking water.
- Inadequate clothing.
- Difficulty obtaining firewood.
- A lack of financial support to pay for health services.

Other issues mentioned were a lack of governmental assistance when medical attention is needed, a lack of local government support towards older people regarding food and housing, and concerns surrounding security among the elderly due to accusations of witchcraft (HelpAge Tanzania, 2002).

The unavailability of items and services listed in the above paragraph relates to the basic daily needs in the life of any human being in any society, including in Tanzania. Kitoka (2011) studied the dilemmas faced by the rural elderly in Tanzania and discovered two aspects that he considered the root causes of the problems. One aspect was a lack of general socio-economic protection covering all older people in the country. "Older people like those in the category of fishermen, herdsmen, and peasants do not belong to any existing formal social security schemes from which they can enjoy old-age benefits." (Kitoka, 2011:4). Indeed, a more significant percentage of the elderly live in rural areas where the main economic activities are predominantly informal or subsistence farming. This group represents a substantial social deficit whose problems cannot simply be addressed through self-help calls (Kitoka, 2011). As other research has found, the existing

social security and pension schemes in Tanzania provide some protection, but only to those who were or are still formally employed, most of whom are urban dwellers.

Additionally, these schemes' benefits to their beneficiaries are purely based on pay-as-you-go arrangements (Spitzer and Mabeyo, 2011). Contributions to the schemes are made as earnings allow them. The absence of any social protection coverage by the state and others that encompass a range of public actions addressing risk, vulnerability, and poverty, leaves older people in precarious situations and susceptible to a whole host of dangers in rural settings (Spitzer and Mabeyo, 2011).

There are numerous reasons why older people in rural areas do not have formal social security and are severely affected by problems. One explanation is that these people may not have had a chance and ability to contribute sufficiently to public or private social security provisions schemes during their youth and adult lives. Indeed, other research has attributed the struggle of meeting older people's social welfare needs in rural areas to the history of a life of poverty at a young age, citing this as a root cause of the difficulties a person experiences in old age. Mwanyangala et al., (2010:37) observed that:

" in Tanzania, many older people reach retirement age after a lifetime of poverty and deprivation, poor access to health care and poor diet. This situation can leave them with insufficient personal savings because of a fragile earning history."

This quote raises a valid point that weak earning history in a person's life plays a part in difficulties in old age. The economies of rural Tanzanian settings are predominantly subsistence agriculture, which provides little or no pension coverage and limited health care services. Older people's means of living and livelihood are dependent on a good harvest and selling agricultural products such as maize, rice, beans, and sorghums, but securing a high earning and surplus income is a complicated reality when the harvest is poor. Other factors such as the amount of rain and the timing of the rain season contribute to a good or bad harvest and, therefore, a person's income. It is no wonder that a person can reach old age with truly little or no savings at all in these settings. Typically, Tanzania's social security schemes target public employment and are confined to urban areas. The effort to encourage or support outside formal employment to secure social security for their lives is not apparent.

Moreover, in the past, the total reliance on traditional family-network support structures has meant that the idea of contributing to social security schemes for the future might not have been deemed necessary. In the past, most people would see the possibility

of living and maintaining their social wellbeing through their children and grandchildren. Reflecting on the existence and usage of the traditional support structure, Kibuga and Dianga (2000:30) wrote:

"In the past, older persons in Africa lived within an extended family system. This system ensured that they were supported as their strength decreased and that there would be numerous family members to take over the more arduous household tasks, such as fetching water, gathering firewood, and cultivating crops. If the older members fell ill, there would always be someone to look after them."

As this quote indicates, the traditional support structure has served as a social security model that encompasses sources of livelihood and general social security for older people, especially in rural settings. Similarly, Kitoka (2011:5) explained that "the rural elderly, most of whom never have had a formal job in their lifetime, are either left to depend on their children and close relatives or provide for themselves a basis of survival through some petty and income-generating activities. These activities include mat making, basket making, brewing local alcohol, selling baked items, to mention a few." Indeed, petty income-generating activities help in the short term but not in a long time without other formal support, e.g., from Government. Additionally, the lack of money circulation affects small businesses in rural areas, as few people can buy things.

The traditional family network support structure has influenced the way people conduct their lives. Indeed, it was not uncommon to find people of different generations living under one roof. This system is predominantly the case in rural areas but also characterised urban communities to a small degree. This socio-cultural life practice reflects the Tanzania Ageing policy, which prioritises family as the primary institution of care and support for older people (The United Republic of Tanzania: National Ageing Policy, 2003a:2). However, in today's Tanzania, dependence on children or close relatives as a reliable social protection system for older people is problematic. That traditional support structure is steadily diminishing, caused partly by the migration of young adults into cities and other places and, in doing so, leaving the rural lifestyle and their older family members alone. Consequently, Kitoka (2011:5) observed, "the rural-urban migration is depriving the majority of the rural elderly, not just the social and economic support, but it also leaves them vulnerable to the vicissitudes in their livelihoods." Other studies have observed this notable social change related to the care of older people in

different communities within sub-Saharan Africa (Mwanyangala et al., 2010; Theron, 2013).

Furthermore, new structures such as formal social security systems fail to compensate for this void left by the breaking up of traditional family structures in order to protect older people. The National Ageing Policy is the most recent policy that relates to older adults. (The United Republic of Tanzania, older people policy 2003a:2) reads:

“The government realizes that older people are a resource in the development of our nation. The existence of Tanzania as a nation is evidence of older people’s contribution in [the] political, economic, cultural and social arena.” (The National Ageing Policy, United Republic of Tanzania, 2003a:2)

Despite this complimentary view of its senior citizens, the central government still does not sufficiently intervene and address older people's social welfare needs in rural areas. The extended family system practised by most African societies has been interrupted by the emergence of social factors. These factors are colonial rule intrusion in African communities, modernisation, urbanisation, and industrialisation. These social forces contribute and weaken the family network of care for older people (HelpAge International, 2001; Oluwabamide, 2005; Oluwabamide et al., 2012). The idea that one-day circumstances could change or socio-economic changes can alter social living reality among traditional communities in Africa might not have been part of their thinking framework. The apparent declining phenomenon of conventional support structures in Tanzania and other parts of sub-Saharan has devastating consequences on older people's experience. It means that many older people in rural communities are on their own, vulnerable, and unprotected (Mabeyo et al., 2014; Spitzer and Mabeyo, 2011).

Besides, other studies associate the lack of support for older people with a change in attitudes by the young generation. Kaseke (1998:51) explained that:

"most young adults see things differently, assuming new modern cultural attitudes, values, interests, and priorities. Some children no longer feel obliged to support their parents, and this undermines their roles as a source of social protection in old age. Others still recognise their obligations but are constrained by the harsh economic climate. The difficult financial situation makes it difficult for them to extend adequate support to their parents. Overall, the assistance rendered is too little to make a difference in the lives of older people."

Kaseke's perspective on the situation is that the new modern lifestyle which young Africans adopt creates a strain on financial resources. Therefore, it becomes a challenge to maintain a balance of meeting their own immediate needs and the needs of their parents or grandparents who have remained in rural areas.

Other studies saw HIV/AIDS and its effects as a significant factor affecting and altering the family structures in traditional African societies. The loss of able young adults to HIV/AIDS has a consequence for the patterns of care and support and the social fabric of the family, directly affecting the security of older people (Van Staden and Weich, 2007; Fernandez-Castilla, 2008). The AIDS pandemic has significantly eroded the principal financial and material support sources for older people (Tati, 2009). Indeed, many families have lost young family members to HIV/AIDS; consequently, older people are left to care for themselves, and others are left with the burden of caring for grandchildren.

Other studies have revealed health-related issues as another challenge facing older people in Tanzania. Bujari (2004) surveyed three regions, Dar-es-Salaam, Kilimanjaro, and Morogoro. He found that older people in the selected regions suffered from various health-related problems. He observed that older people's health-related issues are exacerbated by Tanzania's weak health system that lacked a specific focus for the aged. Consequently, this means that older people continue to suffer silently. Bujari suggested that Tanzania's health sector should acknowledge that health care for older people is deficient, recommending that the Tanzania Public Health Association spearhead a healthy lifestyle and active ageing campaign. He suggested that there should be a range of services and facilities for older people. For example, health promotion education should target older people and focus on a healthy lifestyle and moderate exercise to maximise physical fitness and restore functions. Bujari (2004:1) asserted that: "although ageing may be an inevitable and irreversible biological process, it often reflects the success in the history of public health policies and social, economic development in a society."

Although Bujari conducted his research sixteen years ago, his observations about the welfare of older people still bear relevance today. Older people, particularly those in rural communities, still lack proper health-related provision services that could improve older people's physical and mental wellbeing. Indeed, this is an issue the Tanzania government must tackle, and it is an essential gap that this research will seek to address.

Other research noted other developments, such as the changing role and status of older people in a society. Studies conducted in 1999 and 2000 observed that older people participate less in family and community in Africa and Tanzania. In previous times older

people played a significant role, including guiding the young generation in understanding history and culture, often advising their communities (O'Donoghue, 1999; Heslop et al., 2000). After five and more years, subsequent research made a similar observation about social change impacting older people's position and participation in the current African societies, including Tanzania. Urbanisation and modernisation are noted as the social forces affecting contemporary African cultures by breeding a new cultural way of thinking and lifestyle in the minds of the younger generation. Consequently, older people are increasingly socially isolated and unable to fulfil their roles (Nyaundi, 2005; Theron, 2013).

Another problem that older people face in rural settings, according to the literature, is victimisation and mistreatment. Older activists in Tanzania are concerned about the number of older people murdered because of witchcraft beliefs. Incidences of victimisation, abuse, and killing of older people are prevalent in Tanzanian rural communities (HelpAge Tanzania: Sauti Ya Wazee, 2014). The Tanzania Legal and Human Rights Centre report showed that 765 people, 505 of whom were women, were killed following alleged witchcraft accusations in 2013. Sadly, women seem to be twice as likely to encounter these allegations and victimisations than men. This rate is a stark increase from the murders of 630 older people reported in 2012. This picture is troubling and certainly at odds with the commonly held assumption that respect for older people is a deeply ingrained feature of African societies (HelpAge Tanzania: Sauti Ya Wazee, 2014). "Violence against older people is a global issue. We should be celebrating ageing, and the invaluable contribution older people make. Everyone has the right to life; no one should have to live in fear of growing older" (HelpAge Tanzania: Sauti Ya Wazee, 2014:1).

A study by HelpAge International (2011) observed that witchcraft accusations are a critical factor in violating women's rights in Sukumaland and are often generated by broader problems in the community. For example, a limited understanding of the nature or cause of illnesses can result in believing that a family has been bewitched. In cases where husbands have died, widows are often blamed, providing a pretext for deceased relatives to deny them the right to inherit family assets (HelpAge International 2011). Older people in rural settings represent an easy target because they are physically weak and may not defend themselves. Allegations of witchcraft are often linked to hatred and personal jealousy among relatives, disputes between neighbours or family over land and inheritance.

Additionally, beliefs in witchcraft are encouraged by those in the traditional healing business for their own material gain; in this way, traditional healers are a part of the problem (HelpAge International 2011). Some traditional healers use witchcraft claims to maximise their profits; hence, they cunningly manipulate and play with the vulnerability of those seeking help. Unfortunately, those who are influenced by these superstitious beliefs and base their existence on them will always look for the physical agency in which they believe witchcraft manifests itself. Thus, older people are labelled as that agency (HelpAge Tanzania, 2014; Miguel, 2005). Often, to help a client believed to have a problem, such as illness, the traditional healer points to an older, vulnerable woman in the village as a cause of the problem (HelpAge International 2011). The ageing process of a person is complicated, and the physical manifestations of ageing, such as wrinkles and other features, have now been construed as signs or indicators of someone being a witch. Kibuga and Dianga (2000) studied the victimisation and killing of older women looked at witchcraft in four village communities in the Magu District, Tanzania. They found that many people in the Magu district who faced social and economic problems, in desperation, sought answers from traditional healers, some of whom promote notions of witchcraft. They found that older women in rural communities around the Magu district were beaten or murdered following these accusations of witchcraft because they had wrinkles and red eyes. The study suggested some recommendations to help break out of this cycle of violence against older women. They recommended that the government adopt appropriate measures to enable society to change its negative and hostile attitude toward older people. Many older women live alone, in isolation, leaving them exposed to danger. Kibuga and Dianga, (2000:30) wrote of one woman:

“If she is frail as a result of poor nutrition and illness, she may not have the strength to leave her house much and an air of mystery may grow around her, which may strongly contribute to accusations of her being an mchawi (*witch*). The poor conditions in which she lives and the smoky fuel with which she cooks help to cause twisted limbs and gnarled hands, wrinkles and red eyes—unmistakable signs within this culture of being a witch. Also, the dilapidated state of her house makes her an easy target for break-ins and attacks on suspicion that she is a witch... Since she lives alone, she has no support to ward off the accusations and no resources to fight off attacks.”

The above quote shows how dangerous the influence of superstitious beliefs can be on a community's mindset and attitude towards older people, adding to the issues they face.

However, another perspective on the social problems that affect older people's wellbeing views them as structurally caused or having the origin of their problems at a structural level. Related to this perspective to the source of the problem, Kitoka (2011:6) wrote:

"The problems of the older people as it appears could be indicative of a rather bigger problem constructed and embedded in the socio-economic structures, processes and institutions of the national policy within the Tanzanian society. To address the problem of the rural poor is an attempt to look at the structures and institutions, both 'modern and traditional' within which those problems are found and embedded."

According to Kitoka, issues of older people are part of issues on a broader scale, including poverty, vulnerability and deprivation (2011). When considering the early quote by Kibuga and Dianga, 2000:30, and this quote by Kitoka, the notion that the social structure underpins the problems which affect older people's wellbeing is emphasised. So, while the discussion revealed problems relating to older people's immediate needs, the debate has also indicated that these issues emanate from within the community and the broader social and political contexts and are rooted in social structure.

The second problem area considered is the one concerning the welfare needs of street children.

2.2.2 Problems Affecting Street Children

According to various research focused on Tanzanian society, street children are a social group who experiences a shortage of welfare provision. Because they live and operate in a hazardous environment, their lives are vulnerable (McAlpine et al., 2010). This section discusses some of the perspectives by scholars concerning street children's living situation, issues affecting their wellbeing, and possibly some suggestions for improvement.

In the last twenty or more years, Tanzanian cities have undergone rapid changes that have transformed the urban environment and the lives of the millions of people who live in these settings, as discussed above. These changes have affected almost everybody, particularly the urban poor. One of the growing social problems associated with these

changes is the tremendous increase in unsupervised children and young people living alone and working in the urban streets, as Lugalla and Mbwambo in 1999 indicated. The street children problem has grown and is especially acute in big cities like Dar-es-Salaam, Arusha, Morogoro, Moshi, Tanga, Mbeya, and Mwanza, where urban population growth rates have exploded amidst the severe social and economic crisis (Lugalla and Kibassa, 2003). This trend is also confirmed in a recent report issued by the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania and USAID Kizazi Kipywa Project (2018). Gracey (2002) attributed the high presence of children working and living on the streets to the high influx of people moving from rural areas to larger towns and cities to seek better-paid work. In doing so, they leave behind family, destabilising traditional communities and cultural structures in the process. Children can be seen living alone on urban streets or spending most of their day on the streets in their quest for survival. Growing up in a city or town can offer these children a brighter future—or condemn them to a life of poverty and social exclusion (Luena, 2011).

Research and various social bodies have tried to understand street children at a conceptual level. The United Nations definition quoted by Lusk, (1992:294) perceived

“a street child as any boy or girl... [under the age of eighteen] for whom the street (in the widest sense of the word, including unoccupied dwellings, wasteland) has become his or her habitual abode and/or source of livelihood, and who is inadequately protected, supervised, or directed by responsible adults.”

Various scholarly perspectives exist about street children. One view provides a better way of considering and engaging with street children's social position (McAlpine et al., 2010). They insist on the importance of considering street children and youth homelessness as a problem from a community mental health, human rights, and economic development perspective (McAlpine et al., 2010). Undoubtedly, approaching the street children's social situation in this manner holds some potential in engaging people and the social structure to seriously address these problems and offer practical support that could change the situation.

Researchers of the street children phenomenon have attempted to identify and explain the reasons behind the emergence of street children in Africa and Tanzania. Heggenhougen and Lugalla (2005) considered how social change impacts young people's physical health, including HIV/AIDS, and mental health. They considered the implications of poverty and social inequalities on health, observing that the poorest

disproportionately suffer the adverse health effects of social change in Tanzania. Another perspective is that of Japhet (2017), who linked the emergence of young children living rough in the streets of cities in Tanzania also to the outbreak of HIV/AIDS in the 1980s and 1990s, which along with economic hardships and the challenges of urbanization damaged social relationships and structures. This situation resulted in a rapid increase in the number of street children as children, and young people lost their parents and guardians. Equally, Sangale (2004) made the same observation about the impact of HIV/AIDS on older people. Additionally, Japhet (2017) pointed out that while HIV/AIDS was a driving factor in the 1980s, new infections did drop.

However, today other factors lead children to live on the street, including broken families, poverty and lack of education. HIV/AIDS is not solely to blame for the street children phenomenon. Other studies have suggested that the causes of children migrating to live on the streets away from their families are rooted in poverty, hunger, family breakdown, physical and mental abuse in the family, and the breakdown of traditional supportive community structures or the absence of them (Gracey, 2002; McAlpine et al., 2010). Similarly, Kopoka (2000) suggested that children living in difficult circumstances are more likely to find themselves in the streets than those cared for by both parents and growing up in a conducive social environment.

Other studies have conceptually categorised street children to understand their needs and vulnerability due to their street-dwelling status. Accordingly, Lugalla and Mbwambo (1999; 2002) have identified two types of street children in Dar-es-Salaam. They observed that 'children of the street' were more vulnerable and at a higher risk than 'children on the street'. 'Children of the street' here refers to a category of children who live and work in the streets but have no parents or close family to go to at the end of the day; hence, the street is their home. In contrast, the term 'children on the street' category refer to children and young people who come to the streets every day to work but have a family to go home to at the end of each day. In their observation, Lugalla and Mbwambo found that more boys and fewer girls live or work in the streets, attributing the lower number of girls to cultural factors. Girls in Tanzanian society, especially in rural areas, appear to be under supervision or monitoring by their families, reducing their chances of running away. However, the girls who live or work in the streets suffer abuse and sexual exploitation in cities and are very vulnerable to mental and physical mistreatment.

Equally, Lerisse et al. (2007) talked about the vulnerability of street children and the risk they experience as a result of activities such as begging, garbage rummaging and

stealing, working as a houseboy or house girl, and receiving meagre pay or no pay. In addition to being subjected to exploitation, they do not attend school. Additionally, other studies observed that Tanzanian children struggle due to a lack of care, security, and protection. As a result, orphaned and vulnerable children are often pushed into critical discrimination, stigmatisation, exploitation, abuse, and general neglect (Yangwe 2014; Save the Children, 2013).

Another researcher, Thomas de Benitez (2003), focused on perceptions' role and how they potentially underpin the public reaction towards street children. One perspective regards street children as deviants: threats or potential threats to public order whose allegedly deficient characteristics differentiate them from other children. This perspective naturally invites a repressive response to individual children. With this perspective, society or individuals implement a corrective, reactive, or repression-oriented model in dealing with street children. Another view, according to Thomas de Benitez (2003), is that which sees street children as victims. This perspective prompts a response toward street children with a more rehabilitative or protection-oriented model. Individuals or a society that holds this view assume a human rights-based perspective in dealing with or supporting street children. Indeed, perceptions about street children play a significant role in shaping the public or individual attitude and response towards the concerns of street children.

Indeed, some studies have revealed the impact of negative perceptions on street children in Tanzanian society. An investigation into the public's perception of street children in Dar-es-Salaam found that the reactions of both the public and officials have been to consider the street children a problem. This is a view shared by municipal officials, the police, and politicians alike. Street children are considered hooligans and vagabonds, prone to commit crimes (Buske, 2011; Chingonikaya et al., 2019; Quarshie, 2011). Consequently, the negative perception of street children and youths as being a threat to civil order has often resulted in their harsh treatment, with forcible removal from towns a frequent response and general repressive response and harassment by municipal authorities and police a common practice in Tanzania (Luena, 2011; Buske, 2011).

Other studies made a similar observation. They maintained that politicians, policymakers, and urban planners seem to be helpless in their efforts to either resolve the problem or assist street children; they have failed to prescribe plausible solutions that are realistic, down-to-earth, and concrete (Lugalla and Kibassa, 2003). This failure stems from the fact that the Government and the public are ignorant regarding urban street

children in Tanzania. There has been no attempt to understand who these children and young people are, which would be a significant step towards generating better methods to deal with the social issues affecting their lives.

The East African Community, a political-socio-economic federation made up of five countries in the East African region—Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda, and Burundi—has made a joint effort to investigate social problems in the East African area, including street children and their need for social support and protection. Their investigation observed that children constitute more than 50% of the population of the East African Community, though, of course, not all live on the streets. Most of these children's living reality within the region is alarming, and their lives as children are made worse by conflict situations. Many children are affected by abuse, neglect, child labour, child trafficking, and child prostitution (East African Community, EAC Strategic Plan, 2012–2016:22).

Another issue this study considered is Gender Inequality and Social Discrimination against Women.

2.2.3 Gender Inequality and Social Discrimination of Women

Research has observed that gender inequality often manifests itself in mistreatment and violence against women (McCleary-Sills et al., 2013). Additionally, social inequality exists for women as they do not have equal access to opportunities that harness personal, social, and economic development (Idris 2018; Fox, 2016). In clarifying the term 'inequality', Matotay (2014:2) elucidated that:

"Inequality is a violation of human dignity. It is a denial of the possibility for everybody's human capabilities to develop. It takes many forms, and it has many effects: premature death, ill health, humiliation, subjection, discrimination, exclusion from knowledge, or mainstream social life. Other effects are, poverty, powerlessness, stress, insecurity, anxiety, lack of self-confidence and pride in oneself, and exclusion from opportunities and life chances."

The United Republic of Tanzania and USAID (2008) report on gender inequality expressed that gender-based violence is often used interchangeably with violence against women. Other studies concur with this understanding. The term gender-based violence points to the dimensions within which violence against women takes place: women's subordinate status (both economic and social) makes them more vulnerable to violence

and “contributes to an environment that accepts, excuses, and even expects violence against women” (Heise et al., 2002; cited in Betron and Doggett, 2006:7).

Some global bodies have examined these gender issues and given their assessment. For example, the Global Gender Gap Report 2018 made a point that reads:

"Gender parity is fundamental to determining that economies and societies thrive. Ensuring the full development and appropriate deployment of half of the world's total talent pool has a considerable bearing on the growth, competitiveness and future-readiness of economies and businesses worldwide" (The Global Gender Gap Report, 2018).

The Global Gender Gap Report set benchmarks that assess countries worldwide on their progress towards gender parity across four thematic dimensions: economic participation and opportunity, educational attainment, health and survival, and political empowerment (The Global Gender Gap Report, 2018). Equally, the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development-OECD (2010) conducted and produced a report on gender and economic development in African countries, including Tanzania, revealing the following: on 'family code', they found that Tanzanian women's rights within the family are poorly protected.

A United Nations report on gender equality and women status in Tanzania (2012) estimated that 25% of girls between 15 and 19 years of age were married, divorced, or widowed. The minimum legal age for marriage is 15 years for women and 18 years for men. Still, the law allows exceptions for girls aged 14 years under 'justifiable' circumstances, revealing the power imbalance between women and men in this culture. The report also revealed another reality, namely, the culture of male dominance that in many ways leads to the subordination and even repression of women's voice in critical decision making. This system deprives girls of the opportunity to grow and realise their potential instead of being subjected to marriage at a young age without their consent (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development—OECD, 2010). The report went further. The Tanzanian law recognises two types of marriage: monogamous and polygamous. Almost one-quarter of Tanzanian women live in polygamous marriages. Although, by law, mothers and fathers in Tanzania have equal rights regarding parental authority, many traditional practices discriminate against women. Even in inheritance matters, the Government and the judicial system recognise customary and Islamic laws, both of which contain provisions that discriminate against women. The Law Reform

Commission has drafted amendments to remove discriminatory measures from existing inheritance laws (OECD, 2010).

While this report is now ten years old, many of the issues raised remain in society. The amendment drafted by the Law Reform Commission, 2010 had little effect on the situation. Like on many other social problems, adequate deliberations occur at the policy level; however, these efforts do not always result in a changing reality on the ground. The lack of impact of adopted policy and law can be down to a lack of effective strategies and practical push by both central Government and local governmental authorities that can affect the intended change.

More investigations exist that shed light on Tanzania's social gender inequality situation. The Gender Inequality Index (GII) tool reflects gender-based inequalities in three dimensions—reproductive health, empowerment, and economic activity. Reproductive health is measured by maternal mortality and adolescent birth rates. Empowerment is measured by the share of women's parliamentary seats and attainment in secondary and higher education. Economic activity is measured by the labour market participation rate for women and men. The GII can be interpreted as the loss in human development because of the inequality between female and male achievements in the dimensions mentioned above (UNDP, 2019).

Similarly, examining the Tanzanian data through the Gender Inequality Index (GII) lens, the Human Development Index shows that Tanzania has a GII value of 0.539, ranking it 130 out of 162 countries in the 2018 index. In Tanzania, 37.2% of parliamentary seats are held by women, and 11.9% of adult women have reached at least a secondary level of education, compared to 16.9% of their male counterparts. For every 100,000 live births, 398 women die from pregnancy-related causes; the adolescent birth rate is 118.4 births per 1,000 women aged 15–19. Female participation in the labour market is 79.4% compared to 87.2% for men (UNDP, 2019). Several scholars and research bodies have indicated that many women in Tanzania do not have the same opportunities as men for education and economic independence. For example, the 2004 Demographic and Health Survey found that 64% of men completed primary education, while only 58% of women did the same (National Bureau of Statistics and ORC Macro, 2005).

Likewise, Zambelli et al. (2017) investigated one aspect concerning women's social living experience in Tanzania. They looked at women balancing paid and unpaid care work in rural settings and how gender norms play a part in keeping women in unpaid work areas, preventing them from seizing other potential social and economic

opportunities. The perception of unpaid care work as a predominantly female activity reflected a broader, gendered view of work. For example, most women perceive men to be naturally better at household repair and construction, agricultural activities or care for animals—all activities that require more energy and strength. Gender norms appear to be enforced from a young age, with girls doing more household chores than their brothers, who do more work outside the home; however, this allocation is not as rigid as in later life stages (Zambelli et al., 2017:15). The point emerging here is that held gender cultural norms serve as a benchmark to determine women's role in society. Consequently, such cultural perspectives on gender roles impact other dimensions of social life, particularly the interpersonal social relationship of men and women and how they engage with each other when building a family.

TAMWA (2013) and Ahmed (2017) attributed gender-based violence in society to African traditions, arguing that most of these traditions are oppressive. Ahmed (2017:7) asserts,

"Most African traditions discriminate against women and favour men in different aspects such as social, economic, and political. African traditions see women as commodity and have no value, thus promote gender-based violence among members within the family."

One aspect of social reality in this quote is the dominance of patriarchal culture—male members of society occupy a position of power and influence the community's way of life. In contrast, female members in the same community are seen as second-class citizens and do not receive dignified treatment. Male-oriented culture fuels violent attitudes against women, undermining women's voices on critical social matters. There can be no doubt that traditional beliefs in communities partly cause inequality and violence against women. These problems revolve around views regarding gender roles and women's social status. Therefore, understanding the cultural aspects that act as the foundation for men's violent behaviour and mistreatment of women in society is critical in the fight against violence and discrimination against women.

Other perspectives focus on cultural and social norms to explain inequality and gender-based violence. Violence is visible in action and behaviour intended to cause harm, i.e. domestic abuse. Women's life experience varies from one tribe to another due to the existence of different norms, values, and attitudes of the communities (The United Republic of Tanzania-Ministry of Health, Community Development, Gender, Elderly and Children, 2017; Vyas & Jansen, 2018).

There are essential contextually based insights on gender inequality and gender-based violence in Tanzania. In Tanzanian culture, factors associated with partner violence against women are often framed within gender inequality and power imbalances between husbands and wives (Vyas & Jansen, 2018). Inequalities are thus considered products of broader structural systems. For example, Vyas & Jansen (2018:1) explained that Tanzania had undergone rapid economic and social changes over the past two decades. Increasing numbers of women are seeking paid work, and men's ideals of manhood have been reshaped with evidence of extramarital relations and alcohol use. Nationally representative population-based data documents that 46.2% of ever-married women have experienced physical or sexual partner violence in their lifetime (Vyas & Jansen 2018).

The Tanzanian government's report on inequality has pointed out that gender inequality and gender-based violence start from cultural practices and gender-biased societal attitudes. (United Republic of Tanzania-Gender Indicators Booklet 2010). Similarly, the World Health Organisation (WHO) report (2009) recognised traditional beliefs that influence men to think they have a right to control or discipline women through physical means. The WHO report observed that victims of sexual violence in many societies, including Tanzania, also feel stigmatised, inhibiting reporting (World Health Organisation (WHO), 2009). Likewise, Hagues (2017) found that discrimination towards women and girls still exists within families, schools, and the community, leading to the devaluation of girls' wellbeing and often resulting in the normalisation of their exploitation. One proposed solution to combating abuse, exploitation, and the discrimination of adolescent girls is to educate women and girls directly. Girls, female teachers, and female mentors in each district need an increased knowledge of how the law protects them. This raising of awareness of women's rights and the law must happen at the micro and macro-community levels, e.g., the village level. Her suggestions focus on victim empowerment and risk mitigation strategies. However, she does not focus on the root causes of those problems.

One perspective on how violence against women occurs in society views gender-based violence as appearing in various forms of physical, psychological, and sexual violence. Since much of this happens in the family environment, these forms of abuse are not often recognised as violence (Heise et al., 2002). Indeed, the lack of understanding or confusion about what constitutes violence renders the gaining of women's rights and conducive social living environments complex. In order to maintain a level of social wellbeing for individuals and the community, society must identify the attitudes and

actions that put people's well-being at risk and seek ways to facilitate change. Family and community must understand which activities and behaviours constitute violence. In clarifying what physical abuse entails, Heise et al. (2002) elucidated that physical abuse is the intentional use of physical force with the potential for causing death, injury, or harm. It includes slapping, hitting, biting, and using or threatening to use a gun, knife, or weapon against another person (Heise et al., 2002, quoted in Ahmed 2017:7). It should also be added that violence against women can take the form of coercive control and language that demeans women's self-belief and self-esteem. Other studies, including Vuckovic et al., 2017; the United Republic of Tanzania and USAID, 2008; Holt, 2008, have made a similar observation. Domestic violence covers abuse across genders, regardless of age, ethnicity or sexuality, and, generally, men are more likely to be perpetrators of violence. Women tend to suffer more frequent and severe physical, mental, and psychological assaults that consequently impact their lives over a longer period (Devaney, 2014; Stanley and Devaney, 2017).

In tackling violence against women, Tanzanian society must strategically place effective strategies and support female victims of violence. One category of strategic measures must aim at helping victims of violence feel protected, recover, and realise their fundamental human rights. It is also necessary to put in place an adequate legal criminal justice system-based action plan to ensure that men who abuse women both at the domestic and social level are held accountable for their behaviour. The reality is that in Tanzanian society, resolving gender-based violence has not been very effective for a long time due to the lack of commitment and practical strategies that identify the root causes of stigma and violence against women. The insight expressed in the strategic vision of the Council of Europe provides sound and practical guidance about tackling domestic abuse and supporting victims. Specifically, the Convention states that its purpose is to ensure that:

"all parties shall take the necessary measures to promote changes in the social and cultural patterns of behaviour of women and men with a view to eradicating prejudices, customs, traditions and all other practices which are based on the idea of the inferiority of women or on stereotype roles for women and men."(Council of Europe, Convention, Article 12.1, cited in Devaney 2014:481).

While there may be other factors for discrimination and violence against women, patriarchal culture ranks first. The governmental bodies and legal bodies responsible for

ensuring each citizen's welfare and rights must fulfil their responsibilities in all spheres. The idea of 'private' or 'public' should not limit the level of involvement and extent of governmental legal and social intervention efforts to address this problem, especially when individuals' lives and well-being are threatened due to abuse.

Other perspectives look at gender-based discrimination and violence against women from the perspective of policies and laws, arguing that they do not adequately address gender inequality-related issues in many African societies. Ndulo (2011) studied African Customary Law, Customs, and Women's Rights in sub-Saharan Africa and Tanzania societies. He observed that:

“In a typical African country, the great majority of the people conduct their personal activities in accordance with and subject to customary law. Customary law has great impact in the area of personal law in regard to matters such as marriage, inheritance, and traditional authority, and because it developed in an era dominated by patriarchy some of its norms conflict with human rights norms guaranteeing equality between men and women.” (Ndulo, 2011:87)

We should remember that using the term 'African customary law' does not indicate a single uniform set of customs prevailing in any given country. Instead, it is used as a blanket description covering many different legal systems. These systems are primarily ethnic in origin. These laws usually operate only within the area occupied by the ethnic group and cover disputes in which at least one of the parties is a member of the ethnic group (Ndulo, 2011:88). Customary law sees women as adjuncts to the group they belong to, such as a clan or tribe, rather than as equals (Ndulo, 1985; Van Doren, 1988).

The study has revealed the tension between human rights activists and traditionalists regarding whether customary norms in national bills of rights in national constitutions are compatible with human rights in African societies. The African traditionalists favour the application of customary law. The activists for human rights and women rights in Africa maintain a different stance.

In Tanzania, laws and policies that offer women legal protection from gender-based violence (GBV) are limited. The Law of Marriage Act prohibits a spouse from inflicting corporal punishment on their spouse. However, the law has little impact because it does not protect unmarried couples from domestic violence; and it does not define corporal punishment, thereby excluding many forms of domestic violence, such as economic deprivation (Tanzanian Women Lawyers Association, 2004). There is an

observation that the traditional customary laws upon which most people base their lives are outdated and require changes to realise women's rights and justice. Ndulo (2011:87) argued that:

"The courts have an important role in ensuring that customary law is reformed and developed to ensure that it conforms to human rights norms and contributes to promoting equality between men and women. The guiding principle should be that customary law is living law and cannot, therefore, be static. It must be interpreted to take account of the lived experiences of the people it serves."

Furthermore, Rugira (2015) researched the causes and effects of violence against women concerning social and economic empowerment in the Mbulu District. He learned that a lack of tolerance and patience, excessive alcohol consumption, jealousy on the part of husbands and broader economic conditions such as lack of food and lack of other basic needs underpinned violent behaviours towards women in domestic settings. Rugira's study found that very few women subjected to violence report these incidences, contributing to the lack of effectiveness of applicable laws and policies at the district level (Rugira, 2015). Patriarchal culture contributes to gender inequality and violence against women in Tanzanian society (Minde, 2015). Similarly, Ali et al. (2017:1) explained that violence against women occurs primarily because of gender norms that appear at the societal and familial levels. Patriarchal gender norms and values reinforce and sustain girls and women's low status and increase the likelihood that men will perpetrate violence against women (Dillip et al., 2018; Tanzania Gender Networking Programme, 2006).

Many studies agree that culture plays a massive role in promoting gender equality. Culture is primarily seen as the distinctive patterns of ideas, beliefs, and norms that characterise the way of life and relations in a society or group within a community (Reeves and Baden, 2000). It is the responsibility of people, women, and men to ensure that they sanction cultural values and ways of living that promote equality and human dignity for all. However, one traditional practice in Tanzania and Africa that many researchers see as a contributory factor for men abusing their partners is paying a bride price or dowry during the wedding process. Ahmed (2017:8) stated:

"Bride price is a common cultural practice in many African countries. Typically, bride price consists of a contract where the groom pays material items (often cattle or animals) or money to the bride's family in exchange for her labour and her capacity of producing children."

While bride-price practices are widely accepted and validate customary marriages, some negative ramifications are associated with bride price, including violence against women (Tanzania Media Women's Association (TAMWA),2013; Ahmed 2017). Some men in this Culture seem to believe that they own and control their wife because they paid a bride price. Adichie (2014:1) made this insightful observation "Culture does not make people. People make Culture. If it is true that the full humanity of women is not our Culture, then we can and must make it our Culture." Reiterating her point, Adichie seems to be saying that the Culture in existence has created an unfavourable living environment for women, treating women as less and denying their rights. It is true when she says that people make Culture and, therefore, can change it. Thus, a culture that perpetuates inequality and suppression of women's rights, freedom, and progress can be changed by the same people of that society.

Researchers investigated gender inequality 15 years ago; they recommended that the Tanzanian government and society as a whole must continue learning different and new ways to challenge deep-rooted gender stereotypes in communities (McCloskey, Williams & Larsen, 2005; McCrann, Lalor & Katabaro, 2006). This suggestion is still relevant in fighting against gender inequality in Tanzania in 2020.

Gender equality is a phrase or notion that describes the absence of apparent or hidden differences between people based on gender. These differences can include discrimination in terms of opportunities, resources, services, benefits, decision-making, power, and influence (Heise, Greene, Opper, 2019). What lies behind the drive for gender equality globally is the aspiration to see women and men in every Culture enjoy the same rights and opportunities across all sectors of society, including economic participation and decision-making.

The final issue considered in this study is inequality, social discrimination, and its impact on people with disabilities' wellbeing.

2.2.4 Inequality and Social Discrimination of People with Disabilities

People with disabilities should experience a life characterised by respect, dignity, and equal access to all the social rights and life opportunities available in society. It is their right to experience development personally and socially, and a person's social wellbeing must not suffer just because a person is physically disabled. Yet, stories of the life experiences of people with disabilities in Tanzanian society reveal the opposite.

People with disabilities encounter challenges and social barriers in meeting their social welfare needs. The literature consulted here revealed the issues affecting the social wellbeing of people with disabilities in Tanzanian society.

Scholars' opinions about the situations that people with disabilities face oscillate between two elements: on the one hand, they highlight the actual living reality of a person with a disability. On the other hand, they negatively highlight the perceptions that influence their existing condition.

At a conceptual level, Tanzania's formal understanding of disability, according to the Government, has evolved over the past three decades, as reflected in various vital policies and legal texts. The Disabled Persons Employment Act of 1982 adopted a narrow 'medicalised' definition which focused on the employment consequences of disability, defining a 'disabled person' as:

"a person who on account of injury, old age, disease or congenital deformity, is substantially handicapped in obtaining employment, or in undertaking work on his own account, of a kind which apart from that injury, old age, disease or deformity would be suited to his age, experience and qualification." (The United Republic of Tanzania Employment Act- 1982:3)

In subsequent years, there has been a transition in the definition of disability from a medically based focus on the perceived deficiencies of individuals to acknowledging that disability is a socially constructed phenomenon. Reflecting on this development, the Tanzania National Policy on Disability of 2004 defined disability as:

"the loss or limitation of opportunities to take part in the normal life of the community on an equal level with others due to the temporary or permanent physical, mental or social barriers. Community's perception of disabled people could aggravate such a loss or limitation." (The United Republic of Tanzania- National Policy on Disability of 2004:1)

The United Republic of Tanzania has demonstrated a commitment to disability rights by enacting national policies on disabilities. Tanzania has, in addition to being a signatory to the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD), made a public commitment to the rights of persons with disabilities through several national policy mechanisms, such as the Persons with Disabilities Act of 2010 (Aldersey, 2012). This act contains the earlier definition of disability in the National Policy on Disability and a separate description of a 'person with a disability in line with

the UNCRPD. A person with a disability is a "[person with a] physical, intellectual, sensory, or mental impairment and whose functional capacity is limited by encountering attitudinal, environmental, and institutional barriers."(UNCRPD, 2006:4).

Despite these efforts and acknowledgements by the Tanzanian government, various studies show that the living reality for a person with a disability is still a difficult one. Aside from any physical impairment, people with disabilities in society encounter a lot of social challenges. This reality is revealed by a study conducted by Ntamanwa (2015). Ntamanwa's respondents in the study attributed the problems faced by persons with disabilities in society to the following factors:

"Social discrimination towards people with a disability, the social stigmatisation of people with a disability, lack of working facilities for people with a disability, low level of education for most people with a disability. Misconceptions and myths toward disability and people with disabilities, and social exclusion towards people with a disability in the labour market."(Ntamanwa, 2015:4).

On every front, people with disabilities encounter social barriers, are stigmatised against, are denied their rights to employment opportunities, and find accessing education difficult, resulting in some missing out on school. Ntamanwa indicates that people with disabilities encounter many social barriers that hamper their personal, social, and economic development. Indeed, other studies have identified similar issues affecting people with disabilities (Uromi and Mazagwa et al., 2014; World Health Organisation, 2011; Knapp and Midgley, 2010).

Another aspect Ntamanwa (2015) investigated in his study was to understand factors that cause the low employment rate of people with physical disabilities in the urban Temeke area in Dar-es-Salaam. He identified reasons, including poor implementation of the Policy of Special Education to People with Disability, social and environmental barriers, poor socioeconomic status, and inadequate efforts to implement the National Policy on Disability (Ntamanwa,2015). Furthermore, other studies have revealed more problems that people with disabilities face in Tanzania, such as the lack of support in the learning environment. Participants in a study by Sightsavers, ADD International, HelpAge International (2016) explained that they experienced several challenges, including the poor infrastructure of teaching and learning environments. For example, an 18-year-old participant (with a hearing impairment) reported:

“When I came back from the hospital, I could not hear properly. I was bright but started to drop in the class. I left school because I could not hear what was being taught, so I saw no importance in school.” (Sightsavers, ADD International, HelpAge International, 2016:11).

Discrimination against children with disabilities and limited teacher training has also been reported as an obstacle in the accessing of education. A 25-year-old participant (with a visual impairment) explained:

“When I was in primary school, I would tell the teacher that I could not see. I would ask: ‘Can you please read for me?’ But the teacher would say, ‘Why do you come to school then if you cannot see’ (Sightsavers, ADD International, HelpAge International, 2016:11).

These cases indicate how unfriendly and unsupportive learning environments can obstruct a person with a disability from accessing education. As shown in the above testimonials, many pupils' learning environments do not seem to take note of their interests and concerns of students' disabilities in the learning process. Nolan et al. (2006) saw stigma as attitudes, feelings, and behaviours towards a social group that devalues their identity in a particular social context. For stigmatisation to occur, power must be exercised (Link et al., 2001). Sightsavers, ADD International, HelpAge International (2016) recommended the following course of action to enable children with disabilities to have equal access to education and quality learning. They suggested that more teachers should be trained to provide quality, inclusive education for children with disabilities. Curriculums in primary schools should be flexible and able to adapt to diverse learners' needs, so children with disabilities can benefit from quality education. Moreover, other findings from other bodies have demonstrated the social issues affecting the lives of people with disabilities. The East African Community (East Africa Community—Strategic Plan, 2012-2016:23) acknowledged that:

"Generally, persons with Disabilities are vulnerable by virtue of their impairment and negative societal attitudes arising from fear, ignorance, superstitions, neglect and lack of awareness. As a result, Persons with Disabilities have inadequate access to services, information, resources as well as limited participation in the socio-economic development process."

The East African Community (East Africa Community-Strategic Plan, 2012–2016) also admitted that there is lack of input and support given towards people with disabilities in their respective countries, as the report says:

"Nevertheless, Persons with Disabilities (PWDs) are often of low priority in society. They receive less education, skill training and medical attention, which reduces their employment opportunity and may even result in secondary disabilities and sometimes early death. Consequently, this discrimination and neglect erode Persons with disability self-esteem and confidence to the extent that, they cannot voice their needs."

The above quotes acknowledge two things: firstly, people with disabilities endure many social challenges. Secondly, the system fails them in their society. Besides, Munyi (2012:5) pointed out that in Africa, the general societal attitude and orientation toward disability are central to the positive or negative experiencing life for a person with a disability. Societies' mentality is significant because it largely determines how can realise the personal, social, educational, and psychological needs of people with disabilities. Similarly, Al-Rossan (2003) stressed that the message that a child with a disability receives about themselves from their environment determines to a large extent their feelings about who they are, what they can do, and how they should behave. Munyi and Al-Rossan seem to be making the point that society's beliefs, perceptions about disability, and attitudes toward a person with a disability play a significant part in how society interacts with the person with a disability. At the same time, these attitudes can influence the self-perception of a person with a disability.

2.3 Summary of Literature and Emerged Knowledge Gap

This chapter has analysed literature relating to social problems, their impact on people's lives, and the experiences of service provision in Tanzanian society. The literature review identified and focused on four areas: older people, street children, gender inequality, and people with disabilities. The research and scholars consulted in this reviewed literature were those whose opinions specifically contributed to enhancing knowledge regarding the four social groups' problems.

The literature consulted in this review has not provided information on how various social needs are addressed. The reviewed literature expressed issues that impact the wellbeing of old adults, street children, women, and people with disabilities. This section briefly considers the similarities in social problems faced across the groups. The literature review has revealed that these groups experience similar issues that impact their wellbeing and social functioning. These issues include lacking a source of livelihood, lack of immediate basic needs, being socially discriminated against, stigmatised, and

victimised. Also, they are vulnerable, have health-related problems, experience physical and emotional abuse, lack formal social protection by the state. All groups lack social support from family and community. Face poor living environment. Women lack equal access to social and economic opportunities, are deprived of their human rights, and experience domestic abuse.

The discussion based on the existing research has provided an overview of the social issues and social groups impacted by these issues. It nevertheless fails to exemplify how NGOs play a part in combating social problems, nor does it discuss any questions concerning the NGOs' role in enabling the realisation of social welfare provision and supporting those facing social problems in these communities. These observable limitations indicate a knowledge gap. Therefore, the current research chose to investigate three NGOs involved in addressing social issues and providing services to their respective users in their areas. Examining the role fulfilled by these NGOs and their impact on social problems is essential. In the absence of a state response to social issues in Tanzania, experience elsewhere suggests a role for NGOs to identify and address social problems and pioneer responses to them. This research aimed to look at what efforts are being made to solve these problems. As part of this, a special effort was made to look at service delivery from the viewpoint of those for whom the services are intended.

It is also essential to state that chapter five has provided information concerning the history of social welfare in Tanzania. One may wonder why it was necessary to write a chapter on the history of social welfare when considering the context of this thesis, which is ultimately concerning the role local NGOs play in promoting social welfare today. The reason for constructing chapter five was to provide a contextual foundation to answering the overarching question. Thus, to understand NGOs' role in addressing social welfare problems in contemporary Tanzania, I considered it essential to understand how social welfare provision in Tanzania has developed over time. Chapter five shows how the past and present are connected. In the past, individuals in Tanzania received support from their extended family social network and their own communities in times of difficulty. However, the advent of colonialism undermined traditional communities' capacity to provide this support. Missionary organisations from western countries made a limited attempt to fill this gap, but their efforts were only partially successful. Under Nyerere's presidency, the first post-independence Tanzania government sought to revive traditional village-based approaches to welfare provision but, again, with limited success.

More recently, there have been renewed attempts to revive the role of non-governmental organisations in addressing social problems in contemporary Tanzania. Some organisations' efforts draw on the missionary heritage of earlier years, but many gaps remain despite this. And consequently, the overarching aim of the thesis is to improve our understanding of the role these organisations can play in enhancing social welfare under present-day social and economic conditions.

Chapter three that follows below has provided the detailed aims and questions pursued from this overarching aim. Also, chapter Three further explains the nature of this investigation and the methodological process through which I carried out this research investigation.

3 Sources and Methods

The current research has considered, explored, and analysed the social services provided by local non-governmental welfare organisations and their impact on service users in Tanzania. This chapter outlines the specific steps this study has followed in its investigative process, especially in its attempt to answer the research questions.

3.1 Research Aim, Objectives, and Questions

The thesis aims to understand the role which local non-governmental welfare organisations play in addressing social problems in contemporary Tanzania. The following research objectives facilitated the achievement of this aim:

- i. To understand the social issues that are addressed by each of the organisations in their respective contexts.
- ii. To assess and determine the interventional approaches to problem solving applied by local social organisations in Tanzania.
- iii. To understand whether a client plays a part in assessing and deciding the service needed in their individual situation, or whether it is only the organisation that makes that decision.
- iv. To understand the users' perspectives (recipients' reflection) on the organisation's service provision.
- v. To understand the differences and similarities that exist between the organisations in terms of the conceptualisation of social service delivery.

In order to facilitate the realisation of the aim of the research and the above objectives, the following research questions were raised:

1. What are the issues which each of the identified social organisation seeks to address?
2. How is social service provision carried out in each of these organisations?
3. Why do clients need social service assistance from these organisations?
4. What are the users' perspectives (recipients' reflection) on the organisations' service provision?
5. What are the differences and similarities between the organisations in terms of the conceptualisation of social service delivery?

In designing the study and approach to the investigation of research questions, two issues are considered essential components and an integral part of the strategy to

qualitative research. These two components are philosophical assumptions about social reality and creating social knowledge (Creswell, 2014).

The section that follows describes the philosophical assumption of the researcher concerning social knowledge and the way in which the necessary knowledge was acquired.

3.2 Approach to Knowledge and Data Collection: A Philosophical View

People who study how we look at the world or conceive social world reality indicate different ways or views on world reality and approaches to learning a social reality. Researchers are often influenced by a specific belief or philosophical assumption in their endeavour to investigate a topic. The held beliefs or philosophical assumptions can affect a researcher's method and construction of social knowledge (Guba et al., 2005; Scotland, 2012; Ingelaere, 2016). Others have argued that we can appropriately interpret social research only when we have a sufficient understanding of the philosophical principles (i.e., foundations) and the theoretical assumptions of the discipline. They base this argument on the observation that each field has principles and assumptions used to design, conduct, analyse, and interpret research and its outcomes (Heberlein, 1988; Mascia et al., 2003; Newing, 2010; Moon and Blackman, 2014).

Fundamental differences exist between natural science and social science research regarding how to view the study and matters to focus on. Scientists, including chemists and physicists in the natural science discipline, concentrate on measuring closely defined variables-things that can be counted. Social science research does not underplay the importance of variables; however, it values the importance of understanding the meaning that people invest in the social encounters with one another and the social environment (Thomas, 2017:106). Scientists have contributed perspectives to shed light on ontology and epistemology and their importance in the research process (Thomas, 2017). Likewise, the current research has considered insights concerning ontology and epistemology and appropriately applied them in this investigation. The paragraphs below briefly discuss the scholars' view on ontology and epistemology and also indicate the ontological and epistemological position adopted by the current research and its relevance to the research process.

Thomas (2017) contended that the research approach is about how one thinks about the social world. Ontology is a scientific, philosophical term representing the discussion relating to looking at the world or understanding the reality or nature of what

can be known. It expresses a particular paradigm or worldview, assumption, and belief about nature or reality, knowledge, and value (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 1998; Guba, 1990). May (2001) considered 'ontology' and 'epistemology' as essential elements that one must consider in the research process. He understood the two concepts to refer to how we perceive and know our social world and the theories concerning what exists (May 2001:22). Dieronitou (2014:4) elucidated that ontology traces its meaning from the ancient Greek present participle *οντ/οντος*, meaning 'to exist'. Other research has regarded these concepts as a guide in understanding social science's philosophical basis and supporting the interpretation of social research outcome. Moon & Blackman (2014:1167) pointed out that "the three fundamental elements of research are ontology, what exists in the human world that researchers can acquire knowledge about; epistemology, how knowledge is created; and philosophical perspective, the philosophical orientation of the researcher that guides her or his action."

As indicated here, ontology is concerned with identifying the general nature of the existence of a phenomenon. Thus, ontology's point of orientation is whether social entities can, and should, be considered objective entities that have a reality external to social actors, or whether they can be social constructions built up from the perceptions and actions of social actors (Bryman, 2004:16).

Scholars' discussion on ontology has yielded different views on how the world or social world reality is perceived and acknowledges that the ontological position would influence the research process. For example, Bryman (2004:16) identified two ontological positions or views concerning social research: 'objectivism' and 'constructivism'. Bryman (2004:16) construed 'objectivism' as an ontological position that asserts that social reality or phenomena and their meanings exist independently of social actors. Another ontological position or view concerning world reality is 'subjectivism', also known as constructionism. Constructionism implies that social entities can and should be considered social constructions built upon the perceptions and actions of social actors. This set of ontological assumptions is also known as the nominalist-realist debate proposed by Burrell and Morgan (1979).

The debate on approaching or studying the social world within the social science discipline has produced two opposing views. There are those who hold positivism and others who hold interpretivism as a paradigm in their outlook (Thomas 2017). Let me briefly make a distinction about the two: Thomas elaborated that for positivists, knowledge about the social world can be obtained objectively, meaning what we see and

hear is easily perceived and recordable without problems. According to positivists, the social and psychological world can be observed, measured, and studied scientifically in much the same way that physicists can study levers, atoms, and pulleys (Thomas 2017:108). Can studying the social world be the same as physicists' examinations and be approached using the same physicists' method? There is a fundamental difference between the social science and natural science disciplines, as those who hold interpretivism paradigms have illustrated. Interpretivism is an alternative view developed in social science debate on how to view and study the social world. Elaborating on this point, Thomas (2017:110) wrote:

"... the social world—that is to say, the world in which we are interested as social scientists—is not straightforwardly perceived because it is constructed by each of us in a different way. It's not simply 'out there'; it is different for each of us, with words and events carrying different meanings in every case. Therefore, it cannot be adequately studied using the methods of physics and chemistry, with talk of variables and quantifications: an entirely different mindset and set of procedures are needed to inquire into this slippery, ever-shifting landscape. This view is called interpretivism."

Points to note here are that social science's social world is socially constructed and characterised by social actors' actions, interactions, attitudes, and meanings attached to events and activities. Thus, to unlock the social world and acquire knowledge from a research point of view, social scientists would need to apply the interpretivism approach in their research process and investigations. Here's how one of interpretivism's leading proponents, Herbert Blumer (1992:82), presented what he called the basic premises and methodological consequences of interpretivism, an epistemological position:

"Human beings interpret or 'define' each other's actions instead of merely reacting to each other's actions. Their response is not made directly to the actions of one another but instead is based on the meaning which they attach to such actions. Thus, human interaction is mediated by the use of symbols, by interpretation, or by ascertaining the meaning of one another's actions."

The insight arising from Thomas's quote and Blumer's is that social actors are constantly constructing the social world. Each of us does this differently, with symbols—words and events—carrying different meanings for each person and in each situation. Thus, another critical point about the interpretivism approach in social scientific inquiry

is that it is interested in people and how they interrelate. Given that this is the case, we must look closely at what people are doing by using our own selves and our own knowledge of the world as people. Thomas (2017) rightly insisted that as researchers we must immerse ourselves in the research contexts in which we are interested—for example, talking to people in-depth and attending to every nuance of their behaviour, every clue to meanings they invest in something. Indeed, when the idea of 'ontology' is considered associated with research, a researcher is re-oriented to a quest, seeking answers (reality) to their research questions and looking for knowledge that exists externally (Hudson and Ozanne, 1988; May 2011). Thus, social science researchers see social phenomena, social institutions, knowledge, social environments, and social actors inextricably linked together. Constructivists perceive reality as a construct of the human mind and a product of human intelligence. Therefore, social reality is subjective (Elkind, 2004). In investigating a social situation, some social scientists emphasise the importance of a person's perception and experience in understanding a phenomenon (Creswell, 2003).

Epistemology is another philosophical aspect considered necessary in social science investigation. Epistemology is concerned with acquiring knowledge, such as what constitutes a knowledge claim; how knowledge can be produced or developed (Moon & Blackman 2014:1171). The term 'epistemology' is derived from the ancient Greek verb 'epistame', which means to know something very well and internalise something by experiencing it—denoting a close relationship between the knower and the known. Hence, knowledge viewed in this light is seen by epistemological purists as a subscription to the interpretivism/constructivism model (Cohen et al., 2006). This philosophical concept concerns the very basis of knowledge—whether this is hard, real, transmittable in a concrete form, or softer and more subjective, based on personal experience and insight (Cohen et al., 2006). Epistemological belief influences how researchers frame their research to discover knowledge. Social scientist researchers regard interpretivism as the proper perspective to establish social world reality in the research process. Carson et al. (2001) elaborated that epistemology focuses on the relationship between the researcher and reality and how this reality is captured or known. Equally, May (2011) understood epistemology as how a researcher uncovers knowledge (external to the researcher), the methods used, and the reality of the phenomena captured. Is the question worth asking here is how knowledge is formed in social science research? One answer to this question is that an inductive approach/interpretivism is the method through which a researcher can realise research-based knowledge. Bryman (2004:13) explained that "interpretivism holds

a view that the subject matter of the social sciences, which is people, and their institutions are fundamentally different from that of the natural sciences." Research with an interpretive approach focuses on people's subjective experiences and does not rely on theory. The goal of interpretive research is to understand and interpret the meanings of human behaviour (Neuman, 2000; Hudson and Ozanne, 1988). A qualitative researcher with an interpretivism perspective relies on the participants' views of the situation under investigation (Gergen, 1991; Creswell, 2014). During the inquiry process, researchers tend to use open-ended questions so that the participants can share their views (Crotty, 1998).

The value of subjectivist research reveals how an individual's experience shapes their perception of the world. For example, Burgman (2005) expressed that many risk perception research adopt subjectivist epistemology because people perceive risk based on personal experiences. Furthermore, constructionist epistemology rejects the idea that objective "truth" is waiting to be discovered. Instead, "truth," or meaning, comes into existence in and out of our engagement with the realities in our world; no real-world pre-exists that is independent of human activity or symbolic language—"what we call the world is a product of some mind" (Bruner 1986:95). Human beings construct knowledge as they engage with and interpret the world (Crotty 1998). That is, "knowledge is not passive—a simple imprinting of sense data on the mind—but active; mind does something with these impressions, at the very least, form abstractions or concepts" (Schwandt 1994:125). Others have commented on the practical value of researching with a constructivist perspective. For example, Moon and Blackman (2014) maintained that the value of constructionist research is in the generation of contextual understandings of a defined problem.

This discussion seems to emphasise the value of the constructivist view on the social world and the interpretative approach to investigating social world reality. As a researcher, I understood the relevance of insights about ontology and epistemology in the research process. Indeed, during this research, I regarded participants and their opinions and interpretations of the situations under investigation as invaluable. Bryman (2004:13) emphasised that "interpretivism strategy aids the social scientists to grasp the subjective meaning of social action." Indeed, I conducted the current study believing that the social world and social knowledge are socially constructed. Therefore, I adopted constructivism and interpretivism as the lens through which I engaged with research questions and investigated the social phenomena that formed the research's focus. I collected

participants' perceptions of experiences (social problems and social service provision) and captured how their context and background influenced their realities and experiences of social issues and service provision. In an endeavour to understand how the local non-governmental welfare organisations provide services and the impact that they might have on social service users, I, the researcher, conducted interviews with participants and used these as evidence for the current research.

Based on the above insight, participants in this research included individuals working in the three local non-governmental welfare organisations and their respective clients, including older adults, street children, women, and people with disabilities. I chose three different interviewees to obtain a comprehensive picture of the three organisations' work and impact. This broader inclusion allowed me to understand different perspectives and points of view. During this research's empirical experiment, I interviewed people in the organisation involved in social provision, including social workers and managers. I also interviewed people who used the services of the organisations. In order to understand the impact of the organisations' work, it was imperative to conduct interviews with service users. All participants had the opportunity to express their thoughts, feelings, and views about social problems, service provision, and their impact on their lives.

3.3 Research Design: A Qualitative Case-Based Study

This research has taken a case-based qualitative approach. According to Patton (2002), case studies analyse people, events, decisions, periods, projects, policies, institutions, countries, or other systems that are studied holistically by one or more methods. The case that is the inquiry subject will usually illustrate some broader philosophical themes (Thomas, 2017). The current research consists of multiple case studies. The cases include three local non-governmental welfare organisations, each involved in addressing a specific social issue in their respective context. This study focuses on the social problems these three organisations set out to address in Tanzania.

According to Creswell (2014:4), qualitative research is a "means for exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem." This type of research reflects non-numeric data in the form of words (Schwandt, 2001). The researcher's belief about the social world and the formation of human knowledge underpinned this study's planning and the investigation of the research topic.

Why did qualitative methods seem appropriate for this research? Weber (1949) argued that "to know about the social world, we must seek to understand it from the points of view of the people we are studying, rather than explaining human action using cause and effect" (Weber 1949 quoted in Henn et al., 2009:10). Similarly, Taylor et al. (2015:43) asserted that "some type of qualitative design will be most appropriate if we have a question about the perspectives or concepts of people—for example, on their needs or their experience of receiving or providing services." Indeed, the current research has been implemented precisely from this perspective, seeking to understand the experience and impact of service provision on clients. In reflecting on the relevance of qualitative research, Taylor et al. (2015:79) explained that "qualitative research is appropriate to explore meanings, perceptions, and constructs in real-world contexts where there is limited previous research on the topic." Indeed, this is the case with the current research. The study of local social organisations' role in addressing social problems and their impacts on service users appears less or less unexplored in the Tanzanian context.

Campbell et al. (2017:52) highlighted that,

"Qualitative research is suitable when we want to understand better the lived experience of our respondents, and how this has shaped their perceptions of life or work, or service provision, or service receipt. For this reason, the focus of the questions in the interview or focus group should relate to the actual experience of participants."

Designing this study as qualitative research was appropriate because it resonates with the constructivism and interpretivism beliefs on understanding the social world and forming human knowledge.

Undertaking research involves the sampling of the population for potential participants in the study. Hence the section which follows below describes the sampling process.

3.3.1 Sampling Process

Sampling is a core component of any research project and identifying the sampling population is a vital part of qualitative research. According to Taylor et al. (2015:83), "a good qualitative study should identify the sample of people from whom the data is drawn in terms of relevant characteristics.... this helps the reader to 'situate the sample' and thereby appraise methodological issues as well as generalisability to his or her setting. What aspects are deemed 'relevant' will, of course, depend on the topic of the study."

Sampling is the act of a researcher taking a group, or groups, out of a larger population for investigation purposes. A population in experimental design means the total number of all possible individuals related to the topic included in a study (Thomas, 2017). Therefore, a sample is the segment of the population selected for investigation (Bryman, 2004). It is essential to understand why using a sample is necessary. Campbell et al. (2017:36) answered that “in most cases, coverage of the whole population is not possible; fewer people are needed to gather and interpret data; information is less expensive to collate due to the smaller number involved.”

The research process involves awareness of the sampling technique. The present research used a systematic, non-probability sampling technique to identify a sample related to the study's focus. This type of sampling does not select a random or representative sample from a population; instead, it identifies a specific group or groups of people who possess characteristics or live in the circumstances related to the studied social phenomena (Mays and Pope, 1995:102). The sampling process was carried out according to a known characteristic or chosen element, selected by the researcher's judgment (May 2011).

Indeed, having good knowledge about different types of sampling helped the researcher make an informed decision about the nature of sampling, which would suit the current research project. 'Criteria sampling' was used as the strategy in selecting a sample relevant to this research: the researcher picked the case studies to be part of the current research based on specific criteria or characteristics related to the study's chosen topic (Patton, 1990). Following this principle, the present empirical study sample needed to be based on the requirements that the sample participants had lived experiences of social problems and service provision. These criteria are considered relevant to the focus of the research. Thus, based on their perceptions of social issues and service experiences, clients were asked about their experiences of the needs and services that they received. Staff and employees in the respective local social agencies were asked about their experiences of providing services. The constructed questions and aim of this study, and the characteristics of potential participants relevant to the study, played a significant role in deciding who should participate in this investigation. Hence, the sample for this study included 1) managers, 2) social workers, and 3) clients from three NGOs.

3.3.2 Selection of Organisations and Participants

The gap in human knowledge, which formed the basis of this research, played a role in the sampling selection. The literature review highlighted and discussed the study-specific social groups affected by social problems in Tanzania. Still, it did not examine all issues affecting the social wellbeing of people in society. While reviewing the literature, it was apparent that social knowledge concerning the contributions of local NGOs did not appear to be addressed. The literature reviewed did not discuss or provide the experience of knowledge relating to how local non-governmental organisations address social problems and their impact on service users in Tanzania. Hence, I chose the organisations that participated in this study because they addressed social issues and provided social services to specific social groups. The three selected organisations work with critical groups of particularly disadvantaged people, excluded, and discriminated against. I recruited individuals who represented both the service providers and the service user groups. The recruited participants were already part of the individual organisation's service scheme; thus, a service provider–service user relationship already existed.

The selection of organisations and participants presented its own challenges, and the journey could be characterised by two phases: unsuccessful and successful. The following is a reflective look at these phases.

Phase 1—‘Unsuccessful’

I began my initial thoughts on the research by studying how the social work profession fulfils its care task in Tanzania and investigating how the social service provision in an institutionalised care system is provided for older people and people with disabilities. I was looking for social care institutions that were run privately and those run by the Government. Therefore, I made an initial search on the internet and contacted people via telephone and email in Tanzania to inquire about the types of centres, organisations, or the names of institutions involved in providing social care services that could potentially take part in this study. The people I contacted suggested the names of two institutions engaged in providing social care services. These were: The Home for the Elderly and the Disabled in the Kolandoto area in the Shinyanga region and The Home for the Elderly and Disabled in the Bukumbi area in the Mwanza region. These two centres seemed to be exactly the kind of case-study participants that I had been looking for and therefore seemed relevant to the research focus. In my initial enquiries about the two centres, I contacted the people responsible for the daily running of the two centres

and asked for permission to undertake the research there. The response I received from the two centres was that the Government ran these two centres—the Ministry of Health, Community Development, Gender, Elderly, and Children. Therefore, both administrations from the two centres advised me to contact the Minister of Health, Community Development, Gender, Elderly and Children, who has the final authority to allow a researcher to enter those two places. So, by email, I contacted the minister, asking for permission to research the two centres in Kolandoto and Bukumbi. Helpfully, Strathclyde University, through my supervisor, wrote a letter to the same Government Minister clearly articulating my wishes and asking permission for me to undertake a research study at the two institutionalised care centres, but no reply came from the Government or the Minister herself. This lack of response from the Government made it clear to me that I would not be able to recruit these people or organisations for the study focus. This realisation made it necessary for me to reconsider the direction and potential participants of the research. The research strategy had to be revised. Based on this unexpected outcome, I decided to undertake research that sought to understand social provision on a broader range of issues in Tanzania.

Phase 2—‘Successful’

Further searching and key communications by email and telephone calls were made to local organisations in Tanzania, which resulted in a positive outcome, as potential participants were found. Therefore, the current study considers, explores, and analyses the social service provision by local organisations and their impacts on clients and service users in Tanzania. I identified three local social organisations involved in social service provision. Since the three organisations were reachable via the internet, having learnt that they were engaged in social problem-solving, I contacted them by email and telephone.

Following an exchange of emails between myself and the leaders of each of the organisations involved, there was an attempt to ascertain whether these organisations fell within the research's identified focus and purpose. Following this, I decided that they had the appropriate characteristics and therefore were relevant to the investigation.

The discussion around the selected organisations' suitability to participate in this research study took place between my supervisors and myself. After the University approved the full research plan in June 2018, I recruited participants. Most help and support for the recruitment came from the three organisations involved in this research study, who acted as gatekeepers. With regards to the method of recruitment, I sought

permission to interview three categories of participants from each of the selected organisations:

- i. Managerial-level staff.
- ii. Employees (social workers).
- iii. Service users connected to each of the organisations, 18 years of age and above.

To establish contact and recruit participants in the categories identified above, I used emails and letters to make initial contact with the three organisations, clearly explaining the overall purpose of the research. In addition, I made it clear what would be required of the participants taking part in the investigation. I asked managers in each of the organisations to circulate the request on my behalf, asking assistance from their employees (social workers) to see if they were willing to participate in this investigation by participating in an interview. If they were interested, their details would be passed on to me. A request was also made to the organisations to support the researcher in identifying and recruiting service users who could participate in an interview, e.g., making personal introductions to potential participants who had expressed an interest in finding out more about the study. On meeting participants face-to-face, I provided consent forms (copy in Appendix- page 411), and those willing to participate in the study signed them to consent to their involvement.

In summarising the sampling process, I applied three sampling frames in the selection process of individual participants from within each participant organisation. Firstly, from the wide choice of possible organisations involved in addressing Tanzania's social problems, I selected three organisations as case studies described in more detail in the sections below. Secondly, from the pool of possible respondents, I chose individuals to represent managers, employees, and service users connected to the three organisations. Thirdly, from the wide choice of potential managers, employees, and service users within these organisations, I chose only individuals who agreed to participate in the study and gave their informed consent.

3.3.3 Three Cases: The Organisations

The following paragraphs elaborate on the organisations that formed the three cases for this research undertaking.

Case Study 1: Magu Poverty Focus on Older People Rehabilitation Centre (MAPERECE)

The first location for this study was in the region of Mwanza where MAPERECE operates. Mwanza is in the north-western part of Tanzania and is a mid-sized port on the south-eastern shores of Lake Victoria. MAPERECE operates in nine districts where they are involved in social issues and social provision with older people in rural settings. Those districts are Magu, Missungwi, Sengerema, Ilemela, Nyamagana and Ksimba (Mwanza Region), Busega, Bariadi, and Kishapu.

MAPERECE was established in 1993 as a local initiative, and in 1994 it was registered as a non-governmental organisation (NGO) under the co-operative ordinance of 1954. In 2005, MAPERECE re-registered as a national NGO (Tanzania mainland) under the Non-Government Organisations Act of 2002. The organisation has thirty members, six employed members of staff, and nine volunteers supporting the work of the organisation. The agency's vision reads: "striving to create a conducive environment where older people over 60 years live in peace, harmony, and valued by their community." (Magu-guide, 2002:4) MAPERECE also has the following mission statement:

"MAPERECE is a non-profit making organisation based in Magu whose mission is to mobilise and sensitise the public to discard harmful beliefs and values that contribute to the killing of older people in the society. We do this through creating awareness and education among the community, the establishment of older people forums, lobbying and advocacy of leaders and policymakers on a variety of issues that affect older people"

(Magu-guide, 2002:4).

The social circumstances which led to the starting of this organisation concerned the murders of older people in rural communities in Mwanza. Rural communities around the Magu district were among the most affected areas, where many older people, especially older women, were being killed. The founder of MAPERECE, who also lost older relatives and was therefore affected by this, resolved to save older people and see this horrific situation ended. The victimisation and killing had created a sense of terror among many older people. MAPERECE took the responsibility of highlighting this problem, actively supporting those affected by this problem.

The aim of the organisation's intervention to address the issue had to include not only those affected by these crimes and the victims, but also families and communities in which the murders were taking place. Additionally, it was necessary to challenge government and social institutions to get involved in addressing the problem.

MAPERECE seeks to transform society and they believe that for changes to happen in older people's lives the entire community must be involved. The organisation stresses the importance of vulnerable older people remaining in their community and receiving social services. MAPERECE argues against separating the elderly from their community and family. During the research activity with this organisation, it became clear that, in the beginning, MAPERECE initially focused on addressing the murders of older people in rural areas. However, as time progressed, the organisation realised that are more issues related to older people. Hence, the organisation's work has assumed a broader concern with older people's welfare, operating in a more general manner.

As a social service provider, MAPERECE was chosen to take part in the study because it addresses social problems affecting older people's welfare in rural areas. These include issues such as vulnerability, stigma, victimisation, social discrimination, and the threats that older people experience in rural areas. MAPERECE helps older people who are denied their fundamental rights, lack support, and are living in poverty, also addressing the issues of older people living in dilapidated housing without any assistance.

This organisation is one of the very few in Tanzania that solely focuses on the care of the elderly. Although a small organisation, MAPERECE is spread throughout the north-east of Tanzania. Therefore, this organisation contributed to the research by allowing the researcher to conduct interviews with the organisation's leadership, who also acted as gatekeepers, providing access to their employees and social workers, and their clients and service users (older people) in rural areas as participants. In July 2017, during an initial contact regarding this specific research, MAPERECE expressed their interest and assured the researcher that they would provide every possible support to the study. It is worth pointing out that the organisation supported the idea that a Tanzanian citizen (the researcher) was interested in their work and were happy to undertake this project with them.

Case Study 2: Dogodogo Street Children Trust

The Dogodogo Street Children Trust constituted the second case study in this research. Hence, the second location where this study took place was in Dar es Salaam where the Dogodogo Street Children Trust operates. This organisation focuses on children and young people in Dar es Salaam's streets, which is the biggest city in Tanzania with a population of approximately 6 million, located on the coast of the Indian Ocean.

The Dogodogo Street Children Trust is a non-governmental organisation located in Kigogo, Dar es Salaam, and was established in 1992 by Maryknoll Sister Jean Pruitt (the Maryknoll Sisters are a group of Roman Catholic religious women, originally based in New York, but also involved in mission work) in response to the growing number of vulnerable children coming from rural Tanzania to Dar es Salaam. Dogodogo means 'little ones' in Kiswahili. Some children were runaways escaping from child abuse while other children were running towards a better future. Taking a holistic approach to children's needs, the Trust seeks to provide shelter and education, promote justice, and overcome the poverty and exclusion of some of Tanzania's least visible children—that is, children living and working on the streets without parental support.

The Dogodogo Street Children Trust serves on a government-led steering committee to promote policy development on issues affecting vulnerable children, and it pioneered the National Network for Children and the Global Network of Religions for Children.

Dogodogo's vision entails a Tanzania in which all children are empowered to enjoy their fundamental human rights of survival, development, protection, and participation in society. Their mission statement reads:

"The Dogodogo Trust will work to influence policymaking regarding children through advocacy and networking, especially in areas of child abuse and HIV/AIDS. Dogodogo Street Children Trust believes that it cannot only advocate for children and ignore the children living on the street today." (The Dogodogo Street Children Trust, Mission, 1992)

The Dogodogo Trust's work involves supporting vulnerable street children and young people with tangible immediate help as well as with their education and career development, also offering psychological support. Additionally, the organisation is involved in advocacy and lobbying for the human rights of children, especially those living and working on the streets and children living with HIV/Aids.

Case Study 3: Social Mainstreaming for Gender Equality Organisation (SMGEO)

The third location where this study took place was Morogoro, where the Social Mainstreaming for Gender Equality Organisation (SMGEO) operates.

The SMGEO is a non-government organisation. It was established on 10th August 2015 and was permitted to carry out its activities by the United Republic of Tanzania under the Ministry of Community Development, Gender and Children. At a national

level, the organisation has been allowed to carry out its projects on the Tanzanian mainland.

This organisation focuses mainly on gender equality. It works towards the equal integration of both men and women and disadvantaged groups, including women, people with physical disabilities, and people with albinism. It carries out activities that address gender inequality problems and promote gender equality and women's rights.

The SMGEO believes that gender discrimination and imbalance are challenges that jeopardise society's stability and wellbeing in both present and future generations. With the community's willingness, it was formed to deal with the present socio-economic problems in different areas in Tanzania's mainland, understanding and sharing issues in order to discover the best ways of solving them.

I chose this social organisation to participate in this research as they deal with critical social issues of equality and the integration of marginalised people to promote equal access to social and economic development in Tanzanian society. In addition, the SMGEO is involved in advocacy work, taking on problems arising from gender inequality known to the Government and public institutions that represent the welfare of citizens. This organisation engages practically, e.g., by creating employment opportunities through agricultural and entrepreneurial projects.

In conclusion, the above-described purposes and activities of these organisations demonstrated that the three organisations were best placed to illustrate some of the issues and help the researcher understand how social problems were being addressed in contemporary Tanzania.

3.4 Data Collection Method: Semi-Structured Interviews

Selecting the type of interview is a crucial area in which a researcher must seriously consider the research process itself. Accordingly, the use of interviews as a data collection method in inductive research is justified by its affinity with daily conversations and the centrality of interactions, exchanges, and negotiation of meaning between two parties (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009).

There are different approaches to carrying out an interview. The dominant characteristic of interviews falls in the dichotomy between structured and unstructured (Collins, 1998). Semi-structured interviews, group interviews, and focus groups are some of the interview styles used in research undertaken with a qualitative approach. A clear indicator of the differences between each type of interview style is how interview

questions are formulated and the amount of freedom given to interviewees in their replies (Bryman, 2012). A structured interview follows a fixed format, in which all questions are prepared beforehand and are presented in the same order to each interviewee without deviation, lacking in freedom.

A semi-structured interview approach consists of structured and unstructured elements (Baxter et al., 2015). The semi-structured interview category corresponded well with the constructivist/interpretative epistemological stance on the social world and social knowledge creation. It highly values the participant's own interpretation and experience. Hence, the semi-structured interview was considered the best way to gather data because it allowed collecting rich information from participants, enabling them to freely explain and express their experiences. Simultaneously, the interviewer could exercise a degree of control and direction based on the questions related to the research.

It was possible for me to be present in-person to conduct the face-to-face interviews instead of using social media such as video conferencing or video chat, over the phone, or by text chat. While the sample population was unlikely to have mobile phones or the opportunity to access the internet, there are also disadvantages associated with conducting interviews that are not face-to-face. For example, participants may end conversations on the telephone prematurely compared to participants in face-to-face meetings (Baxter et al., 2015). Also, telephone interviews can be impersonal, and it is more challenging to develop a rapport with the participant and engage them over the phone (Baxter et al., 2015). All the data in this study were procured through semi-structured interviews conducted on a one-to-one basis. The duration of each meeting was between thirty and sixty minutes. The interview process sought to elicit qualitative information (data) from local social service providers and clients and service users connected to the selected social service organisations. Interviewing was used as a tool to generate qualitative data. This was done through listening, talking, conversing, and recording. An interview schedule or guide was prepared beforehand and used in the interview process (Clarke & Braun, 2013; Thomas, 2017). (The interview schedule, Guide can be found in the appendix, page 412-417). As this study relied on the participants' ability to use language to articulate their experiences and understanding of social services and how local organisations' social service provision impacted their lives, open-ended questions were used. A variety of participants linked to the selected organisations were encouraged to reflect upon and share their social issues and the social service provisions provided by the organisations.

I interviewed a total number of fifty-seven people across the three local non-governmental welfare organisations. Participants that participated in this investigation were managers, social workers, and service users linked to the three organisations. As opposed to group interviews, one-to-one interviews were the preferred option for this study. It felt that this would create a conducive environment for a person to discuss a topic more candidly than in a group setting, where people might feel emotional, embarrassed, and not open up so freely. This approach also considers the potential sensitivity of the topics addressed by the interview participants, hence protecting their privacy (Elmir et al., 2011; Dempsey et al., 2016).

After collecting the qualitative data from the research field, I analysed the raw data using a method called ‘inductive thematic analysis.’

The following table summarises the main details relating to the three organisations which participated in the study, the populations whose needs they aimed to support, the areas in which they worked, and the numbers of individuals associated with each organisation who were interviewed as part of the study.

Case study	Organisation	Type of organisation	Major targeted population	Location of study	No. of respondents
1	MAPERECE	MAPERECE is a non-profit organisation whose primary aim is to challenge negative attitudes toward older people. It also provides older people with a limited amount of practical and material support.	Older people in rural areas	Mwanza region	Interviews with managers 4 Interviews with social workers 4 Service users-older people -14 Total: 22
2	Dogodogo Street Children's Trust	The Dogodogo Street Children's Trust was founded by Maryknoll Sister Jean Pruitt in 1992. Its aim is to help children who are living on the streets of Tanzania's	Street children in Dar es Salaam City	Dar-es-Salaam	Interviews with managers - 3 Interviews with social workers - 5 Interviews with service users/street children- 7

Case study	Organisation	Type of organisation	Major targeted population	Location of study	No. of respondents
		capital city by advocating on their behalf and providing practical and material support.			Total:15
3	Social Mainstreaming for Gender Equality Organization (SMGEO)	SMGEO is a campaigning organisation which seeks to combat prejudices against women and girls, and other disadvantaged groups, such as people with disabilities. It undertakes a range of educational and advocacy activities and provides limited amounts of practical and material support.	Women and people with disabilities	Chamwino (a suburb area of the Morogoro District)	Interviews with managers -5 Interviews with social workers - 3 Interviews with service users: (women)-8 (People with disabilities)-4 Total: 20

The total number of interviews across the three organisations were fifty-seven (57).

Table 1: Information chart about the three case studies

3.5 Thematic Analysis

The understanding of qualitative research usage is that it aims to examine behaviours, feelings, emotions, attitudes, and metaphors, as shown by the data from participant interviews. Qualitative research encompasses different data collection and analytical approaches to provide a cultural and contextual description and interpretation of social phenomena (Vaismoradi et al., 2019).

This paper has employed the inductive thematic analysis (TA) as a method to analyse the gathered qualitative data findings. Thematic analysis (TA), according to Clarke and Braun (2013:175), is a method for identifying themes and patterns of meaning across a dataset in relation to a research question. They went further to suggest that this is an inductive thematic analysis, and it is a method that "aims to generate an analysis

from the bottom (the data) up.” (Clarke and Braun, 2013:174). In the formation of this study, social constructionism and interpretivism are my epistemological approaches and philosophical beliefs concerning social reality and social knowledge. Approaching research from this worldview means that participants in this study are regarded essentially as the primary source of knowledge—their stories about their experience of a phenomenon or topic received at face value. Additionally, thematic analysis as a bottom-up approach in examining data demands that the researcher's primary concern must be with presenting the stories and experiences voiced by study participants as accurately and comprehensively as possible (Vaismoradi et al., 2019). Thematic analysis (TA) as a qualitative research approach is commonly used by researchers across disciplines (Vaismoradi et al., 2019), and is a rigorous, yet inductive, set of procedures designed to identify and examine themes from textual data transparently and credibly. Thematic analyses move beyond counting exact words or phrases, instead focussing on identifying and describing both implicit and explicit ideas within the data, that is, themes (Thomas and Harden, 2008).

Inductive thematic analysis involves formulating the study observations and results as guided by the gathered data, paying attention to the nature of the data. Inductively, the nature of the collected qualitative information dictates the study results (Thomas and Harden, 2008; Clarke and Braun, 2013). The inductive approach would be an appropriate method in examining qualitative data for researchers who want to produce new knowledge or create new theories. The current research's aim was not to test or prove a theory, but rather to establish knowledge regarding the social issues and the role which local non-governmental welfare organisations play in addressing these social problems in contemporary Tanzania. Hence, the method of inductive thematic analysis was deemed a relevant approach to the data analysis process.

The thematic analysis approach involves specific steps, as explained, and demonstrated in the section below.

Step One: Familiarisation

This step involved reading and re-reading all the collected data. In the case of audio recordings, it is at this point that a researcher should listen to audio recorded interviews and other audio-visual forms of raw data, transcribing the data into a readable format so that is easier to visualise (Green et al., 2007). At this stage, a researcher goes through the data and can begin to take preliminary notes and start identifying what seem to be the basic themes which could be used for the analysis (Vaismoradi, Jacqueline,

Hannele and Snelgrove, 2016). Hence, to get familiar with the data, I transcribed the interviews from audio Kiswahili language recorded voices into Kiswahili texts and then translated the transcribed Kiswahili text into English so that English readers, including academic supervisors, can read it. Then I continued reading and understanding the data.

Step Two: Coding the Data

Clarke and Braun (2013:207) described a 'code' as a "word or brief phrase that captures the essence of why you think a particular bit of data may be useful." Recognising keywords or phrases in the data that capture participants' stories and directly address the research question is a role a researcher must fulfil intelligently (Clarke and Braun (2013). Green et al. (2007) emphasised that coding is more than applying a label. It requires a clear sense of the context in which statements in interview data are made. Beginning with one interview transcript, the researcher asks, "What is this participant saying?" and labels the single words, phrases, or whole paragraphs that contain information relating to each particular point being made" (Green et al.,2007:548).

In the coding process of the data related to this study, I used a selective approach to coding. According to Clarke and Braun (2013:206), 'selective coding' involves identifying a corpus of 'instances' of the phenomenon you are interested in and then extracting this data. The purpose here is one of 'data reduction'. The process of selective coding is akin to, for example, pulling out only the red or yellow items and leaving the rest in the bowl. What you gather is a collection of data of a particular type. This approach to coding is often seen as a pre-analytic process—the pragmatic selection of your data corpus—rather than as part of your analysis (Potter and Wetherell, 1987). Indeed, in my engagement with the data, the coding process was selective. I only coded the parts of the participants' data that I deemed relevant to the research question and topic. I identified essential features according to data, marked these out, coded the text data, and identified points and keywords, i.e., health issues, abuse , I have no food, discrimination, and I am not helped, sleeping with fear in the night, have no safe place to sleep, using these overall points to make a useful analysis.

Step Three: Highlighting the Key Themes

At this point, the researcher studies the codes and keywords identified in the previous step and categorises the data into different themes. These themes become an accurate observation and reflection of the interpretation of participants' opinions relating to a qualitative research topic.

A theme "captures something important about the data concerning the research question and represents some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set." (Braun and Clarke, 2006:82). Equally, Taylor and Bogdan (1989:131) saw themes as units derived from patterns such as "conversation topics, vocabulary, recurring activities, meanings, feelings, or folk sayings and proverbs." Leininger (1985: 60) explained that themes are identified by "bringing together components or fragments of ideas or experiences, which often are meaningless when viewed alone." Similarly, a theme is the main product of data analysis that yields practical results in the field of study (Green et al., 2007; Krauss 2005). Equally, Braun and Clarke (2006) explained that themes or patterns are described as the final products of data analysis in the thematic approach (Braun and Clarke, 2006). However, in emphasising the role of a researcher, Vaismoradi et al. (2019) stressed that a theme is a latent content within the thematic analysis. This assertion implies that a theme may not be obvious but can only be apparent through engaging with the data. The themes that emerge from the informants' stories are pieced together to form a comprehensive picture of their experience (Aronson, 1995). A pattern-based analysis allows for the systematic identification and reporting of the silent features of the data. The pattern-based analysis rests on the presumption that ideas that recur across a dataset capture something psychologically or socially meaningful.

Step Four: Defining and Naming the Themes

After confirming the themes suitable for the research, it was essential to describe them and set definitive criteria, which could help categorise the data into each theme more effectively, ensuring that the data were not misinterpreted. This step involved developing a detailed analysis of each theme, working out each theme's scope and focus, and determining the 'story' of each theme. It also involved deciding on an informative name for each theme (Sandelowski, 2004). Similarly, Leininger (1985: 60) emphasised that the "coherence of ideas rests with the analyst who has rigorously studied how different ideas or components fit together in a meaningful way when linked together." Some of the themes that emerged out of the data gathered for this study are social discrimination, domestic abuse, victimisation, stigma, lack of means to address immediate needs, to mention but a few.

After identifying and explaining the vital analytical tools used in this study, I describe the process followed in this research in the section below.

Through this research, I wanted to determine the perceptions of social problems and service provisions from people who work as service providers. I also wanted to know

the understanding and experience of social issues for users of these services, looking at how they perceive and reflect on the service they receive.

- i. To achieve this information, in the research field, I generated qualitative data through open-ended questions, following a semi-structured interview technique on a one-to-one basis. Using this approach enabled me to ask open-ended questions that prompted participants to provide a more detailed response to the questions. This process involved audio-recorded interviews, with the consent of the participants who took part. I conducted the interviews in the Kiswahili language.

Further details regarding the semi-structured one-to-one interview technique can be found in section 3.5.

- ii. I then transcribed the information from the participants and translated their answers from Kiswahili into the English language.
- iii. Then, I entered a phase that required me to read and re-read the transcribed responses, making sense of these, and coding the data.
- iv. I then engaged with the data critically and meaningfully and developed themes. I made a comparison of the themes which emerged across the three cases. I recognised topics that seemed to feature in all three organisations and ideas unique to one organisation. I made sure that the developed themes reflected participants' understanding and experience of social problems and service provision.
- v. In making sense of and interpreting the data findings, I used Dominelli's model of social work practice. Dominelli's paradigm indicates a range of possible approaches to social work practice. This model intends to provide a way of categorising the methods that social workers might take towards solving social problems; hence, it was used as a lens to view the specific themes and data findings. The different approaches of Dominelli's model guided the coding process, especially with regards to the organisations' attitudes and activities in response to social problems. Chapters six, seven, and eight demonstrate this action and procedure.

3.6 Examples of How Data were Coded and of some Themes

MAPERECE—Original data—Managerial level	Codes: Community's negative attitudes towards older people; Neglect; victimisation of older women; scapegoating; abuse; older
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	people deprivation of older people's rights; lack care; basic needs; lack safety
<p>1. Participant: Paul, Assistant administrator</p> <p>Role: Assisting in coordinating various projects and activities of the organisation.</p> <p>Question: what are challenges facing older people in rural areas?</p> <p>Data:</p> <p>(.....mmh) the challenges facing the elderly in rural communities may be divided into three groups: social-related challenges, rights and law-related challenges, and economy-related challenges. In general, anyone in the community can face the above challenges. Still, the situation is very acute and unique when it comes to older people, and it draws particular attention. I mentioned first what I see as socially caused challenges. Social-related challenges are apparent when a community has negative views and attitudes towards elderly people. In this setting, because a person is old, the community tends to turn a blind eye, ignore, not acknowledge the existence of an older person. Consequently, an older adult feels unwanted, a burden, seen as nobody, not consulted for anything, and is not seen as a valid, active member of society. MAPERECE involves in educating the community about the social welfare related challenges facing older people. We believe that giving education to the wider community can help bring a positive perspective and attitude towards older people. A second challenge confronting an elderly person is what I call 'rights and law' related challenges. Some of the held traditions and customs in some communities intend to undermine and endanger life of older people. Some of these traditions and customs serve as obstacles to the life experiencing and social development of older people, especially older women in some communities in Tanzania. For example, in some ethnic groups, a woman is still not seen as a person with certain rights and is not allowed to own land or inherit property. A third challenge that affects older people is economic challenges. These are challenges</p>	<p>Descriptive comments:</p> <p>Older people are faced with three challenges: social-related challenges, legal and rights-based challenges, and economic-based challenges. Though these categories of challenges can face anyone, Paul believes that these challenges are acute and severe when associated with older people in rural areas. Social-related challenges manifest through negative attitudes and actions by the community towards an older person.</p> <p>The community is seen to be ignorant about the issues related to the welfare of older people.</p> <p>Paul explains that rights and law-related challenges originate from the negative impact of some held traditions and customs in rural communities on women. Held traditions and customs impact women's living experience. In rural settings, women are denied the right to own land and property in rural communities based on traditions and customs. Denying women ownership of these assets affects them negatively. The negative consequence becomes more apparent in a woman's life in old age, living alone, or becoming a widow without any valuable assets to sustain one's own life.</p> <p>The Tanzanian constitution stipulates that every person in society has the right to own land. Still, implementing such a law and rights in some areas is restricted by the held traditions and customs in these areas. The held traditions and customs seem only to affect women's personal, social, and economic development because of their discriminatory nature in these communities</p> <p>Linguistic comments:</p>

that arise to the individual specifically due to a lack of a reliable means of livelihood, poverty, not being sure where to get food and a lack of support and inability to help themselves. Though this may affect anyone in society, I must say that economic-based challenges in Tanzania have a huge effect on older people, especially older women in rural areas in comparison to men."

Specific sentences stick out, for example: "*when it comes to older people, the situation is very acute and unique, and it draws a particular attention*". Using this choice of words, Paul suggests the seriousness and urgency of the problem facing older people.

Additionally, Paul used the phrase, "*a community turns a blind eye*". This is an idiomatic way of seeing the situation, which could mean 'to ignore somebody'. In this case, it could mean that society around does not actually want to acknowledge the existence of an older person in the community. The point here is that people ignore the ways in which others treat older people in society. An elderly person feels they are "*a burden, unwanted*". This could mean the intense feeling of social isolation, an elderly person feeling a burden to themselves and those around.

Additionally, Paul uses the word "*sensitising*" older women towards understanding their rights. This word could mean awakening somebody towards the realisation of something, in this case, awakening older women to realise that they have rights.

Conceptual comments:

Paul highlights what seem to be extreme concerns:

Older people, especially older women, face difficult situations due to the community's held views and attitudes, who seem to lack understanding of older people's concerns.

Older people experience marginalisation.

Older women have trouble in life, partly because they are denied their land ownership rights and property. The existence of unchallenged held traditions and customs by some the communities jeopardise the possibility for older women to have a

	<p>less burdened life, a positive experience of life.</p> <p>Paul sees education as the key to changing some situations: MAPERECE response and approach is to educate the general community. The goal is to transform the community's behaviour and encourage a positive cultural attitude for older people's wellbeing. Community inflicted problems (denying social and economic rights to older women, not protecting, and caring for older people) can be solved by education. To bring about social changes in the lives of older people, Paul indicated that their social efforts are directed on the need to educate communities about equal rights and older people's rights and dignity. However, it seems, efforts or solutions at the individual level remains unclear.</p> <p>Emerging themes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Older people lack safety and social security. Older people experience social marginalisation. Older people lack a means of livelihood. Women, in general, are denied equal rights to ownership of assets. Older people face diminishing physical strengths. Older people lack support from relatives and the community. Community versus individual approach to helping older people is another topic.
<p>2. Participant: Peter Role: Organisation Director Question: What are the problems facing older people in rural areas?</p> <p>Data: (..... mmhh) There are difficulties, but the difficulties that existed when we started the organisation are different now. But if you look at the reasons for setting up the</p>	<p>Descriptive comments:</p> <p>Peter expresses those older women are being accused and labelled as witches because of the 'red-eye' issues, and that some have been killed. They experience victimisation. Older people experience social exclusion.</p> <p>Older people are being killed for what they have, their possessions and</p>

MAPERECE, the hardest challenge faced by the older people, and especially the most difficult, was the killing of the old people due to superstitious beliefs. Afterwards MAPERECE researched and found out what causes older people to find social isolation, lack of living space, discrimination, harassment, torture, and death. These things have led to research, and we found that what causes the elderly to suffer and to be killed is superstitious beliefs. For example, land issues and inheritance. Today, the number of people is growing but the land is not growing. Now, when there is land that belonged to a father, grandfather, everyone is now looking at that land as a resource for livelihood and this is causing tension among relations. You find that young adults, grandchildren wanting the land, the quarrel rises, a young person forces his grandparents or mother-widow, his grandmother to give up the land ownership and hand it to him, usually using force. If the parent or grandparent won't hand over that piece of land, then you see the intimidations and killings happening. However, the issue of land-boundaries and house boundaries is also another problem. You find that because of greed, the wanting of more space, land, a person may resort to removing the boundary-mark, the border that separates his land, property and that of his neighbour, so that he might increase the size of his own area. If you complain against that person-perpetrator, the result is that you become enemy, hated, followed during the day and night, and thus a tension is created between neighbour and neighbour.

Another thing that causes older people to be abused is 'climate change', such as a lack of rain, a late rainy season. When an older person has signs of aging, for example older people with red eyes, older women are accused of being witches. People say these older people are witches, alleged to have caused rain not to come, therefore, if the rain must come these witches must first die, so that the rain can come. Consequently, you see older people lose their lives. Ignorance and misunderstanding the state of change, climate change. Another thing is that diseases such as

houses. Older people have something that young people don't have but desperately want.

Peter points out that climate change, specifically the lack of rain is of concern. This issue is linked to older people too. Instead of seeing the absence or shortage

of rain as a weather issue, some people in the community believe that the lack of rain is caused by older women who have wrinkles and red eyes. Consequently, many older women have lost their lives.

What seems apparent here is that cultural beliefs (or superstitions) are a 'cover' for economic issues. In other words, violence against older people is not caused by superstition, but rather a struggle for resources or greed.

Apparently, in rural areas, people need an explanation as to why certain things occur. Young adults tend to consult traditional healers to explain the illness or death of their loved ones, but traditional healers feed them incorrect information. The typical prognosis by traditional healers always points a finger to an older relative as the source of misery and misfortune in the family. For example, the traditional healer may say that an older aunt or grandmother has caused the death or illness of your son or daughter. The course of action recommended by the witchdoctor/traditional healer to clients will them be to kill a suspected person. Even if the death of a relative is caused by HIV/AIDS, a delay or lack of medical treatment for malaria, typhoid, cholera, etc., still people follow this harmful course of action because their mind is engrossed with beliefs in witchcraft and superstition.

Linguistic comments:

Words used to describe the horrible behaviours and actions towards older

<p>AIDS, cholera occur due to a lack of knowledge about disease issues. Now when someone dies, especially in the area of Sukuma-land, people go to the traditional doctors-healers to seek a reason and solution. Since, the so-called traditional healers want money, material wealth, they feed people who go to see them with wrong information, saying for example, the death is caused by your older aunt, grandma, or your own mother, so go and get rid of them. Many young adults are ignorant of other factors and are desperate for an answer, and they resort to consulting traditional healers and implement the recommended steps, only to find themselves in a grievous situation with more difficulties befalling them.”</p>	<p>people include <i>“discrimination, harassment, intimidation, killing, social isolation”</i>. These words reveal the treatment's harmful nature on the older person, creating a challenging living experience in rural areas.</p> <p>Conceptual comments:</p> <p>The challenges faced by older people tend to spiral in terms of occurrence, owing to a lack of family support, community support, young adults demanding by force ownership of land and property.</p> <p>Peter expresses that the issues affecting the life experience of older people originate from negative community influence, superstitious beliefs and practices, and the community's lack of interest and care for older people.</p> <p>Comments: the perceptions revealed here about the challenges older people face are understood in a community sense and not from a personal or individual's situation point of view.</p> <p>Themes: scapegoating, victimisation, stigma.</p>
<p>3. Participant: Joel Role: provides oversight of the financial-related matters of the organisation. Question: What issues affecting older people in the areas?</p> <p>Data: (...mmmh) Older people are deprived of their property, especially land and livestock, but also their basic human rights are violated. It is also possible to see age-related illness, physical, mental, and emotional challenges. Lack of good care. Also, older people themselves do not participate in decision-making at community meetings. There is a lack of respect for the elderly, as they are seen as outdated and cannot make any contributions. Also, older people do not share in small-scale production activities.</p>	<p>Descriptive comments:</p> <p>Joel observed that older people are being deprived of their possessions and assets, such as properties, land, and livestock.</p> <p>Older people are being deprived of their fundamental rights.</p> <p>The social disengagement of older people in community's affairs, such as decision making and production activities, is noted.</p> <p>Older people are not respected. Illness, physical, and emotional concerns face older people.</p> <p>Linguistic comments:</p> <p>Joel states <i>“it is also possible to see age-related illness as issues facing older people”</i>. Here Joel is stating that the issues are around for all to see.</p> <p>Conceptual comments:</p>

	<p>Joel shares what seems to be the problems that confront older people in their daily living: a lack of safety in the community; older people are vulnerable, older people are being deprived of their land and properties. They experience social isolation, disengagement in social and economic activities, and they lack livelihood.</p> <p>They experience health problems, lack of care from society and family.</p> <p>Emerging themes: vulnerability, socially isolated, discrimination, lacking social protection, health-related concerns, older people's rights.</p>
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3.7 Ethical Considerations

This research study was conducted after ethical approval was given by the School of Social Work and Social Policy, University of Strathclyde. Additionally, Tanzania's regional government-social welfare departments presented the study with written ethics clearance.

It can be confirmed that the research process adhered to the ethical and practice standards set by the University of Strathclyde at every step of the way. Freeman and Mathison (2009:37) asserted that "research is a political activity that involves some form of intrusion into people's lives." Therefore, the researcher should always respect the rights and dignity of the participants in the research process. Commenting on what should be avoided or must not occur in the research process, Flick (2009:37) stated that "the research should avoid harming the participants, including not invading their privacy and not deceiving them about the research aims." Therefore, utmost care, sensitivity, and respect were ensured for all participants, especially as the service users connected to the organisations are older adults and young people living and working in the streets and vulnerable members of society. The 'human subject' voluntary consent is essential in the research process (Freeman and Mathison, 2009). We must also acknowledge the notion of power and power dynamics in the research process. Brookfield (2009:300) stated that "power is omnipresent in human interactions." In order to address this issue, detailed information sheets were provided for participants on what to expect if they took part in the interviews (copy in Appendix on page 366). I clarified queries about informed consent, anonymity, and confidentiality matters relating to how the participant might

appear in the records. Patton (2002) and Gray (2009) argued that informed consent is necessary to conduct fair research. In respect of this principle, the respondents were informed about the nature of the research before they were requested to participate in the study on a voluntary basis. Only those who agreed to participate in the study were incorporated. In this regard, the researcher exercised no deception or force in recruiting respondents to be involved in this research.

It is also essential to think about how the participants are presented in the thesis in terms of ethical considerations. Based on the consent forms completed by participants, it was decided that the research thesis would use pseudonyms instead of real names in order to protect the identity of the participants who took part in this empirical study. Pseudonymisation, according to Clarke and Braun (2013:335), involves using a pseudonym in place of a real name to protect a participant's anonymity. Pseudonymisation makes the data record less identifiable while data remains suitable for data analysis and data processing.

During the interview, I did my best to create a friendly and relaxed mood while talking with participants due to some of the questions' sensitive nature, such as questions regarding personal problems/circumstances.

3.8 The Role of Language in a Qualitative Study

The social qualitative study deals with the way people interpret events and make sense of their personal experiences (Denscombe, 2003). Qualitative research relies on the participants' ability to use language to articulate their experiences of situations and their understanding of these experiences. Language is therefore essential, not only in accessing information (data) but in the construction of meaning, as Van Nes, Abma, Jonsson and Deeg (2010:314) explained:

"In qualitative research language is central in all phases ranging from data collection to analysis and representation of the textual data in publications.

Challenges are emanating from language differences. This can be the case, especially when participants and the researcher have the same non-English native language, and the non-English data lead to an English publication."

Indeed, language differences and translation are of significant concern for this study. The current study was conducted in Kiswahili-speaking communities in Tanzania. The researcher has the same non-English native language, which means that the information and data collected from interviews had to be translated from Kiswahili into

English. Knowing the language is vital in constructing meaning and converting data from one language to another; however, it brings about challenges, especially in preserving the original meaning. This concern is linked well with the interpretivism/constructivism paradigm. Indeed, contexts, including people in their geographical location, give language impetus and qualities that may be impossible to carry over when information is translated from the language of the source to another.

In their deliberation on challenges relating to translating research information from one language to another, Van Nes et al. (2010:314) observed that "when it comes to translating information from one language to another, issues such as the validity of information and conceptual approach and interpretation of meanings, arise." Indeed, maintaining the validity of information, concept, and meaning as in the original version respondents gave was also an issue of concern for this study. The act of translating is an interpretive act and meaning may get lost in the translation process (Van Nes et al., 2010). Consequences for the validity of moving across languages have gained considerable attention in social, cross-cultural research (Squires, 2009). A point worth considering is that the translation of information from one language to another is essentially an interpretation of meaning.

The relation between personal experience and language is a two-way process; language is used to express meaning, but language also influences how meaning is constructed (Squires, 2009). Giving words to experiences is a complicated process, as the meaning of experiences is often not entirely accessible for subjects and is difficult to express in language. People commonly use narratives and metaphors to capture the richness of experience in the language (Polkinghorne, 2005). These vary from culture to culture and are language specific (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). Language also influences what is expressed. Some linguists state that social reality as experienced is unique to one's own language; those who speak different languages perceive the world differently (Chapman, 2006). Qualitative research is considered valid when the distance between the meanings, as experienced by the participants, and the implications, as interpreted in the findings, is as close as possible (Polkinghorne, 2007). Others maintain that the findings should be communicated in such a way that the reader of the publication understands the meaning as was expressed in the findings, originating from data in the source language (Van Nes et al., 2010).

It is acknowledged that challenges in interpreting and representing meaning may be experienced in any communicative action, but that they are more complicated when

cultural contexts differ and inter-lingual translation is required (Van Nes et al., 2010). Language differences generate additional challenges that potentially hinder the transfer of meaning and result in the loss of meaning and, thus, the loss of the qualitative study's validity (Jackendoff, 2009).

With participants and the chief researcher speaking the same language, no language differences were present in the gathering of data or at the transcription stage, as these activities remain close to the data source. However, language differences may occur when coding, as analyses and interpretation are being discussed among members of a multi-national research team. In these discussions, these interpretations must be explained in English, and a very good understanding of subtle meaning differences is needed to come to the best English wording (Van Nes et al., 2010).

To potentially reduce the loss of meaning and thereby enhance the validity of cross-English qualitative research, some have suggested that the researcher focuses on the thinking and reflection processes needed in the analyses (Van Nes et al., 2010). Talking and reading in English indeed leads to thinking in English. The relationship between thinking and language has been studied from different scientific perspectives, e.g., in the philosophy of language (Jackendoff, 2009). Language is an aid to thinking and has an influence when analysing in a language other than your own. To avoid potential limitations in the translation process, it is recommended that a translator tries to stay in the original language for as long and as much as possible (Van Nes, Abma, Jonsson & Deeg, 2010).

Malkjaer saw translation as "a sort of activity which a translator does at conveying meaning in a text from one language to another language...the result of translated-work is not supposed to be like what has been written in the source language (SL) text. However, the purpose of the source language should be conveyed when it comes to the target text (TL)." (Malkjaer, 2011, cited in Napu and Hasan, 2019:1). Likewise, Waldorf stated that translation is a process of mobilising the meaning of a particular text from one language to the close equivalent of the target language (TL) (Waldorf, 2013, cited in Napu and Hasan, 2019:1)

Therefore, based on the explanations that Malkjaer and Waldorf, translation can be concluded as the process of transferring ideas from one language to another language. Therefore, what translators are only doing is communicating the ideas without changing a source text's purposes.

In translating the data transcription from Kiswahili to English, I found it difficult to translate word for word, not only because I am not a linguistic expert myself, but because the Kiswahili sentence structure varies from English. In addition, some terms, concepts, and sentences used by participants proved to be too challenging to obtain an exact translation or find the same words in English. The task then became more one of asking what these terms meant for participants and how they could retain the same meaning in English. Indeed, some of the captured sayings, metaphors, and unique emotional expressions and traits by respondents may get lost when translated into English. The only way forward was to discover the meaning of a Kiswahili word, sentence, or paragraph and to convey that meaning in English and analyse it. To have a meaningful translation from Kiswahili to English it is vital to discover the original meaning and to put it into English. However, some Kiswahili words have no English equivalent, for example, words such as "nimeshindwa" and "nimechoka." Kiswahili sayings such as "Ala! kumbe!" and "ahaaa!" are all common expressions used to show that a person is surprised by some information they have just learned.

3.9 Reflexivity: A Researcher's Positionality

This section discusses reflexivity as featured in social science qualitative research literature. Additionally, it highlights elements of the research process of gathering data in Tanzania and some specific dilemmas and rewards that emerged during the fieldwork.

To obtain data from the participants, it was necessary to establish relationships with potential participants and gatekeepers or other influential people who may control or facilitate access to these settings or participants. Hammersley and Atkinson (2007:21) referred to this interaction as "reflexivity: the fact that we are part of the social world we study and must, therefore, understand how we influence and are influenced by, this world. This mutual influence is both a necessary aspect and facilitator of data collection and a potential validity threat to your conclusions." There is a saying that, in quantitative research, the researcher has instruments, but in qualitative research, the researcher is the instrument (Brodsky and Welsh, 2008). These two components of this method—the researcher's identity and perspective and the research relationships' influence—are part of the actual techniques used in the research. The notion of 'method' is used in a broad sense and includes all the things that the researcher does to acquire and make sense of the data collected.

Others see 'reflexivity' as personal positioning as a researcher in the research process. Positioning starts with the researcher's own paradigm; their basic beliefs about ontology, epistemology, and methodology (Tsiris and Elliot, 2019). In addition, reflexivity can be seen as a necessity for social and cultural orientation. Jackson (2010:36) wrote that "the reciprocal interplay of one's relationship with oneself and with others, or the twofold movement that takes one out into the world of others and returns one, changed, to oneself."

All research phases can be seen as part of reflexivity, including planning, research ethics, data collection, data analysis, writing up, and dissemination (Tsiris and Elliot, 2019). Reflexivity should not be a task added at the final write-up phase of a study (Elliot, 2015).

3.9.1 An Insider-Outsider Status

The reflexivity concept described in Section 3.8 is about personal positioning in the research process. It is also about what impact I, as a researcher, have had on the data collected. Essentially this is a discussion about the power dynamics within this process.

Here I reflected on the idea of power and explained how I may be perceived—as a citizen of Tanzania, who is now attending a Western university—by the people I encountered and who took part in this research. They may have perceived me, rightly or wrongly, as someone in a position of power. Reflexivity is not about criticising people for their actions; instead, it is about making sense of the power dynamics present in the process of collecting data.

During this process, there were indications that the people I encountered, and especially the participants who took part in this study, perceived me as someone in a position of power. This was apparent in how they reacted to me and interacted with me and, on some occasions, how they responded in interviews. It is true that, as a researcher, I may have influenced the process, either consciously or unconsciously. I held an insider-outsider status; this is indeed an interesting position. It is important to note that if a completely foreign person went to Tanzania to carry out the same research, their experience and outcomes might be very different from that of a native Tanzanian researcher because they are an outsider. In contrast, I have a dual status (inside-outsider positionality).

To some extent, being an outsider means that you can achieve a level of impartiality. Still, I am also an insider because I am from Tanzania originally, which

means I know the culture and mindset in that context: to some degree, I know how things work. I understand where people are 'coming from' when they tell me certain things. Therefore, I occupied a privileged position in this way as I can straddle both insider-outsider statuses and potentially switch between both.

The status of researchers impacts the power dynamics and the extent to which the people with whom you are working see you as an insider or an outsider, which in turn determines how they interact with you. If they see you as an insider, they may be more open and honest about how things are, but if you are considered as an outsider, people may be more reserved, less transparent, and less frank about a situation, choosing only to tell you what they think you would like to hear. I believe there are advantages and disadvantages to either position. There is not a clear way to determine whether you can gain access to information from either position. It may depend on circumstances, the rapport built between the researcher and the people, and the researcher's personality.

There are reasons why those of us from non-Western backgrounds, but who live, study, or work within seemingly more privileged Western countries, would seek to return to our own cultures and these reasons are complex and interactive (Yakushko, Badiie, Mallory & Wang, 2011). Returning to one's original home for research purposes carries with it some challenges and opportunities. Social science literature has academically contributed to the dialogue regarding the experience of being both an insider and an outsider in conducting investigations or collaborating in making social changes (Merriam et al., 2001; Minkler et al., 2002; Root, 1996). For example, in her paper titled "Being Native versus Going Native: Conducting Social Work Research as an Insider", Kanuha (2000:444), observed that:

"For each of the ways that being an insider researcher enhances the depth and breadth of understanding a population that may not be accessible to a non-native scientist, questions about objectivity, reflexivity, and authenticity of a research project are raised because perhaps one knows too much or is too close to the project and maybe too similar to those being studied."

On some occasions whilst collecting data through interviews in Tanzania, I felt a sense that I was more closely connected to the people through the identity of an insider. During data collection, I felt at times emotional: sympathetically and uncritically connected to the participants. Some of the stories and situations described by participants sounded so familiar to me. Consequently, closeness, familiarity, and a feeling of

connectivity can potentially affect the position of the researcher, as such a disposition can blur the intellectual objectivity in dealing with the study process and the analysis of the acquired data. That is why distancing oneself (emotionally) becomes a vital mechanism in the research process for the sake of the study itself. As Kanuha (2000:442) pointed out, "the most critical aspect of the native researcher role is the need to distance from the project, the participants, and indeed even the process of studying one's people." In describing the implicit contradiction that native researchers must overcome in maintaining connections while distancing themselves from their identity groups, Ohnuki-Tierney (1984:584) wrote:

"The intensity with which native anthropologists recognise and even identify the emotive dimensions of behaviour (as insider researcher) can be an obstacle for discerning patterns of emotion. As an endeavour to arrive at abstractions from the 'Native's point of view', if non-native anthropologists have difficulty in avoiding the superimposition of their own cultural categories and meanings, native anthropologists have the task of somehow distancing themselves, both intellectually and emotionally."

However, an advantage exists also in maintaining a close attachment to native study participants, as this can create and enhance the authenticity of the study and the study process. At times, total detachment may be counter-productive to the research project, distancing oneself emotionally and intellectually from the material's substance. Ohnuki-Tierney (1984) argued that this might result instead of distancing from the research process and the ability to attain good descriptions of complex phenomena.

There were times during the research where I felt that I did not do as well as I would have liked in pursuing or following up remarks and probing more on vague statements or generalities initiated by participants in their interview question responses. This problem is associated with the insider researcher role (Kanuha, 2000): overlooking situations, making assumptions, and taking respondents' statements for granted without critically probing them. Academics have attributed this to the fact that a researcher is already too familiar with issues and contexts and assumes that somehow intuitively, they know what the respondents mean (Kanuha, 2000). I became aware of this in my study situation as I was reading the interview transcripts. I spotted moments where I did not allow or ask a respondent to complete sentences, thoughts, or descriptions, because I thought I knew what they were referring to in response to a particular line of questioning. Sometimes an interview participant would say "well, you know what I mean." In addition,

the degree and kinds of shared laughter, unfinished phrases, and specific terminology represented the 'knowing and familiar' references that characterise interactions between those who share cultural ways that are profoundly ingrained (Kanuha, 2000:443).

Tensions and dilemmas may be evident for those of us straddling two or more cultures. Central to the insider-outsider position of a researcher is the experience of having left our original communities; mostly, to some degree this 'going away' involved the pursuit of advanced Western degrees in various study disciplines. As a result of these power differences, at the minimum, tensions and misunderstandings can arise (Louis and Bartunek, 1992; Minkler, 2004). Various academics with similar experiences have observed that acknowledging our privileged position is often one of the most difficult personal undertakings for any of us who become engaged with marginalised communities and individuals' back home' (Ponterotto, Casas, Suzuki and Alexander, 2001; Reid, 2002). One of the most significant challenges for each of us in the position of an insider-outsider is that we often fail to see the power and privileges we possess in relation to people in our home communities (Merriam et al., 2001; Minkler et al., 2002; Sherif, 2001). Additionally, in cross-cultural research across borders, we often fail to accept the responsibility of being part of a north Atlantic Western country, e.g., the USA or Western European countries: nations that may be viewed, especially in developing countries, as the bully and abuser of other states and communities for its own financial benefit (Minkler, 2004). This insight related to power dynamics, which has emanated from academic contributions, resonated well with my personal experience in my research process in Tanzania.

Indeed, it is true that I rarely think of my being, living, and studying in a Western country as a privileged position. When I went to Tanzania, people, including those who took part in this study, perceived my identity and status entirely differently from the way I consider myself. When they discovered that I was studying at a university in a Western country, people perceived me as someone important or someone with money, because the notion of 'European or Western' is associated with 'material wealth' and power and influence. On more than one occasion, participants said to me "I need your help; we need your support. You are in a higher position than us, we are here" or "I am sure the Government can listen to people like you." Another individual said, "I am so happy to meet you...you know we are very poor here and in need of help." These perceptions highlighted that the participants saw me as a researcher and as a potential problem-solver, somebody with influence. A lot of my fellow Tanzanians taking part in this research

questioned my motives and reasons for undertaking this study because of my affiliation with a university in a Western country. On one occasion, while working with one of the organisations, I was informed that so-called Westerners had asked some participants questions. Still, those researchers disappeared without ever providing any feedback. The situation expressed here amounts to a problem of exploitation of information. During my academic life, I became very interested in the welfare concern of people in my home country. When the opportunity arose to undertake further research in that field, I seized it. My motive for conducting this research has been to learn from those affected by issues and the experiences of those involved in supporting people who face social problems. I hoped that knowledge emerging from this research would eventually benefit the organisations.

Other challenges inherent to insider-outsider tension may also include differing goals and priorities between researchers and the community involved. As Yakushko, Badiiee, Mallory and Wang (2011:281) observed:

"... we may believe that greater understanding (through research and publications) would greatly aid our communities by providing them with data, stories, information that can share with significant stakeholders (e.g., governments, organisations). However, communities may wish for a more different involvement: direct and urgent help, active involvement in community governance, or immediate implementation of new policies or interventions."

Indeed, this insight is not far from reality. Certainly, I got the impression that some people I encountered did not see research as a worthwhile exercise in Tanzania. This, in a way, mirrors their assessment of the value of some of the activities of the organisations researched. They perceived material or financial support as more important than being involved in long, academic discussions of social issues and social provision.

Although academics point to numerous challenges, many also discuss the significant gifts and opportunities from this distinct position. Among the positive aspects of being an insider-outsider are greater ease of access to communities traditionally closed to outsider scholars, awareness of the nuances of language and culture, and an ability to become involved with these communities while honouring cultural norms and values (Merriam et al., 2001). As indicated in this discussion, there are tensions and dilemmas but also benefits for researchers who find themselves straddling two or more cultures, being insiders and outsiders, researching their home communities. Conducting research

brings benefits not only to the researcher but also to the community taking part. In my case, the three case studies/individuals who took part in this study expressed positive reflection on how much they appreciated the opportunity to express their perspectives and experiences. In the long-run, the organisations may benefit by taking part in the investigation in terms of knowledge gained and potentially improving their service.

3.10 Summary of Applied Methods in the Research

Several social studies in the Tanzanian context discuss various social problems and how they impede people's wellbeing. The current literature exhibits a gap of knowledge about how local non-governmental welfare organisations address social issues and their impact on society's social situations. This knowledge gap prompted the present research study to explore and understand the social services provided by local non-governmental welfare organisations and how they impact service users in Tanzania.

The present chapter has elucidated the philosophical worldviews or paradigms underpinning the study's shaping and the investigation's methodological steps to fulfil the primary research objectives. As indicated in this chapter, the research design was a qualitative case-based study, composed of three case studies conducted in three separate locations in Tanzania (where the three identified local non-governmental social welfare organisations operate). I used a purposive sampling technique to determine which local organisations should participate and determine the individual participants. Key characteristics dictated by the set research questions underpinned these choices. The local organisations were selected for the analysis because they represented some of the critical social groups of particularly disadvantaged and discriminated against people in Tanzanian society. I chose these local non-governmental welfare organisations because they address social problems that significantly affect people's well-being and general social wellbeing. The literature review revealed various social groups affected by social issues. Indeed, the three organisations that participated in this study illustrated those groups' reality in literature. The social issues which formed this investigation included challenges that affect older people's wellbeing in rural communities: the problems that affect street children's wellbeing, gender inequality and discrimination against women, and social inequality and its impact on people with disabilities.

According to the ontological paradigm, social world reality is socially constructed by social actors who, in turn, are human beings. As explained, in association with the research questions, ontology is more concerned with identifying the general nature of a

phenomenon—the answer (reality) to the issue at the heart of this study. Acquiring the necessary understanding needs social actors (participants) in the study field environment to make available or bring the human knowledge related to the investigation into reality.

The researcher employed the social constructivism epistemological approach to acquire a social knowledge of the research questions at the heart of this study. The researcher relied on participants to share their social issues and service provision experiences as they were lived, felt, and understood by them in order to realise the research objective. Hence, as a qualitative case-based study, the research relied on peoples' willingness to establish the understanding needed to fill the knowledge gap in the context of the research field.

I collected research data through one-to-one, face-to-face interviews, using semi-structured interviews, which provided a level of freedom for participants to express their experiences with minimal control from the researcher. The gathered data were then analysed using the thematic analysis (TA) method. Using a thematic analysis approach enabled the researcher to acquire detailed examinations of participants' perceptions of their personal experiences of social problems and service provision. The researcher has also made sense of and interpreted participants' descriptions of social issues and service provision, identifying themes that surfaced across the case studies. Apart from ethical considerations, certain aspects during the conduct of the research required attention. This included the role of language because the data collection used a different language (Kiswahili) to that used in the actual writing of the thesis (English). Other aspects included the reflexivity and the insider-outsider status of the researcher.

4 Theoretical Perspective

Various perspectives and approaches exist on understanding problems, be they individual or societal. A researcher chooses a theoretical perspective for an investigation based on their study discipline. A theoretical perspective is defined as a "set of assumptions about reality that inform the questions we ask and the kinds of answers we arrive at as a result. In this sense, a theoretical perspective can be understood as a lens through which we look, serving to focus or distort what we see." (Crossman, 2020:1). The current research falls within the social work discipline and is qualitative. Efforts to understand problems and interventional responses to help those who face difficulties to address their situations have preoccupied social science research. The social constructionism perspective has been instrumental in making sense of the social world (Andrews, 2012; Camargo-Borges et al., 2013). Social constructionism is acknowledged and applied as a theoretical perspective in understanding human problems in social science studies (Crotty, 1998; Kukla, 2000; Kim, 2001). Social science research uses constructivism and social constructionism (Charmaz, 2000/2006). Young and Colin (2004) explained that constructivism proposes that each individual mentally constructs the world of experience through cognitive processes. According to Young and Colin (2004), social constructionism has a social rather than an individual focus. It has an epistemological perspective. Social constructionism emphasises everyday interactions between people and how they use language to construct their reality. It regards the social practices people engage in as the focus of enquiry (Andrews, 2012; Schwandt, 2003).

In this chapter, the role of social constructionism is discussed in relation to the identification and understanding of personal issues as social problems. Social constructionists view knowledge as socially constructed (Andrews, 2012). Hence, this chapter considers other social researchers' viewpoints on the importance of applying the social constructionist perspective, and problems are discussed to illustrate the value of this perspective. The current study aimed to understand issues affecting people's social wellbeing, especially those from disadvantaged areas in Tanzania. This discussion demonstrates social constructionism's relevance in examining issues by applying it to four marginalised social groups: older people, street children, women, and people with disabilities. The overall study seeks to understand the role that local non-governmental welfare organisations fulfil in addressing social problems and carrying out their social work activities in response to their respective client's situations. In its broader sense, this study has employed a constructionist perspective in understanding the lived experience

of those involved in social problem-solving and service delivery of Tanzania's local non-governmental welfare organisations.

Furthermore, this chapter discusses Dominelli's model of social work practice. Dominelli's model is about different kinds of responses to social problems. It is a model that orients readers and social work practitioners into particular ways of thinking about types of social work. As this study takes place in Tanzania, it was also necessary to consider the debates surrounding social work practice in Africa and Tanzania. Scholars oriented toward the social developmental sphere have a particular view of what they think social work ought to be. Accordingly, scholars believe that social work in Africa and Tanzania should be involved with people's social and economic development. Their thinking is captured by the term 'social development' or the 'developmental social work model', an approach that the social worker must use in their problem-solving endeavours to support those who face problems contextually (Midgley, 1995; Spitzer 2019).

At this juncture, a reader of this research should know that I used Dominelli's social work response model to understand the organisations' attitudes and answers to problems in their operational community settings. Dominelli's model seemed appropriate for this study, and I chose it based on its awareness of different approaches and responses that can apply in situations. Additionally, the strength and value of Dominelli's model lie in the fact that it is a model made of three different approaches to responding to social problems. This model indicates an awareness of the reality that problems of various sizes, nature, and impact exist, and hence there can be no fixed approach or response type that can serve as a blueprint for all kinds of issues. Thus, having diversity in answering problems allows reversing the situations affecting people, and in this way, Dominelli's model can be of relevance. In my opinion, this model has much potential and can be relevant regardless of context. I have given more information and clarification about this model in the following paragraphs.

Hence, the discussion in this chapter is as follows:

- Part one explains and demonstrates the social constructivism perspective by exploring the social science researchers' perspective using real social situations.
- Part two elucidates what Dominelli's model entails.
- Part three examines the developmental social work model or social developmental approach—an espoused social work practice method in Africa.
- Part four justifies and explains the usage of Dominelli's method.

The section below elucidates the social constructivism perspective on issues, illustrating the implications of social thinking on problems through case examples.

4.1 Conceptualisation of Social Problems: Social Constructionism

The social constructionism perspective's relevant usage is demonstrated by looking at four problem areas: the welfare of street children, older people, and discrimination against women and people with disabilities in Tanzania, and in this manner emphasises the significance of social constructivism as a way of understanding problems.

One crucial aspect worth drawing our attention to is to try to describe the notion of a 'problem', particularly the differentiation between problems of private and social nature. Social science researchers continue to grapple with understanding what constitutes a 'problem'. Mainly, what makes some problems and not others worthy of public attention, anxiety, or action? (Clarke and Cochrane, 2005).

Categorising a problem into 'private' and 'social' has prompted researchers to explain and offer perspectives as to why such division exists. For example, Clarke and Cochrane (2005) suggested that one answer to what is 'social' about a social problem is that such problems have gained a hold on the attention of a particular society at a specific time. There is a point in stressing the word 'particular' here. Other problems may preoccupy other societies: what commands public attention in Germany, the USA, or China is likely to be different in at least some respects to a current social problem in the United Kingdom (Clarke and Cochrane, 2005, cited by Saraga, 2005:4).

Using time or era as factor in understanding problems, scholars give examples to illustrate how these factors and the culture at a particular time play a part in defining problems. For example, Clarke and Cochrane (2005:4) wrote:

"In the late nineteenth century, for example, we would find that poverty, the maltreatment of children and divorce were being discussed as social problems, but others on the list (homelessness, child abuse, disaffected young people and non-attendance at school, school discipline, the treatment of vulnerable people in institutional care, vandalism, road rage, and lone parenting) did not attract much attention. There are two possible explanations for such differences. One is that social problems change. If there were no homeless people in the late nineteenth century, then we would not expect homelessness to have been discussed as a social problem. The second reason is that what is perceived as a social problem may

change. Thus, there may indeed have been people who were homeless in the late nineteenth century, but their situation was perceived not as a social problem, but rather as a 'fact of life' or as the consequence of mere individual misfortune—neither of which would make it a social problem."

Thus, the consideration of a problem being 'social' varies from society to society, but within the same society may be seen differently at different times. Clarke and Cochrane (2005) pointed out that scale or volume is one factor that may make a difference as to whether things are perceived as private or public issues. The idea of 'scale or volume' implies that the recognition of a problem is dependent on the number of people impacted or the extent of damage caused. Clarke and Cochrane (2005:5) construed private problems as issues to be handled within households, families, or even communities. Public or social are problems that are to be handled through forms of social intervention or regulation.

Private problems can turn into public issues, too, as the following example by Clarke and Cochrane (2005:10) demonstrated:

"In the early 1990s, large numbers of property owners in the UK (and particularly in southeast England) found that the market value of their houses and flats had fallen below the original purchase price. A private trouble emerged as a public issue. It was named and became the problem of 'negative equity'. This was identified as a widespread problem rather than a matter of individual misfortune: it was seen to have causes (in the state of the economy) which lay beyond the reach of the individual. It was also identified as something that required a public response—from mortgage lenders and the government. The numbers involved provide only part of the explanation why this trouble became a public issue."

Clarifying further what sort of problem was narrated in the above quotation, Clarke and Cochrane explained that negative equity was seen as having significant social and economic consequences. It was associated with mounting personal debt, a lack of social mobility and a fear of the future prevented people from taking risks. In particular, it was seen as causing a problem of consumer confidence: this reduced consumer spending patterns, which further threatened economic growth prospects.

The above example suggests that the scale of a 'trouble' is not a sufficient condition for understanding why the trouble becomes a public issue. We need to understand the social context in which it occurs—its links to other current issues and values.

Scholars suggest that there are two routes to troubles becoming public or named social problem. The first route lies in this question: whose problem is this? Clarke and Cochrane (2005) explained that some troubles become social or public problems due to the actions of those people who experience them (or those who speak on behalf of such people). Thus, campaigns aim to capture public attention, with negative equity being one example. Other examples include campaigns to draw attention to the widespread incidence of domestic violence, despite its relative public invisibility, to raise a concern about the abuse or maltreatment of vulnerable people in institutional care, or reveal the scale of and suffering associated with homelessness. Such campaigns try to articulate the experience of a particular condition and demand public action to remedy it. This route is built around the argument that people have problems (Clarke and Cochrane, 2005).

Indeed, HelpAge International Tanzania and other civil society groups broke the news about the ongoing killing and mistreatment of older people in Tanzania in the late 1990s and 2000s, mounting campaigns to address the issue. These actions challenged the government to regard this as a public problem. As a result, a social policy to protect and support older people's welfare was formed in 2003.

According to Clarke and Cochrane (2005), the second route to troubles becoming public is built around the argument that some people are problems. For example, we might be able to identify groups of people who are seen to pose a threat or danger to society in some way: vandals, noisy neighbours, hooligans, prostitutes, the mentally ill, and so on. The demand here is that society does something about 'these people'—police them, lock them up, treat them, and so forth. Sometimes, the same problem might be identified through both these routes. For example, if we examine homelessness, it is possible to see this as defined as a problem that some people have and as a problem that some people are. In the first case, the problem is perceived as the lack of access to a basic human need—adequate accommodation—which results in homeless people experiencing deprivation, misery, and suffering. The appeal is to a sense social justice of social justice. In the second case, homelessness is perceived as a threat to everyday life: homeless people clutter city streets, are a health risk, prevent 'normal' people from going about their daily business, and are associated with crime and other perceived threats to the rest of society (Clarke and Cochrane, 2005). It can be noted that there is an overlap between homelessness as a social problem and the living reality of street children as lack of accommodation and deprivation, and suffering are among the problems street children face.

Whether social problems emerge as social justice or social order issues, they are usually associated with the idea that something must be done. Social problems represent conditions that should not be allowed to continue because they are perceived as problems for society, requiring society to remedy them, where private troubles are matters for individuals involved to resolve. Public issues or social problems demand a public response.

There are varying possible public responses to a social problem. At one extreme is the use of interventions intended to suppress or control social problems—for example, locking people up, inflicting physical punishments or deprivations on them, even—in the most severe form—killing them. Such interventions are intended to stop social problems by means of controlling the people who are seen as problems (juvenile delinquents, drug takers, thieves, terrorists). Intervention measures that seek to suppress and prevent social problems are usually associated with the view that social problems are a challenge or threat to social order (Clarke and Cochrane, 2005). Besides, other interventions are intended to remedy or improve the circumstances or social conditions that cause problems—bringing about greater social justice, enhancing social welfare, or providing a degree of social protection. This type of response is demonstrated by a government providing citizens with some collective protection from dangers to their economic and social wellbeing (Clarke and Cochrane, 2005).

The social constructivism perspective has been at the centre of social science research, underpinning many investigations of social issues and efforts to address problems (Burr, 2003; Watkins et al., 2011; Elder-Vass, 2012; Galbin, 2014). Social constructivism as a perspective on social reality and knowledge stands on the belief that a great deal of human life exists as it does due to social and interpersonal influences (Gergen, 1985:265, cited in Galbin, 2014:82). When considered with human problems, this perspective argues that significant aspects of the issues that affect human wellbeing and functioning are socially constructed, rather than inevitable consequences of human nature or essential characteristics of the natural world.

Social constructivists believe that reality is formed through human activity. As members of society, human beings invent the world's properties (Kukla, 2000). Accordingly, we cannot truly discover reality or understand a situation or experience because reality does not exist before its social invention (Kim, 2001). Additionally, according to social constructivism, knowledge is also a human product and is socially and culturally constructed (Prawat and Floden, 1994; Ernest, 1998). Individuals create

meaning through their interactions with each other and the environment in which they live (Kim, 2001).

It follows then that learning or acquiring knowledge, according to social constructivism, is a social process. Learning does not occur only within an individual, nor is it a passive development of behaviours shaped by external forces, but it occurs when individuals are engaged in social activities (McMahon, 1997; Kim, 2001). Also, social constructivism embraces the idea that learning is the intersubjectivity of social meanings. Intersubjectivity is a shared understanding among individuals whose interactions are based on shared interests and assumptions that form the ground for their communication (Rogoff, 1990). Communications and interactions entail socially agreed-upon ideas of the world and the social patterns and rules of language use (Ernest, 1998). Personal meanings shaped through these experiences are affected by the intersubjectivity of the community to which the people belong (Gredler, 1997; Kim, 2001).

In its effort to understand the actuality or existence of problems, the researcher considered social constructivism and actively engaged socially with the targeted sample research population, establishing knowledge related to the research's subject, which can be viewed as a human social activity. The discussion below considers the role of social constructivism concerning our identification and understanding of social issues of this research.

Social theory, according to May and Powell (1996:1), is "core to establishing frameworks for understanding in social science" and for "interpreting human action." To this end, the discussion here draws on some scholars' perspectives on understanding and engaging with social situations within the social constructivism paradigm. It involves scholars whose work focuses on specific issues and their interpretation and demonstrates how the social constructivism approach proves useful.

One issue explored in this study is disability. The discussion focused on problems that affect the social well-being of people with disabilities. Scientific biological/medical-based methods of approaching the situations faced by people with disabilities limit our understanding of challenges faced by a person with a disability to a physical condition. However, learning disability and challenges a person with a disability might be facing from a constructivist perspective enables us to know social factors that potentially could affect personal wellbeing and social functioning.

Evidence shows that social scientist researchers, using social constructivism, have explored issues that affect people with disability in society. For example, Oliver was a

British social scientist who adopted a social constructivism approach to understanding disability. Oliver (1983) advocated using the social model of disability, which separates out impairment (issues within the body) from disability (social or structural barriers experienced by people with impairments) to understand and address the challenges facing a person with a disability. In his deliberation on the welfare matters of people with disabilities, methodologically, Oliver highlighted the importance of identifying socio-cultural and environmental factors that marginalise people with disabilities. He insisted that the root of disability lies in a failure of the social environment to allow someone to function to their full capacity, affecting a person as much as any functional impairment they may have (Oliver, 1990). Indeed, looking at situations that affect people with disabilities using the social constructivism perspective reveals socio-cultural and environmental factors that underpin the problems that affect the social wellbeing of people with disabilities.

The understanding of disability through social constructivism is distinguished from the knowledge of disability from a medical or individual perspective, focusing on the impact of social challenges on a person with a disability in society. The difference highlighted is that the social model defines disability as a social creation—a relationship between people with impairment and a disabling society. In contrast, the medical model defines disability in terms of an individual's deficit (Shakespeare, 2010:270). Thus, the social constructivist understanding of disability makes an essential distinction between impairment and disability.

Oliver's social model of disability falls within the social constructivism broader framework and demonstrates a social understanding of problems. Furthermore, Oliver stated that much of the inconvenience and difficulty of living with a disability is not an inherent feature of the disability itself but a failure of society to adapt to the needs of people with disabilities (Oliver, 1990). Equally, Perry (2019) saw problems affecting people with disabilities due to the interaction between a person's characteristics and their unsuitable environment—not their medical condition. Likewise, Shakespeare (2010:269) adds that thinking through the social constructivism model of disability mandates barrier removal, anti-discrimination legislation, and other social oppression responses.

Magesa (1997) observed that social discrimination and abuse against people with disabilities in society originate from an understanding of disability rooted in superstition. This attitude puts the life of a person with a disability in danger. He found that indigenous African beliefs concerning disability negatively depict disability and persons with

impairments. Additionally, most African ideas tend to characterise disability as an affliction and, as such, it is viewed as an abnormality that represents "diminishment or destruction of the force of life, and something must be done to restore it" (Magesa, 1997:193). Such a diminished lifeforce is, by definition unwelcome. It is frequently confronted through religious specialists who commonly attribute all afflictions to the actions of various mystical or trans-imperial realities such as curses, witchcraft, the ancestors, and God the Creator (Magesa, 1997).

Indeed, social factors play a significant and complicated role and can have far-reaching negative impacts on the lived experiences of a person with a disability in society. There is a connection between how a particular society understands an aspect of a situation and how that understanding shapes how that aspect is experienced. Many other social studies in the context of Africa and Tanzania illustrated this (Mtshali, 2004; Shoko, 2007; Makhubu, 2009). For example, Massie (2006) highlighted those negative attitudes can become institutionalised and expounded this idea, stating:

"We often see the impact of negative attitudes on how one person treats another. But negative attitudes are also the foundation stone on which disabling policies and services are built. Harmful attitudes that limit and restrict are institutionalised in policies and services and so maintain the historical disadvantage that disabled people have faced." (Massie, 2006:15).

This quote challenges a policy that potentially creates a discriminatory attitude and excludes people with disabilities from full participation in society. Systems that lock away people with disabilities, according to Massie, may be motivated by a negative attitude towards disability and people with disabilities. Societal attitudes toward disability are significant barriers to the full participation of people with disabilities. Attitudes range from pity, awkwardness, and fear to low expectations about what people with disabilities can contribute. If negative attitudes persist, the full rightful acceptance of people with disabilities is unlikely (Massie, 2006, cited in Enock et al., 2015:116).

Other studies focused on these general prevailing attitudes and their impact on a person's self-image and function (Franzen 1990; Al-Rossan 2003; Munyi 2012). For example, Al-Rossan (2003) stressed that the message children with disabilities receive about themselves from their environment determines to a large extent their feelings about who they are, what they can do, and how they should behave. Equally, Munyi (2012) explained that people with disabilities frequently find their opportunities limited because

of social rejection, discriminatory employment practices, architectural barriers, and inaccessibility to transport. Furthermore, Munyi indicated that the general societal attitude and orientation toward disability and people with disabilities are central to their positive or negative life experience (Munyi, 2012).

Furthermore, Ndlovu (2016) observed that people have an ambivalent opinion about the ideas and attitudes concerning disabilities and people with disabilities. Some African beliefs promote the stigmatisation and marginalisation of people with disabilities. This happens through exclusion and depicting them as objects of pity or ridicule and as victims of evil forces. General society's negative attitudes towards disability create unfavourable social living conditions for people with disabilities. Ndlovu (2016:30) revealed that:

"The real challenges and barriers faced by people with disabilities do not necessarily emanate from their different forms of impairment—physical, mental, intellectual, or sensory. On the contrary, the main challenges are a number of environmental barriers that prevent people with disabilities from full enjoyment of life and unconditional inclusion in society."

Here social factors are a stumbling block to the full experience of life and dignity for people with disabilities in society. Ndlovu emphasised that what people with disabilities mostly seek within any community is the empowerment to become as self-reliant, independent, and as dignified as any other ordinary people. Yet, that reality is always hampered by other factors:

"Factors that impact on disability include the attitudes of other individuals and of a society that perceives those who have a disability as being different persons. And do not see them as human beings with equal rights and responsibilities." (Deputy Prime Minister's Office, 2013:7, quoted in Ndlovu, 2016:30).

The above quote reinforces the point that socio-cultural and structural factors embedded within society play a central role in creating an unfavourable social living environment for people with disabilities. Hence, from a social constructivism perspective, people with disabilities are disabled by society rather than their bodies. Uromi and Mazagwa (2014) indicated that some of the problematic conditions people with disabilities face in Tanzania are stigma and social marginalisation. The creation of the Tanzanian Persons with Disabilities Act of 2010 by the Tanzanian Government demonstrates an awareness and understanding of the issues impacting the social

wellbeing of people with disabilities from a social constructivist perspective. This policy incriminates all forms of mistreatment and discrimination against people with disabilities, and at the same time, this Act provides for the rights and duties of people with disabilities (Uromi and Mazagwa, 2014).

What transpires here in this discussion about disability is that the social constructivism perspective on disability takes seriously the socio-cultural and social-environmental factors surrounding an individual with a disability. It revealed how this social perspective enables us to understand issues and circumstances within society and social structural factors that impede an individual's life experience and acquisition of essential welfare needs.

The perspective and approach one adopts to understanding issues impact the response to that issue and influences changes on the ground. Indeed, service providers whose work is influenced by the social constructivism way of understanding disability vary significantly in how they address issues and support people with disabilities, compared with those influenced by a medical model of disability in their way of service provision.

I should, at this point, also acknowledge that there are studies that levelled criticism at the social perspective on disability and issues that affect people with disabilities. The criticism is that the social attitude and approach to understanding disability do not acknowledge the individual experience level. For example, it does not recognise the personal pain and suffering that may accompany disability because it focuses on the social structural and socio-cultural issues (Morris, 1991; French, 1993). Critics stress the importance of acknowledging the individual experience of impairment. For example, in considering this aspect, Liz Crow (1992:7) stated:

"As individuals, most of us simply cannot pretend with any conviction that our impairments are irrelevant because they influence every aspect of our lives. We must find a way to integrate them into our whole experience and identity for the sake of our physical and emotional wellbeing, and, subsequently, for our capacity to work against disability."

It is argued here that while acknowledging these limitations, many of the challenges that people with disabilities face may arise from their social-environmental reality, characterised mainly by shortcomings. Thus, making efforts to understand the social factors underpinning social issues is of great significance. The social model perspective is an appropriate framework for social work professional practice and social

work by non-governmental agencies involved in social problems-solving. While the social model of disability has considerable potential to bring about changes concerning the welfare of people with disabilities at the socio-structural level, relying only on the social model may only give a partial picture of reality regarding the challenges a person with a disability may be facing. One cannot ignore the fact that the individual situation, such as physical impairment, can also create a limitation or cause challenges in an individual's life.

Another social issue I considered in this discussion using social constructivism methodology is the welfare of street children in Tanzania.

A child's development relies on the adequate functioning of the relationships established between the child and the social environment (Norozi et al., 2016; Brown, 1999). One of the beliefs behind the social constructivism approach is the idea that the factors that cause children and youth to live on the streets and the issues that subsequently affect their wellbeing while on the streets have their origins in a function of social interaction. One way to interpret this assertion is that a lack of a healthy functioning social environment that supports a child's personal and social development within a family and broader community puts a child in a vulnerable position. The likelihood of this child having their essential needs met and maintaining their wellbeing is limited. Being on the streets means putting oneself in harm's way, with these children alone and vulnerable (Kopoka, 2000; Mooney et al., 2009; McFarlane et al., 1995; Lugalla and Mbwambo, 1999).

The lack of a healthy social environment, good social interactions, and familial and societal support of children all play a part in pushing children onto the streets, as various studies indicate. A study by Afolabi (2013) attributed the emergence of street children to faulty upbringing, neglect, and poor welfare for a certain group of children. This deficiency exists in the function of social interaction and the lack of adequate interventions and social provisions for a child's social wellbeing and, therefore, accounts for children and youth living rough on the streets. Similarly, Nasir et al. (2014:3) wrote:

"If the problem of street children is explored at the inner level, it would not be incorrect to say that poverty and parental negligence lie in the background of the street children and their fundamental problem relates to their fulfilling basic needs for survival."

The issues and the circumstances that lead children to the streets are more complex than we can fathom. The social constructivist understanding of this issue necessitates

those other important aspects are considered, such as challenges, i.e., an inability to meet essential needs in family settings, poverty, and strained parental-children's social relationships. It could be the case that a family struggles to meet the needs of their children through no fault of their own. However, the lack of local community support or governmental structural support to intervene in the situation and help the family to ease their burden leaves the family vulnerable, and many children struggling physically and mentally due to a lack of basic needs (Afolabi, 2013; Nasir et al., 2014).

Thus, the street children phenomenon cannot simply be attributed or associated with a 'faulty upbringing' and 'parental negligence', as viewing issues surrounding parental responsibility in a purely individualistic way ignores several factors. For example, in some cases, children encounter other children living in the urban streets and are led to believe that a better life or something better lies elsewhere. Equally, Kopoka (2000) explained that for many children and youths, the perception that larger towns offer greater economic opportunities makes the street a more attractive destination than a poverty-stricken rural economy (Kopoka, 2000). However, Alem et al. (2016) demonstrated that life in the city is often difficult. Children usually do not have the education and basic skills necessary to deal with risk factors and cope with adversity. The relationship between the social construction of disability and the social construction of a problem such as that of street children is that both find the root cause of their issues within the community and social structure.

Other studies concentrate on the interventional mechanisms of service towards street children. For example, a study by Ferguson (2007) criticised what she calls the traditional outreach approaches that bring service into the streets yet do not adequately replace the youths' high-risk behaviours. Additionally, job training program interventions often fail to address the mental health issues that constitute barriers to their productive employment. Drawing on social development principles, Ferguson (2007) suggests new ways of positive intervention for the welfare of street children through what she calls the 'social enterprise intervention' (SEI) model. This alternative social intervention model has specific far-reaching implications, namely, the tripartite effects of employment, service-related implications, and mental health outcomes for street youths. Through SEI, homeless children can acquire vocational and business skills, clinical mentorships, and linkages to services that otherwise would not be available to them, given their street-dwelling status.

Gender inequality and its effect on women is another subject matter that the social constructivism approach contributes to. Social science researchers have employed social constructivism to understand and identify the factors underpinning the prevalence of inequality and the discrimination of women in society. For example, gender roles are a social construct. The way society perceives men and women's roles plays a significant part in creating a positive or negative attitude towards, for example, women and their social status and life experience (Schneider, Gruman and Coutts, 2005).

Gender inequality and discrimination against women is a significant concern in society, especially in Tanzanian culture. Focusing on the noticeable biological and physical differences between men and women, some have treated gender inequality and discrimination against women as natural (Bisanda et al., 2019). However, scholars have shown that the disparity between men and women and the mistreatment of women are socially constructed rather than natural. Power (2011) sees that gender discrimination is another way to define sexism, which is associated with discrimination and stereotyped beliefs against women. Discrimination and lack of societal understanding about women's issues, such as inequity and violence against women in family and society, make it difficult for them to succeed in their careers and see progress in areas they wish (Bisanda et al., 2019). Other studies focus on the role stereotypes play in gender discrimination. Stereotypes are beliefs about the characteristics, attributes, and behaviours of members of certain groups, and most of them are sociocultural (Schneider, Gruman and Coutts, 2005; Henslin, 2006).

Many of the problems experienced by women in Tanzanian society originate not from the person herself but from issues embedded in the culture, cultural practice, and social structure. For example, Reeves and Baden (2000) believed that social and economic inequality and the mistreatment of women originate from patriarchal culture, which tends to dominate and dictate social relationships and women's participation in life. According to Reeves and Baden (2000:2), patriarchy is "systemic societal structures that institutionalise male physical, social, and economic power over women."

Similarly, the then Government minister, Asha-Rose Migiro (2012), maintained that Tanzania recognises that gender inequality is a significant obstacle to socio-economic and political development. Many studies have shown that gender inequality is one of the underlying causes of low productivity as, among other things, it hampers the participation of at least half of the country's population. Others interpret the existence of gender imbalance and the neglect of women in Tanzania to indicate that government policies

have not seriously challenged the basic structure of gender relations by creating awareness. Various studies observe that the country is dominated by a patriarchal system, with culture and values varying from one tribe to another. In patriarchal societies such as Tanzania, women are viewed as inferior, and so they are discriminated against in relation to their access to various opportunities, regardless of their experiences and qualifications (Mbepera, 2015; Bhalalusesa and Mboya, 2003). There have not been enough efforts in raising awareness about women's rights, their participation, their due place in the socio-economic and political arena, and their safety and protection. This situation can be blamed on both individuals and institutions (Boughelaf, 2012). Another area where inequality is visible is the lack of equal access to education for girls and boys. Researchers discovered that girls are discriminated against in accessing education. Gender disparities and patriarchal institutions also influence the extent of men's licence to use violence against their partners (McCloskey et al., 2005).

Older people in rural Tanzania is another social group that formed part of this study. A lack of basic needs and social protection coverage is the reality that characterises many older people's lived experiences in rural communities in Tanzania. Social constructivism has facilitated learning about older people's lived experience on social issues that affect their social wellbeing. Several social science researchers working from a social constructivism perspective have shared their insights concerning the abuse and neglect older people experience. Eisikovits et al. (2013:1) contended from a social constructivism perspective that "abuse and neglect are products of complex social and psychological practices that reflect broader social arrangements." The quote indicates a framework in which social constructivism signifies phenomena relative to social contexts.

Social science researchers observe that older people's abuse and neglect is shaped and influenced by social, interpersonal, and social-structural factors (Lowenstein et al., 2009). Cultural factors prevailing in society are also influential (Cohen, 2003). Indeed, interpersonal factors are sources of abuse and neglect, extending to intergenerational relationships in the family and community; older people experiencing life problems in Tanzania rural communities emanates from issues embedded within the social-cultural structure. Loneliness, social isolation, social disengagement, a lack of social support, a lack of reliable means of livelihood, and health-related issues are factors that cause problems affecting older people's social wellbeing, having mental, psychological, and physical impacts. We as researchers must learn about the type of social support that can intervene in these situations.

As indicated in this discussion, using social constructivism as a general framework to understand issues that affect people's reality related to the highlighted social groups can provide a researcher with specific social knowledge of their situations. While the social group selected for this study may be distinct, the social constructivism framework helps us understand their lived experience concerning their problems and identifies some common aspects across the groups. In particular, socio-cultural values, attitudes, and social-structural factors create social situations that affect people's lives and social wellbeing. One can say that there are three different layers in understanding issues from the understanding of social constructionism perspective: A problem can be private or public; the reasons why particular personal circumstances become viewed as problematic; and how society interprets issues and attributes responsibility for them.

From the perspective of social constructivism, I wanted to understand people's lived experiences regarding social issues and service. For example, if I were investigating the biological or medical nature of disabilities, I would have studied the work or services carried out by medical institutions for people with disabilities. However, because this is a social science qualitative research study, I considered social factors that potentially create a complex living environment for a person with a disability in society, including inequality, social discrimination, and stigma. Hence, the organisations were chosen accordingly.

As part of this project, another subject matter that formed a case study looked at older people's lived experience in rural areas, particularly examining issues affecting their well-being in Tanzania's rural areas. To accomplish this investigation on a practical level, I selected and involved an organisation that addresses and supports older people affected with issues to solve their situations from a social constructivism perspective.

The research did not involve hospitals focusing solely on medical conditions or fixing issues such as physical conditions: cardiovascular issues, dementia, arthritis, or other health-related issues. Instead, I involved a local social organisation that addresses various issues and supports older people in solving their situations, including those with health-related concerns in rural areas, in this study. By involving the selected organisation, I sought to understand what and how the organisation addresses social issues and how they provide interventional social support to clients to help them solve their problems.

Using the social constructivism perspective to learn about a social situation(s) point to behaviours, events, and entities impacting people's social wellbeing influenced

by culture, history, social structure, and social context. Therefore, a social constructivism perspective helps us understand ideas and attitudes shaping people's lived experience of problems and service provision within a social community context.

This study used Dominelli's model in analysing and making sense of the empirical data, information relating to organisations' involvement and response to problems in their community settings. Dominelli (1997/2009), an author and social work educator, offers a model for thinking about different approaches that those involved in social work-related responsibilities may apply in their response to problems. The model comprises three methods: the maintenance, therapeutic, and emancipatory approaches, therefore providing three ways of thinking about different social work types. The section follows below clarifies Dominelli's model in more detail.

4.2 Dominelli's Model: A General Principal Framework

The discussion of the previous sections concerning social constructivism has shown that problems have individual and social dimensions.

I should add that the value of Dominelli's model in this study resides in how it covers immediate problems and social aspects. Dominelli (2009:12) asserted that "Social workers' responses to requests for services are embedded in the three types of professional intervention: maintenance, therapeutic, and emancipatory."

The first approach to social work practice specified by Dominelli is the 'maintenance approach'. According to Dominelli (1997/2009), maintenance is one way to consider the social work response to a problem, focusing on an individual's needs. This approach presumes that the nature of the service-user problem is rooted in individual actions and decisions rather than being more generally related to injustices inherent in our organisations, society, and institutions. Consequently, those who cannot or do not fit within the system are seen as responsible or at fault for their situation. In this context, the worker's role is to enable service users to cope with or adopt more 'acceptable' forms of behaviour so that both they and society can benefit from the professional intervention offered. Responses of this type will often be a technical activity that sees the workers' actions as pragmatic and provides information about resources and possibilities to the individual concerned (Dominelli, 1998).

Consequently, social workers using this approach would not prioritise concerns about social justice and anti-oppressive practice in addressing problems (West and Watson, 2006). Instead, the focus is on helping an individual without being concerned

about the immediate broader social situation or more significant social problems beyond the client. Therefore, a social support system devised with this approach does not seek to offer the total transformation of an individual's circumstances, aside from providing the precise and necessary support required for an individual to function again. Assistance is provided based on clearly defined, often bureaucratic, criteria (Dominelli, 2009). To illustrate the maintenance approach, Dominelli gave this case as an example:

"An example is assessing an older person's need for aid and adaptations strictly in terms of current physical health and eligibility for services. There is no attempt to ascertain whether lack of provisions now might cause deterioration later that would require even more public resources like health care. Nor does it ask a practitioner to consider the impact of policies on resource availability for certain needs or the appropriateness of eligibility criteria for groups of people who might be routinely excluded. Maintenance social workers are more likely to focus simply on individual (and family relationships) without noticing that many individuals with similar problems expose larger social issues." (Dominelli, 2009:12).

Social work undertaken from this perspective assists a client based on clearly defined, often bureaucratic criteria (Dominelli 1997). The debate on the usage of the maintenance approach focuses on the tension between care and control. For example, Dominelli (1997) argued that the maintenance-approach functions of social work have more emphasis on monitoring and controlling than caring. She pointedly remarked that:

"While I am not advocating that there is or should not be any degree of control in social work, I would like to see a shift towards the care side so that human needs are given primacy in reaching decisions about the kind of social work society should endorse." (Dominelli, 1997:52).

One of the essential factors here is that this model is resource driven. This way of addressing issues through trying to fit the person for society corresponds well with the medical model of disability, discussed earlier, which seeks to fix a person without considering that there might be other underlying social issues that complicate the individual's life. Social work undertaken with the maintenance approach is managerial in orientation, as it fits into clearly defined procedures. For example, for front-line workers, trying to achieve what works may mean meeting agency standards and government targets rather than responding to individual service users' needs (West and Watson, 2006:7).

The case for the maintenance approach argues that those who approach social work from the maintenance perspective believe that it is unrealistic in everyday practice to change societies to make them more equal or to create personal and social fulfilment through individual and community growth. The reason behind this is that most practice objectives of social work activity refer to a small-scale change, which cannot lead to significant social and personal differences (Adams et al., 2009). Additionally, the argument for not seeking to transform society is made by social service stakeholders who finance and give approval to social work activities and want a better fit between society and individuals.

The second way of responding to issues through social work, according to Dominelli (2009:12), is the 'therapeutic approach'. In therapeutic interventions, the prime focal point is improvement through interpersonal relationships. This approach focuses primarily on what an individual can do to improve their position through targeted professional interventions. A principal aim is to enhance a person's psychological and emotional functioning so that they can handle their affairs (Dominelli, 2009). Therapists working in one-to-one relationships form narratives that either draw upon or seek to resist dominant discourses to make sense of clients' experiences. In working with individuals therapeutically, the social workers' task is to open discursive spaces in which clients can develop their own interpretive story, which gives meaning to their experiences and enables them to understand how dominant discourses operate to suppress this story. In other words, it is about validating the clients' entitlement to explain their lives in their own way, and in doing so, assist in their empowerment (Dominelli, 2002:86). Through listening and counselling, a social worker can explore a client's difficulty, any distress they may be experiencing, or their dissatisfaction with life or the loss of a sense of direction and purpose. According to Davies (2008:159), "By listening attentively and patiently, the social worker can begin to perceive the difficulties from the client's point of view and can help them to see things more clearly, possibly from a different perspective." To illustrate the therapeutic approach's point of view, Dominelli (2009) provided an example:

"This is instanced by an older woman who cannot form friendships with strangers because she fears they might attack her. She has caught burglars in her home and been seriously beaten. This experience left her suspicious of people she does not know and disinclined to interact with them as a form of self-protection. A therapeutic approach to her situation offers her trauma

counselling to help re-establish her equilibrium and learn how to relate to other people as possible friends rather than merely as foes. Addressing the causes of criminal behaviour would be left for other professionals." (Dominelli, 2009:12).

Counselling is a way of enabling choice or change or reducing confusion (McLeod, 2003). Carl Rogers, who was the originator of client-centred therapy, believed that people have a 'self-actualising tendency' and, with the proper support, can trust their own feelings and thoughts to make their own decisions and life choices. The therapist's role is to create the conditions that allow growth to take place (Carl Rogers cited in Davies, 2008:160). Supporting individuals through a therapeutic approach can also mean providing the individual with 'tools' that might potentially aid the desired change in their lives. The word 'tool' is not restricted to an item; it can also include 'knowledge' or the right action and way to recovery. Additionally, through this approach, an individual may find out about programmes or assistance that might be relevant to their situation and needs.

The third approach to social work practice, according to Dominelli (2009:13), is the 'emancipatory approach'. Emancipatory approaches cover a spectrum of practices broader than either the maintenance or therapeutic approaches (Adams et al., 2009). This approach is associated with radical social work and questions the balance of power in society and the distribution of resources. It identifies the oppressive nature of social relations and argues that social workers have a responsibility to do something about these while helping people as individuals (Dominelli, 2002). In clarifying the usage of an emancipatory approach from a practical point of view, Dominelli (2002:85) wrote:

"Practitioners who follow emancipatory approaches seek to achieve anti-oppressive practice by focusing on the specifics of a situation in a holistic manner and mediating between its personal and structural components. To obtain this impact, social workers and their clients develop clear goals to pursue and use networking and negotiation techniques to secure change. Change usually occurs at the micro-level, where interpersonal relationships are the target of the intervention(s). But sometimes success in these requires change at either meso- or macro-levels or both."

Dominelli gave an example to illustrate the emancipatory way of responding to an issue. For example, "if poverty is causing personal hardship, institutional (meso-level) and/or societal (macro-level) changes may be required alongside endeavours aimed at

helping the individual to control its deleterious effect on his or her life." (Dominelli, 2002:86).

Social work undertaken with an emancipatory approach sees service users as victims of unjust social relations, at the same time as acknowledging their strength and vital role in the influencing of social change in their contexts that could bring benefit to individual situations (Collins, 2000; Adams et al., 2009). The emancipatory approach corresponds well with the social model of disability discussed earlier. Both methods endeavours to unravel underlying social factors that play a part in problems creation affect people in society. Furthermore, social work undertaken with an emancipatory view sees the root causes of problems as lying within the elite's existing social structures and interests. Thus, in their endeavour to address the issues their clients face, social work practitioners would focus on the specifics of a situation in a holistic manner and mediate between individual and structural components (Adams et al., 2009).

The function of social work in this approach is to enable those at the receiving end of oppression to challenge its sources, including the institution of social work and the state (Dominelli 2002a). This approach is not about fitting service users to the system, but about empowering them to gain greater awareness of their oppression and to challenge systems. The role of social work in this approach is to enable those who experience oppression to be able to understand and take more control over their lives (Dominelli, 2002).

This approach is exemplified by a law centre worker who offers a low-income family of Asian descent advice on how to sponsor older parents to immigrate to the UK, focussing both on giving advice and changing the law (Dominelli, 2009:13). The emancipatory perspective argues that we must transform societies to benefit the most impoverished and most oppressed. This approach has also been called an anti-oppressive practice because of its commitment to realising social justice. Other studies that have reported on social workers with this perspective can focus on, for example, single social divisions like class, race, gender, age, sexuality, disability, and social and gender inequality (Dominelli, 2002; White, 2006; Myers and Milner, 2007). However, the emancipatory response is also suitable for addressing problems that involve multiple social divisions and social-cultural and social-structural entrenched issues in a community.

Other research's perspective on emancipatory social work emphasised its importance and value as an approach because of its interest in the social and structural

dimension of problems and their resolutions. It is the type of social work approach that seeks to empower change, promote self-reliance, and serve the community (Jordan 2004). Additionally, Jordan (2004) further explained that an emancipatory approach increases people's independence by enabling them to see options and make choices relevant to their needs. These choices have the potential to transform their lives. Emancipatory social work brings out technologies of the self. The term 'technologies of the self', refers to pieces of knowledge and tools which are regarded as necessary tools, especially when working with poor and disadvantaged people. Hence, emancipatory social work would motivate, instruct, and equip them with needed knowledge and skills that could enable them to stand and address issues they face (Jordan 2004).

Social work undertaken through the emancipatory perspective regards social work's role as seeking cooperation and mutual support in society so that the most oppressed and disadvantaged people can gain power over their lives. Therefore, social work facilitates social change by empowering people to participate in learning and cooperation, which creates institutions that all can own and participate in (Payne, 2006). Dominelli (2002) called these endeavours emancipatory approaches because they aim to free people from oppression. Others have called this the transformational approach because it seeks to transform societies to benefit the most impoverished and most oppressed (Ferguson, 2008).

The emancipatory approach reflects very well the social construction paradigm-perspective of social problems. Therefore, it has the potential to bring about a comprehensive understanding of what lies beneath the issues that affect the wellbeing of, for example, older people, street children, women, and people with disabilities in Tanzania.

Dominelli's model provides a useful tool for helping to frame and make sense of the activities taking place across the three NGOs that have participated in the current study. Although Dominelli does not rank the three professional interventional techniques in order of their importance, She emphasised that each of these approaches is valid (Dominelli, 2009) and that choice of method by a social worker or a social organisation is a reflection of principles and values to tackle social problems. The approaches have certain similarities and differences. All three aim to equip individuals, groups or communities with coping mechanisms. One of the main differences is the impact on the broader community and society as a whole, with the emancipatory approach seeing "the

removal of structural inequalities as essential to ensuring social justice at the individual level” (Dominelli, 2009:14).

This study was conducted in an African context—Tanzania—and therefore, it is essential to understand the debate surrounding the contribution of social work to the country’s social welfare concerns.

In exploring the literature and debate surrounding the role of social work, I found the discussion of social researchers and practitioners in Africa and Tanzania to be preoccupied with this question: what is the right approach to the role of social work in responding to social problems in this context? Consequently, the debate surrounding social work practice in the African region reveals an inclination toward a social developmental approach (or the ‘developmental social work model’ as it is also known) as a focus and response to problems. The paragraphs below explore in detail the background of this and define what this method is all about.

4.3 Developmental Social Work Method: A Perspective from Tanzania

It is essential to know about the ‘developmental social work model’, as the literature and scholars in Africa and Tanzania espouse this to be the most appropriate approach in responding to problems in this context. Moreover, as the subsequent discussion indicates, the social developmental approach shares common themes with the third part of Dominelli’s model, the emancipatory approach.

The current debates on social work practice in East Africa and Tanzania have provided a contextual-based perspective on the role of social work in these contexts. The discussions surrounding this matter reveal scholars’ preferred direction for social work in Africa. They argue that social work in Africa must focus on social and economic developmental matters. Their thinking is captured by the term ‘developmental social work model’ or the ‘social developmental model’ (Midgley, 1995; Spitzer, 2019).

The literature on social work practice in Africa indicates unique cultural-based thinking and perspectives concerning which methodology for social work practice is appropriate. Spitzer (2019:567) wrote, “Social work in East Africa is confronted with a myriad of social and structural problems. The heritage of imported theories and concepts from the West is still affecting education and practice. The profession lacks resources and has only limited influence on social policies.” Some aspects of this quote are worth noting. Spitzer mentioned that social work in the East African zone is faced with numerous social and structural issues. He also, in this statement, emphasises “the heritage

of imported theories and concepts from the West.” This phrase by Spitzer reflects on the reasons that lie behind the emergence of the current debate by academicians and social work experts in Tanzania. The discussions indicate factors that underlie their perspective and their orientation towards applying the social developmental model. These factors include the need for social work to target the whole population, including socio-cultural, structural, and economic factors, in order to demonstrate what they believe social work ought to represent in that region. Scholars in social work have observed the under-utilisation of the developmental social work model in social work practice. Critics acknowledge the effort of social work’s propensity to promote empowering and radical social work practice. However, there are still concerns that social work has not wholeheartedly adopted the development paradigm as its praxis clings more to clinical ‘psychosocial’ and service-oriented approaches than to community interventions (Mayadas and Elliott, 2001).

At this juncture, it is crucial to know the answer to this question: what does the ‘social developmental’ or ‘developmental social work method’ involve? In clarifying this question, Midgley (1995:25) perceived it as a “process of planned social change designed to promote the wellbeing of the population as a whole in conjunction with a dynamic process of economic development.” Thus, Midgley saw social development and economic development as interdependent. In other words, social and economic factors of development reinforce one another, and no meaningful progress can occur without due regard being given to both elements. Furthermore, Midgley’s definition emphasises that social development is a process of change directed at the conditions that prevent groups and communities from realising their potential. Thus, although, as the description indicates, this method gives much attention to social factors, it is social progress that concerns the developmental social work approach and economic development. These definitions point to the fact that social development as a model of practice underscores the importance of macro-policies in changing the conditions or structures that undermine people’s welfare or wellbeing in the context of Africa.

Midgley and Conley provided another interpretation of developmental social work (2010:20) writing, “developmental social work, which is also known as the social development approach to social work, emphasises the role of social investment in professional practice. These investments meet the material needs of social work’s clients and facilitate their full integration into the social and economic life of the community.” Clarifying what social investment represents, Midgley and Conley (2010:152) wrote:

“Social investment strategies derived from the social development approach seek to enhance the learning and earning capacities of individuals through strengthening human capital, building interpersonal skills, facilitating access to financial capital, and enhancing social networks. The underlying philosophy is that one’s economic wellbeing influences all dimensions of personal wellbeing.”

The aspect of understanding emerging from this quote is that social work with the social development approach seeks to enhance an individual's economic and personal wellbeing. Examples of social investment strategies can be drawn from the context of South Africa concerning their approach to homeless youths' welfare. In South Africa, the traditional service delivery for homeless youths consists of residential services and outreach and shelter services. These traditional services aim to mitigate homeless youths' physical health, mental health, and social problems (Midgley and Conley, 2010). However, a study by Ferguson (2007) examined the role of social work with homeless youths and observed that the traditional approach has not sufficiently produced effective outcomes in homeless youths' lives.

Drawing on social development principles, Ferguson articulated the need for social investment strategies. In her view, traditional service provision reflects the remedial approach to social work, failing to replace homeless youth's street-survival behaviours with other legal, income-generating activities. These approaches focus on meeting the youths' basic needs. Ferguson argued that in the case of homeless youths, successful strategies to move them from the informal to the formal economy require more than employment in low-paying positions since their formal labour-market participation is often hindered by the challenges inherent in living on the streets (Ferguson, 2007 cited in Midgley and Conley, 2010:146; Ferguson, 2007). Therefore, Ferguson suggested social investment strategies, including social enterprises, vocational cooperatives, affirmative businesses, and peer lending, as an alternative approach, based on the developmental social work principles (Ferguson, 2007 quoted in Midgley and Conley, 2010:147; Ferguson, 2007). The activities mentioned here demonstrate an emancipatory type of response to a problem that considers factors beyond the individual and includes systematic social structural root causes to enhance individuals' social and economic wellbeing.

Another perspective on the social developmental model and what it distinguishes it from the so-called community development concept is given by Edwin Kaseke, who

explored the role of social work in Zimbabwe. Kaseke (1991) emphasised that the social development model emphasises macro-level policies and intervention strategies, unlike the community development concept that focuses on the micro-level. Social development calls for active participation or government intervention, unlike community development, where the Government takes a passive role, expecting communities to determine and implement the changes they need to see at a local level without reference to the central issues. Kaseke seems to bring across that using the developmental social work method in problem-solving would effectively mean social workers' efforts should be focused more on a macro-level. However, only approaching the macro-level issues can easily overlook individual living circumstances and environmental factors that directly impact individual living circumstances.

Additionally, solutions that could be directly beneficial to a client may not easily be realised, as effort could be lost in improving the system at the macro-level, where we are less likely to experience gains in the short term. Commenting on the operationalising of the social developmental model in social work practice, Dominelli (1997:35) stressed that this “requires social workers to reinterpret their professionalism—away from the detached bureaucrat or technician into the well-informed activist who cares about and for others.”

The earlier definitions about the developmental social work method by Midgley and Conley (2010) re-oriented social workers' responsibility to the community level and are structurally focused. The implication is that social work undertaken with the developmental social work approach concerns bringing social and economic change and social progress to the whole population.

Scholars and experts raise criticisms against the usage of the individualistic approach, be it maintenance or therapeutic. The argument is that these approaches are irrelevant in the context of Africa. It may be the case that the relevance of the maintenance and therapeutic approaches and responses would depend on how one understands and uses them appropriately according to the problem at hand. These approaches have proved relevant elsewhere, in other societies, for example, in the United Kingdom. The philosophical approach to life is an issue here; the collective and community outlook on life in sub-Saharan Africa could also explain the dislike and discouragement of methods focusing on the individual situation.

Scholars explain why this method might be relevant for social work practice and in social and economic problem-solving in Tanzania and Africa in general. One argument

revealed by the literature is the dissatisfaction with using a remedial/curative approach by social workers in problem-solving in Africa. The argument levelled against using this approach in the African context is that it is generally reactive and deals with the symptoms instead of the causes of social problems and is therefore seen to be an inadequate method (Ibrahima and Mattaini, 2019). Scholars and social work experts argue that the curative approach on its own has proved a failure in curbing issues, such as poverty, unemployment, inadequate shelter, homelessness, illiteracy, diseases, and ignorance (Chitereka, 2009; Green, 2008; Mupedziswa, 2005). The assessment here reflects a social constructivism perspective on understanding problems as discussed earlier. The criticism levelled against using a curative or therapeutic approach to social problem-solving is that it does not go far enough to change the more significant issues (e.g., joblessness, illiteracy) that may underpin the social problems individuals might be experiencing.

Another criticism levelled against Tanzania's current social work practice is the gaps between social work interventions and community participation in the solution-finding process. This point is feature in Patel's observation. Patel (2005) saw one of the weaknesses of the intervention casework method is its inability to challenge the wider structures of marginalisation and impoverishment (Patel, 2005; cited in Manyama, 2018:49). Similarly, Kaseke (1991:44) pointed out that social workers used casework as the primary intervention method, focusing on enabling the individual to realise adequate social functioning. However, Kaseke argued that this type of response did not enhance proper social functioning as it assumes that the individual is to blame for their problems. Yet, the problem can be attributed to their environmental situation in many instances. From his point of view, it is important to have a balanced approach to problem-solving that considers the social structural root cause of issues while paying attention to the immediate impact of problems at an individual level.

Positive comments concerning the developmental social work model come from William Manyama, an assistant lecturer at the Institute of Social Work, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. Manyama (2018) who stressed that the principal value and strength of the developmental social work method is that it is centred on the hope that it can pull together community resources to address social and economic problems. He made a further point that utilising the developmental social work method would enable social work practitioners to address the structural, institutional, and individual factors that underlie social problems. Manyama (2018:43) wrote, "The nature of economic and social problems facing vulnerable populations in Tanzania today requires a combination of

different methods including that of developmental social work if sustainable development has to be realised." Correspondingly, another perspective contends that social workers should focus on individuals when providing services and play a stimulating role to the community to become aware of the problems facing them to eventually act (Lombard, 2007).

Some authors claim that the developmental social work method, or social developmental model, has existed in Africa for a long time. Spitzer et al. (2014) argued that Africa's developmental social work method was replaced with a more casework-focused method because of colonialism and globalisation. The developmental social work method was applied to ameliorate social and economic problems facing the continent before the emergence of modern social welfare and social work practice (Midgley, 1995; Mupedziswa, 2005; Mwansa, 2012). In this context, families, kinship, and neighbourhood implemented this developmental thinking and practice to member groups through community participation and empowerment (Lombard and Wairire, 2010). It needs to be noted that the notion described here is unlike the community development concept propagated by Kaseke as outlined earlier. The idea that the developmental social work model was a familiar method and was therefore used in the traditional African family to solve the socio-economic issue seems to be an overclaim as there is no evidence-based research can prove the existence and usage of this model as it is understood today in the traditional African society in Tanzania.

Even though this claim of the method is a historic part of Tanzanian society, others have observed that this method is not commonly or widely used in social work practice in the Tanzanian context. For example, the seminal work of Mabeyo et al. (2014) ranked the developmental social work method at the bottom of social work practice in Tanzania. Mabeyo's et al. (2014) research depicted that most social workers (70%) were predominantly using a casework method and entrenched with counselling, while 18% dealt with developmental social work methods. However, this piece of literature did not state the reasons for the underutilisation of this method in Tanzania. It did not give alternative suggestions on making the developmental social work method work better.

Reflections from the Tanzanian social work point of view concerning the usage of the developmental social work method, cited by Manyama's study, tell us how this method is seen and understood on the ground. In his investigation, Manyama (2018:48-49) asked social workers about their knowledge and perceptions of the developmental social work method. Some of his findings, participants' responses, are as follows:

“As a social worker, I do not use much this method as most of my activities are related to individuals' problems like matrimonial conflicts while community development concerns community development officers.” (Male social worker, 32 years, Government employee).

“Another respondent said: I think we need to have refresher courses to clear doubts surrounding developmental social work method (Government employee, 39 years).” (Manyama 2018:48).

“Another respondent explained: there is no way I can think of doing activities related to the developmental social work method. Much of what we are doing is matrimonial, maintenance, foster care, and adoption issues etc. (Male social worker, 42 years, Government employee)” (Manyama 2018:49).

In essence, the above quotes indicate two main points: first, the respondents prioritise immediate problems over long-term ones; second, the respondents seem to be unable to capture the relevance of the method because they see problems in their immediacy rather than their structural context.

As the discussion above shows, scholars and social workers in East Africa and Tanzania debate which functions of social work are most relevant to people and societies' needs in this part of the world. Generally, the discussion reveals a preference for a social change or developmental function, and they advocate the adoption of developmental forms of social work. Furthermore, they emphasised that the focus of developmental social work must be on issues embedded within society and social structures that influence the population's social and economic development. However, as social workers focus on matters at the structural and societal level, they must not exclude or ignore the individual situation. Midgley (2014) laid down his reflection on this matter, saying:

“A commitment to developmental social work must not preclude a concern for those with serious personal and family problems which require remedial interventions...I believe that the different types of social work practice are able to encompass multiple functions.” (Midgley, 2014, cited in Spitzer et al., 2014: vii).

Supporting and utilising the social developmental or developmental social work model as the only method and ignoring other techniques presents only one focus of what the role of social work could encompass. Under these circumstances, the role of social work would become more about fixing the entire social and economic system of a country

and improving situations at a structural level, hoping that this endeavour could automatically improve grassroots situations and bring about the hopes for changes for individuals. However, one must acknowledge one point regarding the above assertion. There is a need to use a method that can comprehensively enable those involved in addressing problems and supporting those affected by issues to undertake a broader examination of situations and not just focus on fixing an individual concerned.

The proponents of the usage of the developmental social work model emphasise that it is essential for the social work in Tanzania to focus on longer-term structural change that might minimise the likelihood of certain problems emerging in the future. This focus on social structural change is indeed crucial in problem-solving in the long term. However, I would emphasise that individuals' concerns with immediacy impact people's wellbeing and functioning must also receive the attention of social workers in society.

Criticism about the developmental social work method, or social developmental model, may be directed at the contextual socio-economic ground upon which the proponents based their justification for using this method. This method seems to be starkly economy-oriented, demanding that social worker be the facilitator of social and economic change for the whole community and move away from helping individuals with social problems.

The emphasis of using the 'developmental social work model' as the only said appropriate method for social work practice and response to a social problem in Africa/Tanzania seems to imply a lack of appreciation that there may be a diverse range of the issues. Hence various issues may need different interventional responses. Therefore, one method may not suit all problems.

As the above discussion has demonstrated, the debate concerning social work's role in Africa has mainly focused on establishing the 'right' method of social work practice. As a result of this question, the answer became advocacy for the social developmental approach or the 'developmental social work model'. As the discussion has shown, this method is considered the only approach suitable for social work practice and response, and other forms are deemed irrelevant; however, as previously illustrated, people on the ground express that situations demand a different approach (study by Manyama, 2018). Hence, I believe that Dominelli's model enhances the social developmental model by broadening our focus to consider the alternative approaches that might also have a role to play in social problem-solving in Tanzania.

As the research uses Dominelli's model as a lens to look at the handling of social problems by local social welfare organisations, it is essential to reflect on the social developmental paradigm in light of that model. On the surface, the developmental social work model is pre-dominantly emancipatory because the main focus seems to be economy-oriented and addressing issues of the society at large. However, examining the developmental social work model more closely indicates that it contains some therapeutic elements too. The developmental social work model has therapeutic features in its conceptualisation of issues and orientation to addressing problems. This observation is, in particular, the case when scholars describe the focus on equipping individuals with the skills, they need to improve their personal circumstances. Otherwise, the social developmental model is closely aligned with the emancipatory approach. The emancipatory approach of Dominelli and the social developmental model understand social and economic problems impacting individuals to originate in societal structure. So to solve those problems, both models promote change at the society and structural level.

Though the developmental social work model encompasses some therapeutic features, the model focuses on economy and societal change. As a method to solving social problems, it is a shortfall because the model does not offer diverse ways of addressing issues. While I understand the argument for using the social developmental approach and see the value and impact of social work operating under this model at the societal level, I argue for diverse approaches that address issues of immediacy—problems of a personal nature—and of a social-structural nature. These methods include the maintenance, therapeutic and emancipatory, approaches of Dominelli's model.

4.4 The Usage of Dominelli's Model in this Study

Dominelli's model informs us of different kinds of approaches to social work. It indicates that one process cannot be appropriate in all situations and cannot fix all problems. Therefore, social workers must be aware of different methods and functioning. The present investigation adopted Dominelli's model as the general framework to interrogate the three organisations' work to understand their role in helping clients address their problems. The organisations that participated in this investigation address various issues, and their responses are directed at immediacy-individuals needs and society. The three methods of Dominelli's model allow social responses to reach the individual problems and problems at the societal level.

In this study, Dominelli's model was used to facilitate the understanding and analysis of the empirical data gathered concerning social work activities by the local non-governmental welfare organisations that took part in this investigation.

The usage of this model involved two parts: In the first part, I used this framework to read and structure the gathered material related to this study by considering the organisations' way of responding to issues and their service using Dominelli's model as a lens. The second part of the consideration of Dominelli's model involved rethinking this framework in light of the collected information (data findings). This part tried to make sense of the model in a real-life situation, focusing on how the model fits into service providers and service users' experience.

Since the subject matter at the heart of this research was about understanding social service provisions by specific local organisations in Tanzanian society, it seemed essential to develop a historical understanding of social welfare provision. Therefore, the next section, Chapter Five, forms part of the strategy for answering research questions by examining historical knowledge of the social welfare provision in Tanzania. The chapter gives us a historical contextual understanding of the country and explains the place and role of non-governmental welfare organisations in Tanzania's social problem-solving.

5 History of the Development of Social Welfare in Tanzania

History plays an essential role in explaining how social problems and people's welfare needs are being addressed in communities. The discussion in this chapter focuses on the development of social welfare provision. This chapter seeks to understand the sort of welfare arrangements in Tanzania and their evolution, looking at specific developments that historically mark social welfare provision efforts in the country. The discussion of history here is in line with the overall focus of the current thesis. The thesis's general aim is to explore the role that local non-governmental welfare agencies play in addressing social problems in contemporary Tanzanian society and consider their capacity to carry out this responsibility.

Therefore, the discussion in this chapter is as follows:

- Part one examines pre-colonial welfare arrangements in traditional communities in Tanzania.
- Part two examines the effect of colonialism on the economic and social welfare arrangements in Tanzania.
- Part three presents illustrative activities of more formalised welfare arrangements in the colonial period.
- Part four explains actions that have had some bearing on formal social welfare arrangements following Tanzanian independence.
- Part five discusses the role of voluntary-sector non-governmental organisations in social welfare service delivery.
- Part six highlights pressing issues in contemporary Tanzania.

Before diving into the history of social welfare arrangements, it needs to be clarified that today's country known as Tanzania (formal name: United Republic of Tanzania) was formed after independence in 1961 of the mainland Tanganyika and union with archipelagos of Zanzibar. In this chapter concerning history, I used the name Tanganyika for anything occurring before 1961 and Tanzania for anything happening in the post-independent era. Before independence, the account does not include Zanzibar as it focuses on mainland Tanganyika.

5.1 Pre-Colonial Welfare Arrangements in Africa and Tanzania

When looking back across history to learn about the practical living realities of traditional communities of Tanzania, certain features related to welfare provision practice become apparent. Social research into the functioning of traditional societies observes

that voluntarism has cultural roots in the Tanzanian context and in Africa in general. Pre-colonial communities in Africa and Tanzania had ways of solving social problems distinct to their held cultural values, relying on mutual aid, kinship, and community support to meet basic needs. Traditional cultural beliefs and practices encouraged collective responsibility, solidarity, and reciprocity (Patel et al., 2007; Ezedike, 2009). In the absence of collective social security systems from the state, pension schemes, and social welfare programmes run by voluntary organisations, the family carried responsibility for providing welfare and insurance, ensuring that the aged, children, infirm, and disabled were all looked after. The family occupied a central position because of its ability to create a strong sense of social community, grounded upon shared norms and interdependency (Larkin et al., 2012). The family institution in times past was a social and economic unit, and it was the context in which an individual who experienced social issues received mutual support, help, and care. Therefore, with this mindset and expectation, economic cooperation was critical to the family (Larkin et al., 2012).

Though family bore full responsibility for intervening and supporting individuals whose social wellbeing was threatened by diverse circumstances, the sense of collective belonging and identity shared by individuals increased collaboration and support in times of trouble between families and neighbourhoods. Circumstances such as losing a family member, famine, and people losing their habitats due to heavy rain would cause the rise of strong support beyond a concerned family to include support from others within the neighbourhood. Studies on African cultural values and life in traditional African society have indicated some of the cultural values and marks that draw people together practically under challenging times. These values include a sense of community life, hospitality and collective responsibility (Malunga, 2006; Mbiti, 1970; Davidson, 1969).

A life of interdependency and mutuality characterised traditional societies in Africa. These distinctive features are rooted in the African cultural philosophies of life. Literature on the way of life in Africa has indicated the perspective and belief that underpinned the social living experience of people in traditional African societies. According to Mbiti (1970), most traditional communities in Africa built their life on the idea of collective identity—"I am because we are, and since we are, therefore I am" (Mbiti, 1970:141). This belief influenced individuals' understanding of the outlook in life and seemed to form an individual's approach to life in most traditional societies.

One assumption one might draw from Mbiti's pronouncement is that, in the African context, the communal identity is more important than the individuals' interests.

Of course, there could be a danger that this strong sense of community may jeopardise individual creativity, meaning a person cannot retain their own identity if it does not align with the community's framework. However, Benjamin (1976:132) did not believe that this was the case; he emphasised that "African views of man strike a balance between his collective identity as a member of society and his personal identity as a unique individual." This philosophy on life depicts an understanding that a person acquires selfhood through belonging, interaction, and experiences over time in a collective framework (Kunhiyop, 2008:21; Nyerere, 1967; Benjamin, 1976). This belief about human life practically shaped and influenced social structures, interpersonal relationships, and overall living experiences.

One area which seems to clearly illustrate the sense of solidarity and mutuality within families and communities is in the practice of bringing up children. In many societies across Africa, especially sub-Saharan African communities, children could spend a significant amount of time with relatives, such as aunts, uncles, or grandparents who lived far away from home. Through this practice, the family showed children the nature of kinship and the extent of familial and kinship relations (Nyaundi, 2005). There were some benefits associated with this way of child-rearing. Children learned that they were part of a vast network of relatives, who are as important as the immediate family of father, mother, and siblings. Such systems were helpful in calamities, for example, in the case of a child losing one or both parents and being forced to relocate to live with relatives who would be responsible for their upbringing (Mbiti, 1969; Diamond, 2012; Scottish Parenting forum community, December 2002).

Another area that clearly illustrates the role family played in fulfilling welfare provision for an individual in traditional societies in Tanzania was in the manner in which the care of older people was conducted. Spitzer and Mabeyo (2011:4) observed that "Caring for the elderly has traditionally been the responsibility of the family. In Africa and some-preliterate cultures, the family (both nuclear and extended) deems it a divine responsibility to care for their elderly." A study by Kitoka made a similar observation concerning welfare arrangements in African culture. When individuals face specific contingent situations, such as sickness, the physical and psychological challenges of ageing, a shortage of food, homelessness, and loss of parents, the hope for recovery and sustenance was provided by the extended family networks (Kitoka, 2011). However, it needs to be noted that there were likely to be issues too in that era despite the strong community sense. Communities' lives were built around a patriarchal system that may

have undermined women and children's roles (Diamond, 2012; Mbepera, 2015). Superstitious beliefs and witchcraft may have had an impact on the living reality, too (Miguel, 2005).

However, like many parts of Africa, foreign powers occupied Tanzanian society. Colonial regime occupations, including those of the German and British, have profoundly impacted society's way of life, severely disrupting the aforementioned features of interdependency, mutual support, solidarity, and reliance on subsistence farming, which characterised life in the 1880s. Upon arrival in Tanzania, colonial invasion regimes made irreversible economic and social changes to the lives of the local native people. In line with the colonial master's demands, the colonial governments substituted a cash economy for the current subsistence economy. The activities and workforce created by colonial powers in Tanzania introduced formal social welfare programmes that were supposed to mitigate individual workers' situations. As some studies have rightly observed, in Africa, colonial regimes initially developed social welfare programmes in the 1950s and 1960s as a safety net for white workers (Dixon, 1987). Evidence also showed that there were some attempts to develop some services for non-white workers (Eckert, 2004).

One may ask if the colonial era began in the 1880s and welfare programmes were only introduced in the 1950s and 1960s, what happened in between?

The answer is that prior to colonial invasion and the subsequent introduction of social welfare systems, communities in Tanzania had their ways of intervening and assisting those whose social wellbeing was threatened. As indicated in the preceding discussion, families and communities with various economic and social means of livelihood and sustenance played significant roles. Additionally, churches were a leading source of social service provision, primarily through missionaries. Missionary-led social activities and international non-governmental organisations have led to the subsequent emergence of local non-governmental welfare organisations operating in Tanzania today.

The colonialist administration controlled and subjugated the Tanzanian native people during the colonial era. The native people were no longer free to organise their own lives and conduct their subsistence farming. Instead, the colonial master forced the local communities to get involved in cash-crop agricultural activities, not for their benefit but for the colonial regime's advantage. As a result, these changes to Tanzania meant the country had to develop more formalised welfare arrangements; however, these only received proper attention and further proper development following independence in the 1960s. Despite this development, the country had immense social problems, and the

existing welfare provision arrangements faced many limitations. Vulnerable populations faced a social protection vacuum whereby both formal programmes and informal practices failed to provide the safety nets that individuals and families need to survive against disease or other shocks (Barrientos and DeJong, 2004; Skoufias et al., 2006). Existing social issues and a lack of sufficient interventions by the state created a need to develop and further the involvement of voluntary welfare agencies in social problem-solving. These non-governmental agencies both provide services and act as advocates for improving the wellbeing of the population, particularly marginalised and socially disadvantaged members of society.

The section that follows explores the social welfare provision in the society of Tanganyika while under colonial regimes. It highlights explicitly any activities, policy deliberations, and actions implemented that may have been undertaken by those in authority in realising welfare provision to the public during that period.

5.2 Impact of Colonialism on Economic and Social Welfare Arrangements

Before political independence in 1961, Tanganyika's (Tanzania's name before union with Zanzibar in 1964) economy was under the control of its colonial masters, Germany and Great Britain, who were the colonial powers that occupied Tanzania from 1885 to 1961 (Ngowi, 2009). It needs to be noted that the archipelago of Zanzibar and Pemba became a British protectorate in 1891 after being under the control of the Sultan of Oman for centuries (Knappert, 1992). Due to the fact that all three case studies are located on mainland Tanganyika which covers the vast geographical area of Tanzania, this research focuses on Tanganyika.

This section explores the impacts that the two colonial regimes (Germany and Great Britain) have had on three aspects of native people's lives: politics, economic, and social wellbeing (focusing on the element of social welfare policies) in their respective periods of occupation in Tanzania.

Tanganyika Under German Colonialists (1884–1918)

There were several political and economic reasons behind the German occupation of Tanganyika. The invasion seems to have been political in the sense that it happened because of political decisions that took place in Berlin in the year 1884 to colonise and subject other cultures, as Germany was seeking to expand its colonial empire at this point. To ensure political and administrative control in Tanganyika, Germany formed 'German

East Africa' (German: Deutsch-Ostafrika). Bridgman and Clarke (1965) perceived the establishment of German East Africa as a step towards creating a settler-dominated white man's country in the East African region. There is a perspective that the German colonial regime did not consider their presence in Tanganyika to be a temporary occupation but rather a permanent one, therefore making itself the full 'owner' of Tanganyika and its people. Indeed, during the colonial era, many Western colonial regimes shared a similar motive and agenda; namely, they went into Africa to permanently occupy and subjugate the places and societies they encountered. Of course, as history tells us, this permanent or timeless physical occupation did not happen in the long-run.

Economic motivations were at the forefront of Germany's invasion and occupation of the Tanganyika territory. Researchers who have investigated colonial history point out that colonisation's general economic motives were acquiring raw materials for economic development in the regime's home countries (Sunseri, 1997; Ngowi, 2009). German rule established stations that served as administrative units, including in Dar es Salaam, Bagamoyo, Tanga, and Kilwa. Additionally, they laid down communication infrastructure to enable the networking of all activity-areas regarded as necessary to their general operation in the country (Haupt, 1984; accessed at https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/German_East_Africa#cite_note-Haupt-16, on 9th June 2020).

One industrial area in which the German colonial regime was interested and became subsequently involved was gold mining activity from 1907 onwards. The colonial administration conducted gold mining activities at the underground Sekenke gold mining site, located in the Singida Region of Tanzania. During World War I, the German regime used gold from the Sekenke mine to mint coins to pay German troops fighting against forces in the Belgian Congo (Currie Rose resource, Sekenke Gold mine-Wikipedia, accessed on 8th June 2020).

Another area in which German colonial occupation had an impact is in the agricultural and economic sector of native society. The colonial regime brought with it a cash-crop economy model to the Tanganyika colony. Consequently, the cash economy system replaced the enduring subsistence farming-based economy that was practised by natives of the country for the generations past. History reveals that various sources described the type of cash-crops that were part of the German agricultural scheme implemented in Tanganyika. The cash-crops represented economic growth and commerce and included more than 100,000 acres (40,000 ha) set apart for sisal cultivation, which

was the largest cash-crop. There were large cotton plantations, two million coffee trees were planted, and rubber trees grew on 200,000 acres (81,000 ha) (Brode, 1969). Other efforts made by the colonial regime in supporting its economic endeavour included the construction of road infrastructure across the production areas. Railway infrastructures were constructed with the purpose of making remote agricultural areas more accessible in order to facilitate the transportation of raw materials to principal harbours, such as Kigoma and Dar es Salaam. This fact is reflected by Werner Haupt (1984), who highlighted that at the beginning of 1888 the Usambara Railway was built from Tanga to Moshi to bring these agricultural products to the market. This central railroad linked Dar es Salaam, Tabora, Morogoro, and Kigoma, and was about 775 miles long (1247km) (Haupt, 1984, accessed at https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/German_East_Africa#cite_note-Haupt-16, on 9th June 2020).

Historical records show intensified economic and agricultural efforts by the German regime in Tanganyika, which had the primary purpose of re-ordering the economies into a colonial pattern. In highlighting this, Iliffe (1969:127) wrote:

"The German rulers' objective was to foster valuable cash-crops to the German market from Tanganyika, in the 1890s. They distributed cottonseeds to the natives and village headmen and along the southern coast in the hope of liberating the German textile industries from American cotton supplies. They experimented with coffee, rubber, tea, tobacco, and cotton on various estates in the northeast, a region that recorded a high number of European settlements in the late 1890s. They introduced the sisal plantations in 1893, which turned out to be the major colony plantation cash-crop export over the next two decades."

As shown in the above quotation, the real motivation behind these developments and their purpose fulfilled the interests and needs of the colonizers at that time. The natives found themselves under intense pressure, forced to accept the cash-crop agricultural model and provide the labour force for the intended economic production: on top of that, the colonial regime required them to pay taxes to the colonial master. Koponen (1994) explained that the German administration started with a hut tax and then added head (the taxation of a person) taxation in 1905. These taxations took the form of 6–12 rupees on urban dwellings and 3 rupees for those in rural areas. Initially, in places where the cash nexus had scarcely penetrated, the levy was paid through labour or raised from

whole communities rather than individuals. However, after a period, the colonial regime collected taxation solely in cash and from individual Africans.

The German administration used both German officials and African intermediaries, who received a percentage of the money raised, in ensuring the smooth collection of taxes (Koponen, 1994; Burton, 2008).

One explanation for the introduction of taxation and hard labour by the colonial regime, according to literature, was to educate the Tanganyikan natives. Remarking on the purpose of taxation, Iliffe (1969) explained that the rationale behind the taxation system's establishment was 'educational'. It was supposed to oblige Africans to accustom themselves to European administrative discipline and accept payment-based labour (Iliffe, 1969). Similarly, Maduga (2015) pointed out that the colonial government used taxation to control and force the indigenous people to accept paid employment.

Consequently, Tanganyika black native people were now compelled to learn and embrace a new model of generating economy and accept a payment-based labour employment plan. For the colonial regime to succeed in its social and labour productivity goals, they put ruthless measures in place to subdue and control the natives. The pressing need for higher revenues outweighed the 'educational' objective. Following the introduction of sisal in 1893 into the then German East African Tanganyika colony and the subsequent instituting of this industry by the turn of the century, sisal plantations became the colonial institution par excellence (Sabea, 2009). In the German colonial administration's eyes, these were remarkable developments that called for the strict supervision of those who worked on the farms. Commenting on the German colonial attitude of supervision, Sabea (2009:135) wrote:

“ ... the quest for controlling people and moulding them into manageable subjects on the part of the state and establishing a steady and disciplined labour force on the part of plantations never ceased to dominate the agenda of administrators and plantation managers. In the same vein, the attempt of workers to subvert and challenge these agenda in constituting their lives also never ceased to mark workers' social reality.”

Another apparent aspect concerning the colonial regime's way of 'dealing' with the native population was its use of force and oppressive tactics. However, applying these tactics triggered an adverse reaction from the indigenous people. Many native Africans who resisted, opposing the taxes and heavy labour, were killed. Resistance in the form of evasion was widespread. A tax collector's appearance in an area often resulted in

avoidance or an exodus of inhabitants (Koponen, 1988). The imposition of this process was a matter of significant irritation to Africans. Most colonial empires and regimes used brutal colonization policies to enforce their rule in various territories across Africa. Other research has indicated that the German colonial administration in Tanganyika was probably the most violent regime (Pakenham, 1992). They killed chiefs who resisted colonization, imposed high taxation, and used forced labour to produce resources and goods that were then sent to Germany to develop the economy and society there. Those who did not obey were tortured and imprisoned, and local people were forced to work on construction projects where they were beaten and exploited (Gellately and Kiernan, 2003; Asante, 2007).

The German occupation and activities in Tanganyika harmed the social, cultural, structural, and economic aspects of the natives' lives. People in these communities were forced to participate in cash-crop production (Bossert, 1987), disrupting the existing operations and social order. Tanganyika became the supplier of raw materials such as minerals and agricultural commodities, and in subsequent decades Tanganyika became the buyer of processed, manufactured goods from Germany and Europe (Sunseri, 1997; Rodney, 1982). The economic structure that was established by the colonial powers has had many far-reaching implications almost fifty years after the independence of many African countries. In "Development for Exploitation—German Colonial Policies in Tanzania", Rodney (1982) pointed out that Africa progressed development in Europe at the same rate as Europe reversed development in Africa. With a combination of power politics, brutal control, and economic exploitation techniques, the German colonial regime subdued the Tanganyikan native communities for material gain. Rodney pointed out that colonialism was primarily intended to exploit the continent and send back profits to the imperialists home country (Rodney, 1972:231). The long-term purpose of the German occupation of Tanganyika determined the general approach to dealing with indigenous African people under colonialism.

One piece of knowledge I wanted to obtain through this historical enquiry was whether any concern was shown for the welfare of native African people in the German regime's activities in the Tanganyika territory, and to what extent. Other studies do shed light on this matter. For example, Taylor (1963) observed that the approach and way in which the German regime operated was not socially friendly and did not foster a healthy social relationship with Tanganyikan natives. Taylor (1963:20) wrote:

"From the beginning of their administration, the Germans were to have difficulties with the attitude of the native population. The natives' antagonism and resistance to the Germans' operation were due to the German policies affecting the natives. Also, it was because the German administrators were not interested in the welfare of the people, but rather in the economic development of the area. Karl Peters, known to the natives as Mkono-wa damu (the man with the blood-stained hands), eventually had to be recalled in 1893 from the Mount Kilimanjaro area due to his harsh and oppressive policies."

Historical evidence, including the above quote, clearly indicates that the German regime in Tanganyika was not interested in the social welfare needs of Tanganyikan native people. The way in which the colonial government involved itself with African native people and generally conducted its affairs in Tanganyika demonstrated the very essence of colonialism. Other histories about Germany's presence and operation in East Africa indicated that the regime did not intend to develop colonies themselves, whether economically or socially (Henderson, 1935).

Colonialism is the economic, social, political, and cultural domination of a society over an extended period of time (understanding social and economic relationships. <http://www.anthrocerone.org/development/> Accessed on Tuesday 1 Dec 2020). In elaborating further, domination is power, usually in the form of social power—that is, control over other people. The colonial regime took over the Tanganyikan territory, conquered the native people, utilised the natives as a labour force, and appropriated local resources for their own profit, using several methods and strategies to maintain their direct economies and their social and political domination of native Africans within their territories during the period of their colonial rule.

The devastating impact of the German colonial regime's brutality on indigenous people came into view and was demonstrated in the Majimaji rebellion. The hut and head taxation, forced labour, and difficult living conditions that local people were subjected to triggered this war. Vita vya Majimaji, the Majimaji rebellions, started 1905 and ended in 1907 (also known as the water war) in the southern part of the country (Maduga, 2015), proving to be the most widespread revolt that East Africa had ever seen. It swept across the country, involving nearly 20 different ethnic groups (Gellately and Kiernan, 2003). The significant result of this social discontent was a tremendous loss of life and the great devastation and exhaustion of resources (Taylor, 1963). Studies on the effects of the

Majimaji war indicate that indigenous groups, including the Ngoni, Matumbi, Uvivunda, Pangwa, Kilosa, and Mahenge, in the southern part of Tanzania were among the communities that suffered a high loss of life (Iliffe, 1979; Gellately and Kiernan, 2003).

Indeed, the attitudes and manner in which the German regime carried out their rule in Tanganyika indicate in various ways that the welfare needs of the indigenous population did not matter to them at all, as various studies have attested. For example, Iliffe (1979) recounted the famine that affected the native people and the subsequent response of the German regime. Iliffe explains that this famine was spurred on through institutional racism spearheaded by unremorseful officers of the German Army. Captain Richter, who administrated the Songea area in the aftermath of the rebellion, prevented cultivation and appropriated all food for his troops, and was quoted as saying, "the fellows can just starve" (Iliffe, 1979). This attitude resulted from imperialistic notions of African inferiority and the belief that the welfare of Africans did not matter.

Indeed, certain activities of the colonial regime indicated high economic production. Still, such economic output did not seem to translate into the social development or social wellbeing of the native communities. Social policy concerns itself with the relations necessary for human wellbeing and the systems by which welfare may be promoted or, for that matter, impaired (Dean, 2012:1). Furthermore, Dean (2012:2) elucidated that "social wellbeing focuses on the state of being, it pays attention to people's being and the essence of their lives." The term 'social welfare' is associated with the availability of things deemed essential to human wellbeing or things one needs to make life worth living, essential services such as healthcare, education, water, and food; means of livelihood, such as a job and money; vital but intangible things, such as love, acceptance, freedom to life and self-expression, and security. Some of these elements could fall into the government's social welfare provision and authorised bodies that represent the general population's interests, such as charities, local associations, and churches (Dean, 2012; Baggott, 2004). When one considers the German colonial administration position in Tanganyika, it seems correct to think that the colonial regime made itself the overall power in charge of the lives of native people. It assumed upon itself a political and social authority, controlling and governing people for its material gain. As historical evidence has shown in this discussion, the longer the regime controlled the local communities, the worse their social situations became; people experienced physical, mental, psychological, economic and social trauma.

Studies indicate that the German colonial regime introduced some protective policy measures for its workers in Tanganyika during its tenure. However, as historians have discovered, these measures were biased against native Africans and did not cover native workers. Colonial government officials serving in Tanganyika who were injured in the line of duty received compensation payments, including pension schemes, education, and health service provision (Tetzlaff, 1970). History tells us that the Governor of German East Africa issued a 'rights of indigenous workers' decree in 1909, making it mandatory for employers to guarantee their employees' medical care. Still, German employers in Tanganyika refused to execute this policy measure (Tetzlaff, 1970).

The history of Germany's occupation, colonial activity, and domination of the native black people of Tanzania would not be complete without considering German missionaries' work in the Tanganyika territory.

The increase in the presence of German missionaries occurred concurrently with the control of the colonial regime, with these missionaries working alongside the exploitative colonial power in Tanganyika, as was the case in other parts of Africa.

During the early days of the German colonial period, institutional social provision for the poor came chiefly from missionaries. Missionary church organisations worked closely with local people, focusing on social welfare-related issues. German Christian missionaries established mission stations and settlements in various parts of Tanzania, becoming havens of security and centres of an entirely new way of life compared to much of what went on around them. German missionary activities focused on evangelisation and educational activities. Mushi (2009:62) observed that:

"When the Christian missionaries arrived in East Africa in the 19th century ...they carried out their evangelical and educational activities in those areas whose populations were free from Islamic influence, and where the climatic conditions were conducive for crops such as coffee, tea and bananas. These areas included Kilimanjaro, Bukoba and Mbeya."

Missionaries of different Christian traditions opened their mission stations in Tanzania. For example, the Evangelical Missionary Society for German East Africa started work in Tanga and Dar es Salaam in 1887 and later moved to the Usambaras and started the Usambara Trade School. Missionaries from the Benedictine Fathers (German Catholics) opened stations in Dar es Salaam in 1889. They also extended their work to Lukuledi by 1895 and Peramiho and Tosamaganga by 1898. Mushi (2009:61) observed

that at Peramiho and Tosamaganga, trade-training was established in various crafts, and today these two areas remain important trade centres.

People in these areas specialised in making local craft products, and missionaries interested in craft materials became involved in training and shaping these local craft businesses, enhancing local people's understanding of trading.

Furthermore, the Leipzig Lutherans established other missionary activities and stations in Moshi in 1894. It is believed that German Lutheran missionary work in Moshi replaced the British Church Missionary Society (CMS), which was accused of inciting the Chagga tribe, the native people of the Moshi area, against the German Administration (Mushi, 2009). Apparently, there were missionaries from other countries during the German colonial administration. This situation indicates an early tension between the German regime and the British regime, especially with regards to their respective missionaries, who operated in East Africa before World War I.

Among other areas, the mission organisations involved with local people in Tanganyika focused on education. In different mission stations, missionaries set up schools. Some studies observed that missionaries' approach, attitude, and involvement with native people were influenced by their pre-conceived ideas about black African people's humanity. For example, Mushi (2009:58) wrote:

“the type of education offered by missionaries was guided by their general view of the African social environment. The Christian missionaries viewed Africans as backward, uncivilised, and uncultured with no tradition or history, unintelligent and lazy.”

Influenced by these assumptions and perceptions of indigenous black Africans' deficiency, the reasons behind the missionary offer of formal education, according to Mushi (2009:57), were three-fold:

“to reproduce the Christian religious culture, reproduce Western economy, as well as pacify and control the natives. The African native was conceived as a heathenish and cruel. He was a ‘fallen man’ who had to be redeemed and with him his society whose values and practices the missionaries found repugnant. The missionaries regarded themselves as bearers, not only of the Gospel, but of a completely new way of life. Thus, the early mission schools not only propagated the Gospel, and in so doing taught the 3Rs (reading, writing, and numeracy), but also sought to inculcate the moral and social values of the civilisation they represented.”

Christian missions were backed by big church organisations and governments back in Europe. Missionaries provided education, but this education was poor for African pupils. The type of education provided (basic literacy and simple mathematics) was not intended to liberate black Africans or make them innovative in various areas, such as industry, agriculture, or enhance their knowledge so that they could enter other professions such as education, medicine, engineering, or technology. Missionaries saw education primarily as a means to convert Africans. The missionaries taught the scriptures or other religious instruction books, translated by the missions, in order to stabilise the faith of converts and assist in their character development. New converts had to learn to read in their vernacular languages (Berman, 1974; Bassey 1999; Ayandele, 1966). Likewise, Zu Selhausen (2019:2) pointed out that “the unique historical process of African mass-conversion during the long 20th century was facilitated by vast Christian missionary efforts. Formal education was a key aspect in missionary conversion strategies and thus education became firmly connected to Christian missions.” Indeed, a high proportion of those who attended mission schools converted and helped spread the gospel of Jesus Christ in their local languages (Berman, 1974; Frankema, 2012).

Thus, in the words of Ajayi (1965:134), “the nursery of the infant Church.” In the absence of major investments in African education by European colonial states, mission schools provided the bulk of education for most colonial periods (c. 1880–1960). Missions did not just provide education where the colonial state did not invest in it, instead the supply of mission schools primarily relieved the colonial governments from financing public education (De Haas and Frankema, 2018). Thus, Christian missionaries played a crucial role in laying a foundation in developing formal mass education in post-colonial Africa.

Despite the above roles, others have suggested that, for the most part, missions were essential tools for colonial governments. Missionaries’ close friendly relation with local communities and their Africa and Tanganyika activities significantly helped the colonial regime have a stronghold. One of the missions’ most important contributions to the colonial regimes was their role in educating the native Africans. Mission schools provided a steady stream of educated Africans to fill the lower colonial administration positions and operate vocational and agricultural schools (Ayandele, 1966; Foster, 1965; Sheffield, 1973). Equally, Mushi (2009:64) pointed out that Christianity was used to prepare Africans for colonisation, for example, early missionaries such as Johann Ludwig

Krapf, and Johannes Rebmann did much of the earliest penetration of East Africa, and their earliest African converts became their collaborators during the colonial domination.

German powers lost their grip on Tanganyika at the end of World War I. From 1918 and throughout the following four decades, Tanzanian territory found itself under another colonial power; this time, the British regime. Therefore, in the section below, we consider the impact of the British colonial rule on the social wellbeing of indigenous people and investigate any aspects of social welfare during this occupation period.

Tanganyika Under British Colonialists (1918–1961)

Britain occupied Tanganyika, East Africa, officially from 1920 onward, after the German defeat in World War I, with Low and Lonsdale (1976:12) labelling this period the “Second Colonial Occupation.” Eckert (2004) explained that the British colonial move to Tanganyika was motivated by an effort to increase the output of African economies to compensate for Britain’s economic weakness. Economic motivations were part of the reason for a dramatic expansion of British state intervention in African societies.

Great Britain took over the territory of Tanganyika according to the mandate of the League of Nations in January 1920 and henceforth appointed Horace Byatt as Governor of Tanganyika (Dougherty, 1966). The Governorship of Sir Horace Byatt (1920–1924) marked the first phase of the British administration’s activities in Tanganyika. Dougherty (1966) explained that the European Allied Powers agreed to the British colonial takeover of Tanganyika, signing the Treaty of Versailles, which confirmed that the area known as Tanganyika would be formally under British control. The fate of the African people in Tanganyika was decided in Europe by European superpowers. This whole state of affairs is one of great sadness. One can only imagine the vulnerability and powerlessness that Tanganyikan society must have felt on the realisation that colonialism would continue.

Following this Treaty and the subsequent entry of British officials in Tanganyika, all Germans were expelled from Tanganyikan territory, including all German missionaries (Dougherty, 1966). The complete removal of every German from Tanganyika may have signified two things: the end of an era and the beginning of a new one; and the free operating of the British regime in order for them to command total and undivided loyalty and submission from the native people. The British government

explicitly declared their seated desire to own Tanganyika as their permanent territory. In 1925, Mr L. S. Amery, who was then Secretary of State for the Colonies stated:

“We have got rid of that intrusive block of German territory which, under the name of Tanganyika, has now been permanently incorporated in the British Empire. I stress that—permanently. It is an entire delusion that it is any less British than any other colony. Though we have laid ourselves under the League it is not one whit less British, nor does it make our tenure there one whit less permanent.” (Amery quoted in Chidzero, 1961:40)

The British intent in taking over the Tanganyika territory was not to offer temporary oversight or protect the region, but as the quote above clearly states, it was the ownership of Tanganyika. In declaring this intent of ownership, it is implied that the British state would conquer and control the country’s native inhabitants and their resources.

World War I had a devastating social and economic impact on the Tanganyikan native people. The war caused a tremendous loss of life, great devastation, and exhaustion of resources (Marsh and Kingsnorth, 1957). In describing the challenges and precarious situations that affected local people, and the subsequent disruption of the British administration takeover, Marsh and Kingsnorth wrote:

“The British faced many problems in 1918. The war in East Africa, Tanganyika was not fought on the green and grassy plains but rather in the swampy lowlands. In these areas the disease was easily caught and easily communicated – dysentery and malaria developed not only among the troops but also in the native population. Thirty thousand natives were said to have died from the famine. Amongst those remaining great numbers had pawned their children for food, husbands had left their wives, and mothers had deserted their children, family life had very nearly ceased to exist.”

(Marsh and Kingsnorth, 1957:230)

This account seems to covey the devastating reality of war for social relationships, the livelihoods of native people, and the emergence of hunger and disease, which lead to the loss of lives. Thus, this description seems to reveal one reality: the British colonial government was taking control over a society that was already exhausted and beset with many social problems that needed humane and appropriate social interventional solutions. However, the opposite happened. African black native communities continued suppressed, humiliated, and owned by the British regime for more than four decades.

Dougherty (1966:204) emphasised two pressing issues that faced the British administration in Tanganyika: “the re-enforcement of an effective administration, and economic reconstruction in Tanganyika.” The British regime in Tanganyika faced various challenges of a social and infrastructural nature. Marsh and Kingsnorth (1957) pointed out that the general operational condition in Tanganyika was made worse by the German soldiers in their retreat, as they purposefully destroyed many of the existing railway lines. The war’s impacts were wide-ranging and included the destruction of road infrastructures, commercial intercourse, and any vestige of a commercial pattern. Though the German colonial state was defeated in WWI, it never accepted the idea of giving up without resistance to its colonies and the agricultural and economic activities established there, including in Tanganyikan territory. The act of destroying infrastructure, including the roads and lines of communication, indicates two things. Firstly, the Germans could not bear the idea that the British administration was inheriting infrastructure built by German rule and therefore did not want to give them an easy start. Secondly, these infrastructures did not belong to and were not set up to benefit the indigenous community. Due to this severe destruction of infrastructures caused by war and by the actions of a reluctant German regime to relinquish the Tanganyika territory, the work of rebuilding, bringing back social normality, and mending infrastructure was an almost insurmountable task, and so the British were anxious to embark on a reconstruction programme (Dougherty, 1966). British officials took what they considered to be an important step to bring about some level of social normality and working relationship between the British administration and local communities. According to written reports, the British officers made trips into various districts in order to win the confidence of the natives. This social visitation evoked a good response from the native population. It resulted in native people building their houses and villages closer to the main roads and trails, indicative of a greater confidence in the Government (Great Britain. Parliamentary Papers, Report on Tanganyika, 1921; cited in Dougherty, 1966). Despite this apparent confidence and potentially blind hope for improvement, the natives complained to the British about the state of their economy; they experienced a lack of employment, scarcity of cash, and basic daily needs. These items cited by natives as part of their complaints are noteworthy. The mentioning of these specific items could be interpreted to represent a change in the general thinking regarding the economy and way of earning a livelihood. Before colonialism in Tanganyika, natives’ communities focused on subsistence farming for food production. The idea of viewing livelihood in terms of money and income was

uncommon back then; however, this Tanganyikan society had experienced a different model of economy and money under German rule, and notions of employment and salary were gradually becoming an integral part of the thinking. Thus, it appears correct to assume that the British colonial regime was taking control over a society that was already in the process of change. Natives were increasingly embracing a modern economic lifestyle and breaking away from traditional thinking and models of living.

In order to aid their administration efforts in Tanganyika, the British establishment back in London sent grants-in-aid to support expenditure costs between 1917 and 1927. Sayers (1930) explained that one of the main reasons for the necessity of grants was a deficit in railway expenditure, and problems of railroad development were a constant issue for the British in Tanganyika. Despite these grants, the high cost of railway expenditure meant that the budget showed a deficit until 1928 (Sayers, 1930).

Another issue the British colonial administrators encountered and had to address in Tanganyika was that of land distribution. Previously, the Germans had seized the best land for their settlers and had divided this land without paying much attention to the interests of natives, tribes, or boundaries (Dougherty, 1966). The question now was whether this existing land distribution should remain as it was or whether land should be given back to the indigenous people. The focus was on larger land areas, especially the formerly prosperous sisal estates. The prevailing solution seemed to be the idea that the sisal estates and large plantations should be sold, and the selling of this land was to begin in 1922 (Ingham, 1962; Dougherty, 1966). The subject of land alienation was included in the Report for Tanganyika of 1921, which pointed out that the British government had itself bought northern plantations for restoration to the natives. When the land was finally re-sold, the main nationalities buying it were Greeks, Indians, and British citizens. The Tanganyikan native people did not receive any part of these prosperous areas (Sayers, 1930).

The decisions and actions of the British administration regarding the affairs of the land distribution indicated deep-seated prejudice and discrimination against black native Tanganyika. The regime denied the native people their fundamental right to ownership of valuable resources essential to their livelihood and social well-being. The German colonial government had taken land by force from the natives, but now the current British colonial regime sold and distributed land properties amongst themselves, Greeks, and Indians. The way in which the British colonial administration acted and decided on this land distribution, and the exclusion of the Tanganyikan indigenous people, was actually

in line with and supported by their colonial policy, as some studies have indicated. Ndjovu (2015) undertook a historical study into the British Colonial Land Expropriation in Tanganyika, and made this observation:

“The British took over Tanganyika from the Germans in 1919 after the First World War. In facilitating colonial economic policies, the British colonial Government enacted Land Ordinance Cap 113 of 1923 and Land Acquisition Ordinance Cap 118 of 1926. These laws facilitated the acquisition of native lands and considerably changed the way expropriation was handled leaving behind permanent marks on the later practice. The colonial practice exposed the inner most economic intents of the British Government—the use of legal phrases like ‘for public purpose’ embedded in the ordinance had multiple legal interpretations and a loose definition befitting the colonial economic cravings of the time.” Ndjovu (2015:10)

Land was an asset of significant importance to the colonial regime’s long-term gain. Therefore, it is no wonder that there was a policy established to justify these acts, regardless of whether such actions were hurting the economy and social wellbeing of the native people.

One crucial question worth examining in more detail at this juncture is whether the British colonial regime’s activities in Tanganyika contributed to the development of the social welfare of native people, and society in general, and how.

Researchers acknowledge that, in the economic sphere, steps were taken, and a positive outcome was evident, as can be ascertained from the fact that after World War I Tanganyika had considerably more revenue and trade than before the war (Buell, 1928). However, other studies indicate that this economic development was not without its costs. To realise economic development in Tanganyika the British establishment relied on financial assistance from the home government in London. Dougherty (1966) explained that, in the year 1922, financial aid was given to Tanganyika as loans upon which interest was to be paid. Exchequer loans totalled £3,315,446—the most significant portion of which, £2,045,523, was provided for productive objects (Leubuscher, 1944).

In the sphere of social development, British rule was not highly successful. It is almost impossible to divorce the social and economic realms since many of the problems confronted encompass both areas. Records show that under the leadership of Governor Byatt, the British administration did not successfully bring about social development in

the Tanganyikan territory, and studies point to some factors that contributed to the lack of impact in this area. One controversial idea that created debate amongst the British colonial officers in Tanganyika was using local African chiefs in leadership positions or acting as intermediaries between the colonial authority and the local population. Dougherty (1966) pointed out that in 1923, the Native Authority Ordinance was issued so that more power might be conferred upon the native rulers. The usage of local leaders as part of colonial governing is historically known as indirect rule. Colonial regimes applied the indirect rule model of leadership across Africa and Tanganyika. This leadership model was supposed to allow traditional African rulers to be involved in the administrative structures of their fellow Africans at the local level, while the colonial officials oversaw from above (Suleman, 2016). Researchers have considered why colonial regimes opted for the usage of indirect rule. One view is that the European administrators wanted their instructions or orders to appear as if they were emanating directly from the traditional African rulers. This approach aimed at reducing African resistance against European policies (Suleman, 2016). However, the idea of including local African leaders in the colonial administrative network did not please Europeans. In particular, the non-native settlers in the Tanganyikan territory were uneasy about the idea of natives being socially empowered or counted as part of the British administration. They questioned whether any sort of native administration might have been useful (Dougherty, 1966).

Nevertheless, it appears that this questioning, and some of the attitudes of the British regime in Tanganyika, was not always in line with their written operational conventions or treaties. The requirement to prioritise and consider the natives' interests in the Tanganyika colony by the British regime was supposed to be a question of principle as indicated in the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations. It stated that "the non-native is an incidental and not a principal factor." (Dougherty 1966:207). Equally, it was stipulated that non-native settlers should not dominate the agricultural scene. This idea was expressed in 1923 by the Duke of Devonshire, who was then Secretary of State for the Colonies:

"His Majesty's Government think it necessary definitely to record their considered opinion that the interests of the African natives must be paramount and that if and when those interests and the interests of the immigrant races should conflict, the former should prevail. His Majesty's

Government regards themselves as exercising a trust, on behalf of the African population.” (Chidzero, 1961:14)

The above paragraphs (including the indented quotation) seem to cover three issues. One matter is the inclusion and usage of indigenous leaders as agents of colonial rule. The inclusion of representatives of native communities as part of the British line of leadership was meant to signify trust and a social working relationship. Another issue raised in the above quotation is the need for and importance of colonial administration to consider the different interests of indigenous and other populations as stipulated by the expectations of the official treaty. However, self-centredness and material gains dominated and characterised the British colonial regime in Tanganyika, making it impossible for the indigenous people’s interests and social welfare needs to feature in the wider purposes of the colonial administration.

Equally, Byatt stated in a speech to the London Chamber of Commerce (on 22nd May 1922) that the sole future of the Tanganyikan economy lay in the development of the native, and not non-native, cultivation; thus, he alienated the immigrant races of Tanganyika (Dougherty, 1966).

Both above accounts stress the official understanding of what was supposed to happen during colonisation. The native African people and their wellbeing were the first consideration accounted for in whatever the British colonial regime was doing or intending to do in Tanganyika. But this is a contradiction of what happened on the ground. As transpired, the implementation of these conventions received resistance on the ground, mainly from those who signed them in the first place. European businesspeople at the time were interested in economic growth and benefit, rather than seeing native black people standing on equal ground socially and their social wellbeing improved. Ingham (1962:25) wrote, “British businessmen interested in Tanganyika in the post-war years felt that social and economic growth could only be attained by the encouragement of larger-scale farming and European enterprises.” Thus, the British administration made vast land plantation areas available to non-native settlers (Dougherty, 1966).

Another matter which was a source of discontent among the British colonial officials was the realisation that the Chagga people were growing Arabica coffee on Mount Kilimanjaro. The non-natives resented the fact that the native people were growing a ‘European crop’ (Sayers, 1930). However, the idea that coffee is a European crop is untrue. This understanding was based on misinformation and a sense of cultural superiority. It was not Byatt who was primarily responsible for the encouragement of

native cultivation. The scheme originated with Sir Charles Dundas, who had studied captured German records during the war. Dundas discovered that the soil upon which the Chagga people lived (in the higher slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro) could quickly be adopted for the growing of Arabica coffee (Sayers, 1930). Other historians interpret the British colonial officials' attitude towards the Chagga people as an indication of British desire to have total domination over local people. For example, Padmore (1949) argued that:

“the ‘coffee controversy’ was just another illustration of the degree to which the non-natives wanted the sole monopoly of the Tanganyika coffee market. Thus, the Dar-es-Salaam Times was but a mouthpiece for the capitalistic imperialism which hoped to run Tanganyika on the same economic, political, and racial principles as South Africa, that is, white capital and black labour ... European political bosses and African helots.” (Padmore, 1949:62).

The second phase of the British colonial administration of Tanganyika was under the Governorship of Sir Donald Cameron, 1925–1931. During his tenure in office, Sir Donald initiated and advanced the system of indirect (native) administration:

“The system of “Indirect Administration” [is] based on several principles and is designed to adapt for local Government the tribal institutions which the native people have evolved for themselves... so that the latter may develop constitutionally from their past, guided and restrained by the traditions and sanctions which they have inherited, moulded or modified as they may be on the advice of British officers. It is an essential feature of the system that the British Government rules through these native institutions which are an integral part of the machinery of Government, just as the administrative officers are an essential part of the Government with well-defined powers and functions recognized by the Government and by law.” (Dougherty, 1966:205).

Sir Donald had a stepping-stone to assist him in advancing his programme of native administration. This development followed the Native Authority Ordinance passed during Byatt's governorship in 1923. The implementation of this ordinance was complex and met with resistance within the British administration, as different interests and priorities competed. Just as had been the case in the first phase of British rule under Governor Byatt, the British officials in Tanganyika could not agree on the idea of

elevating local African leaders into colonial administration, and Governor Cameron faced resistance (Mair, 1936; Ingham, 1962).

The idea of introducing a social welfare policy that focused on improving the social wellbeing of native society and intervening in individuals' social circumstances was a bone of contention among the British colonial administration, both in London and in Dar es Salaam, Tanganyika. Historians have provided various perspectives explaining why the British administration discouraged the idea of introducing a state-sponsored social security system for the wellbeing of the Tanganyikan natives. This idea was rejected vehemently by the British, and some of the reasons used as a basis for this rejection are explained below.

One explanation for the British administration avoiding the introduction of a standard social security welfare system was the fear of the costs it might incur. Cooper (1996) explained that the British colonial administration in Tanganyika was against the introduction of any social protection system, such as family allowances for native Tanganyikan workers and society in general. Setting up a general family allowances scheme for the whole population was also a contentious matter back in society in the UK during this time. The British Government was rejecting calls to introduce such a social scheme (Pedersen, 1993; Spicker, 2014). Thus, it is not surprising to find that they also resisted calls for its introduction elsewhere, including in the Tanganyika territory. The British establishment regarded the implementation of these standards in their African territories as 'not realistic' (Cooper, 1996:83). Colonial officials mainly put forward political arguments against the idea. However, Eckert (2004) argued that the main reason behind this reluctance was because the cost of providing European scale benefits could not be borne by the colonial regime, especially not in a supposedly underdeveloped territory like Tanganyika. Equally, Molohan (1959), a provincial commissioner, argued against any move by the British administration to set up a social policy scheme that intended to benefit the natives. He emphasised that "any form of compulsory state-controlled provident fund scheme ... is out of the question because of the high cost of administration that would be involved" (Molohan, 1959:67). Under the prevailing economic circumstances in Tanganyika, the British colonial regime argued that the price of a government-run social security system would have been high even if it were to only include a small number of African workers and employees. Furthermore, another perspective emphasises that the introduction and managing of a formal social security system was likely to be impossible because of the cost not only in Tanganyika, but in the

many colonies that Great Britain managed in Africa. It is estimated that there were twenty or more such colonies under British control in Africa alone (Kanyandago, 2002). It is undeniable that the British colonial empire had spread across Africa purposely to acquire maximum resource gains for the building up of the economy and social conditions back in the United Kingdom alone. However, the official position dictated that the British colonial regime in Tanganyika should prioritise the natives' interests.

The British administration in Tanganyika had a contradictory attitude towards the natives. On the one hand, the British colonial regime worried about the financial cost of setting up a social security system for the native society. However, on the other hand, this colonial regime was committed and vigorously involved in the continued looting of resources, forcing native people to work for the regime's interest while ignoring their welfare needs—an attitude nothing short of selfish and exploitative. It is also important to note that during this period, workers from non-African backgrounds, including the British colonial officials, received social security protection that was not extended to native African workers.

Studies in British colonial history indicate that the British Government adopted a 'laissez-faire' attitude towards the colonies' economic development. According to T.C. (1943), the reason for this approach appears to have been the maintenance of law and order in the colony so that the trading and mining companies could operate without interruption in their work, ensuring a steady flow of vital raw material to the country. Reflecting on this impact of this social plan on the ground, Perham, cited in T.C. (1943:140), has pungently remarked: "British colonial administrators, reflecting and indeed prolonging the attitude of their kin in Britain, lavished their attention upon political development, while the more powerful economic forces were allowed their free and devastating attack upon native society."

The general native welfare needs were not considered as a priority of the British colonial regime. Native societies experienced food shortages: among other reasons, this situation was caused mainly by the colonial regime's policy that introduced large plantations and demanded that native communities offered a labour force to realise the high production levels of cash-crops. Balancing colonial demands around massive cash-crop production and at the same times cultivating for one's own welfare needs was a challenging undertaking. In many circumstances, communities found themselves without sufficient food and without any external interventional support.

Another perspective that seemed to influence the lack of implementation of a social policy system in which the natives were beneficiaries was that a formal social security system was regarded by the British officials to be ‘non-African’. Iliffe (1987) made a point that until the Second World War the colonial state and European private employers delegated the field of social security entirely to what they labelled ‘traditional African solidarity’, and occasionally to the few individuals and church welfare institutions. Furthermore, in 1959 Gower, an acting governor, justified the lack of state-sponsored social security systems by linking this with African society’s specific nature. Gower expressed this view: “The underlying philosophy, that social security is not the responsibility of the individual or of his family, is alien to Africa” (Gower 1959, quoted in Eckert, 2004:475). Gower’s statement implies that the introduction of a state-sponsored social welfare scheme would not have been a notion familiar or known to local native African people. The expressed assumption was that the native Africans understood that the responsibility of providing social security rested with individuals and family, and not with another body or government as was the practice in the United Kingdom. Therefore, Gower’s statement indicates that having such a system in place would be imposing something alien onto the native black people; hence, he did not see the necessity of a social security system provided by a government. Although this may align with how social security was ensured in line with the pre-colonial era, the time has now changed, and communities are influenced and controlled by the colonial regime. Also, one wonders if at all there was any direct communication with native Africans or whether they were involved in discussions as to whether such a policy applied to them or not.

It may be the case that the British colonial regime in Tanganyika, as in other parts of Africa, from the beginning made a conscious decision that the social welfare of native black people was not a main priority. Under no circumstances were they going to change their position on this matter. Herbert (1974:45) asserted that colonial powers had no desire to finance state welfare programmes for Africans. Manji and O’Coill (2002:569) wrote:

“Government social services for the indigenous population were minimal. Social policy was geared towards ensuring the integrity of the structures of colonial rule. It was designed to secure a sufficient quality of labour to guarantee reasonably efficient exploitation of the colony. The goals of social development (such as they were) were defined in the metropolis. Within that framework, policy formulation and implementation were

usually decentralised, being delegated to the colonial governor and administration.”

Other studies observe that the implementation of a social security system in Africa was coupled with many challenges as there was little urgency for the formalizing of regulated labour markets and state-sponsored social security (Low and Lonsdale, 1976).

However, other views direct blame towards native Africans who did not insist upon the meeting of their needs, rights, and social welfare. For example, Brennan (2002) pointed out that in the late 1940s strikes spearheaded by railway workers and dockworkers mainly focused on demands for higher wages to meet high living costs. African trade unionists and nationalists in Tanganyika were not aggressive enough about issues of social security (Friedland, 1969). The Tanganyika African Government Servants Association (TAGSA), an occupational group that preferred petitions rather than striking, complained about the high costs of newspapers, living spaces, cinema, books, and tickets, several years after the Second World War (Tanzania National Archive, 1951 Cited in Eckert, 2004). The native African workers did not stress enough the need for social welfare provision but instead demanded higher wages over campaigning for a more general social security scheme. The lack of focus on rights and social welfare provision could have stemmed from a general lack of understanding regarding their rights and living circumstances. I suspect that they were deprived of both requirements, but that they saw it necessary to request an increase in wages to at least to meet their daily needs.

Another social issue that created an unfavourable social working environment and tension for black African workers was the British colonial administration’s attitude towards favouring Asian employees. The colonial government held back African recruitment for higher administrative posts that incorporated pension rights until the later years of occupation (Eckert, 2004). African workers’ awareness of their rights grew, and they made demands for change, and more development concerning social security emerged. During his tenure from 1925–1931 the Governor of Tanganyika, Sir Donald Cameron, influenced the British regime to enact a policy called the ‘Master and Servants Ordinance.’ This policy offered small industrial compensation, paid by employers to their employees in the case of industrial accidents (Bossert, 1985). However, initially African workers who were government clerks were classified into lower administrative ranks that lacked both employer’s contributions and pension rights (Dougherty, 1966).

One matter in the above paragraph deserves further attention and deliberation. There is a connection between the policy of favouring ‘Asian’ employees and the demands for greater social security provision.

An institution that operates following a policy of favouritism with regards to their employees—for example, treating some employees with high regard and giving them privileges while treating others in a discriminatory manner—contributes to furthering the social problems of those discriminated against. If an employer values all employees equally regardless of their cultural background, such an employer would choose to assist them equally in every way, however this was not the case in Tanganyika during this time.

In the late 1930s, Lord Hailey, a historian and theoretician of British colonial policy, expressed the attitude towards Africans at that time; “It is clear that by treating the native reserves as reservoirs of man-power, there is, in effect, saving in that outlay on social services which in other circumstances might have to be incurred on behalf of industrialised labour” (Hailey, 1938:710). It is no wonder that, until the Second World War, most measures in the realm of social policy benefited Europeans almost exclusively (Kaufmann, 1982; Fuchs, 1985, both cited in Eckert, 2004:473).

In November 1942, a social security scheme, the Provident Fund (Government Employees) Ordinances, was set up by the British regime in Tanganyika. This policy was intended to provide funds for lower-rank workers (including native Africans), and offered, at least, the provision of small payments in the case of a premature inability to work and subsequent retirement (Tanganyika Labour Department, 1950, cited in Eckert, 2004). African workers expressed some reservations and resistance with regards to how they were being dealt with by the British administration, who controlled all social and economic aspects of life. Reflecting on the situation, Eckert wrote: “The manifestation of capacity for industrial action by African workers was instrumental in raising voices to be fairly and equally treated as workers. The Africans workers demanded to be treated as workers as opposed to Africans” (Eckert, 2004:8). Black Africans’ request to be merely known as workers rather than Africans could be interpreted as a demand to be treated on the same basis as other workers regardless of race, ethnicity or skin colour. These frustrations that native black Africans in Tanganyika expressed are an indication of the impacts of social inequality in the workforce. They were racially profiled by their British employers when it came to individual rights in the workplace. Eckert (2004) explained that the marginalisation of African workers was symptomatic of how, in general, Europeans viewed black African people at that time. European colonisers likened

Africans essentially to ‘primitive tribesmen’. The extraction of casual labour or unskilled work and the conservation of tribal African structures was a common practice.

While social welfare provision was perceived to be a complicated matter at the British colonial governmental level, other organisations within the voluntary sector took up the responsibility of social welfare provision in Tanganyika during that time. Jennings (2014) stated that the voluntary sector consisted almost entirely of Christian missionary organisations. History reveals that British missionary work in Tanganyika increased steadily from 1924 onwards (Leubuscher, 1944). History indicates a formal voluntary sector and an alliance between the colonial state and Christian missionary organisations in Tanganyika from the 1930s (Jennings, 2015). The voluntary sector’s work was acknowledged and made an integral part of the British colonial government in Tanganyika.

Retrospectively, voluntary and charitable work have historically played a central role in social problem-solving. Manji and O’Coill (2002:568) pointed out that:

“Market and voluntarism have a long association; the first and most celebrated period of ‘free trade’, from the 1840s to the 1930s, was also a high point of charitable activity throughout the British empire. In Britain itself, the industrial revolution opened up a great gulf between the bourgeoisie and the swelling ranks of the urban proletariat. In the 1890s, when industrialists were amassing fortunes to rival those of the aristocracy, as much as one-third of the population of London were living below the level of bare subsistence, and death from starvation was not unknown. At this time, private philanthropy was the preferred solution to social need and private expenditure far outweighed public provision.”

Indeed, as the above quote indicates, charitable groups composed mainly of Christians, for example, the Salvation Army, the Church Missionary Society, and other church groups/philanthropists, played a part in helping those affected by social problems in the United Kingdom during the 18th and 19th centuries.

Christian mission institutions played a most significant role in meeting the social welfare needs of the indigenous populations, including addressing Tanganyikans’ health-related needs across the country. Jennings’ research indicates that from the 1930s the colonial state gradually incorporated mission-run services into its health system. By the 1950s, we can see Tanzania’s health system operating as a public–private partnership model (Jennings, 2015:2). Large- and small-scale hospitals were established, addressing

various aspects of health-related matters that affected natives. Missionaries seemed to be closer to the local people than the overall British colonial establishment. The British colonial state in Tanganyika acknowledged positively the contributions and social services provided by mission organisations. Jennings (2013) explained that under British rule, cooperation between the medical services operated by the colonial state and those of the voluntary sector increased steadily from the 1930s until the late 1940s. During this time, the British colonial state provided limited funding for voluntary sector services. In return, those voluntary providers agreed to subject themselves to greater regulation and direction from the state. The funding did not cover all costs, did not include capital costs, and official grants were only made for mission hospitals with resident doctors, not for dispensaries and clinics (Jennings, 2015:2). The state support level was predicated upon the assumption that voluntary services would also receive funding from external sources. So, the mission organisation was expected to match half of the total state grant from external sources (Tanganyika, 1952).

A formal public–private model for healthcare service delivery in Tanganyika was established as a partnership between the state (with overall responsibility for regulating health service provision) and Christian mission providers. Mission work was contracted through grant-in-aid provision to provide services where the state could or would not do so (Jennings, 2013).

Some authors have questioned the extent to which British missionaries in Tanganyika and Africa were committed to promoting and protecting the social wellbeing of native black Africans in colonial times. The argument is that British missionaries exhibited a contradictory and ambivalent attitude towards injustice and inhumane treatment endured by native black Africans under the colonial regime. Some literature indicated that the attitude and work of missionaries in Africa helped the colonial power fulfil its plan in the country. The mission stations strengthened the colonial regime's hold over the country, missionaries inducted native black African people into the best kind of civilisation, and mission structures were an essay in colonisation (Temu 1972, Okon 2014). Also, missionaries' social welfare programmes that served black native people were associated with purposes other than redressing the social circumstances that caused impoverishment. One apparent view is that British missionaries used the British Empire's resources, and then, in turn, the Empire coerced them into using their teachings to subdue the native Africans. In this way, missionary organisations actively helped to suppress anti-colonial struggles (Manji and O'Coill, 2002). These authors see that voluntary welfare

provision by mission organisations was easily adapted for the purpose of social control (Manji and O'Coill, 2002). Other authors see a similarity between Britain and Africa in terms of how welfare provision was used. Woodrooffe (1974:13) wrote: "in Britain and the colonies alike, politicians frequently alluded to the threat of revolution and actively encouraged greater interest in works of benevolence as a solution to social unrest."

Of course, colonialism and its injustice and brutality impacted many lives, and missionaries were in a position of power compared to native Africans. They could have championed justice and the fair treatment of native Africans. However, for reasons unknown to us of which we can only speculate, they chose not to interfere and instead turned a blind eye to the colonial regime and its activities. It is difficult to establish whether this indifference and lack of interference by mission organisations was caused by a lack of courage to confront their fellow countrymen of the British Empire, or whether indeed the colonial agenda, upon which economical and material gains depended on the exploitation and utilisation of native Africans as a labour force was a plan known to missionaries and they therefore restrained from interfering.

While there may be some truth in the criticisms levelled against missionary organisations operating during the colonial era, it is important to note that the voluntary sector did address the social circumstances which affected native people to some extent. For example, hospitals and clinics in Tanzania were built and helped native people whose wellbeing was threatened by diseases. Schools set up by missionaries linked to different Christian denominations a long time ago continue to provide primary and secondary education, making education available to a large population in Tanzania (Mushi, 2009:187).

The religious identity of the country of Tanzania is characterised by both Christianity and Islam, so is the contribution in addressing social problems and enhancing social welfare services in the country. Islamic involvement in social welfare issues has a history in Tanzania. It emerges in pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial Tanzania and continues today. Historically, traditional Islamic Education was introduced by the Arabs in the coastal area of Tanzania, where Islam first arrived. It thus preceded Western-style schooling by centuries. Generations of walimu (teachers), some more trained than others, provided religious education to the young. This education was offered in what is known as the Quran schools at the primary level (Chande, 1993:1). The establishment of Muslim schools and the spread of education carried out in Tanzania and elsewhere in Africa has

always been done to consolidate Islamic religion and its cultural identity in a society (Pouwells, 1987; Chande, 1993).

Furthermore, Muslims of Arabic descendants who lived in Kilwa, Tanga, and other coastal cities had a good level of literacy in Kiswahili written in the Arabic script and took the Islamisation agenda through offering education in coastal and mainland Tanganyika. History indicates that Muslims of Arabic and Indians descent were used by the German colonial administration as interpreters and assistants consolidating the colonial regime and operation in Tanganyika because of their good level of literacy in Kiswahili and local awareness. From the time Islam arrived and its development in Tanzania, education has been a tool to the public. Though initially education was concentrated more on traditional Islamic religious teachings (Lienhardt, 1959), today education led by Muslims tries to embrace other dimensions of academic's fields, modern subjects that reflect on broader life experience and involved in social welfare charity work. Literature indicates efforts by Islamic religious groups in addressing social problems and providing social welfare services before and after independence. Islamic social contribution is evident in the country's health care and education (Lange et al., 2000). Islamic social efforts in providing education to local Muslim Africans did not receive warm approval from the British colonial administration when Tanganyika was under colonial occupation. Reflecting on this situation, Chande (1993:6) wrote:

"As far as the matter of awarding subsidies to mission schools was concerned, the British administration had quite early made it possible for many of their schools run by the voluntary agencies to receive financial assistance. By providing them such assistance the British were seen by the Muslims to be subsidising Christianity, particularly in view of the fact that they refused to grant aid to Quran schools on the ground that these were exclusively religious institutions."

Consequently, due to missing financial support from colonial masters, they took measures into their own hands. Muslims, through their then leader, the Aga Khan (Sultan Muhammad Sha), leader of the Ismailis, collaborated with like-minded Asian and African Muslims, established, and initiated the East African Muslim Welfare Society (EAMWS). The expressed aims of this association were as follows: "a) to promote Islam in East Africa; and b) to render assistance in the advancement and the betterment of such Muslims and in particular African Muslims who in the opinion of the society, stand in need of such assistance in the fields of education, both secular and religious, and in the

spheres of health and social services." (Kiwanuka 1973:49, cited in Chande, 1993:7). This organisation began to function fully in 1945, the year marking the end of World War II (Chande, 1993).

Islamic organisations are among the organisations that are active in social service delivery today in Tanzania. Their impact is not only limited to the private sphere of the believers but also extends to the public sphere (Weiss, 2020:1). A study by Lange et al. (2000) found out that Muslim organisations run a number of hospitals and 15 secondary schools around the country. Two of them provide training for future religious leaders; the rest are open to all, including Christians. Other studies have explored the beginning and impact of Islamic education and social activities in Tanzania (Mushi, 2009).

The voluntary sector in the colonial era may have served as a foundation and catalyst for the development of the current local non-governmental welfare organisations in Tanzania. Today, the voluntary sector plays a significant role in eliminating poverty and fighting against other social ills affecting the general population's wellbeing, especially those from socially disadvantaged backgrounds, and challenging injustice in social structures.

History reveals more activities that demonstrated efforts to address social welfare concerns. The British administration set up a formalised social welfare structure arranged for native Africans, as discussed in the following section.

5.3 More Formalised Welfare Arrangements During the Colonial Period

The Second World War was a significant turning point in the thinking of the British colonial administration regarding their involvement with the social welfare needs of the indigenous Tanganyikan people. The British administration in Tanganyika could see the social impacts of the Second World War on the local population, especially local Tanzanians who had participated in war abroad. Hence, during and after the Second World War, the British colonial regime in Tanganyika deliberated on activities focused on aspects of social welfare, and some reasonable attempts to address the issues did surface. History indicates that the British colonial government tried to set up social welfare programmes that targeted specific social groups. These social programmes were in the form of social welfare centres in some cities, including in Dar es Salaam. To realise the social welfare centres vision, the British administration back in London allocated £50,000 from the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund to establish social welfare

centres throughout Tanganyika. (Tanzania National Archive 34257: Report on Social Welfare for the Year 1945. Cited in Eckert, 2004:477).

The welfare centres were an integral part of a vision that sought to promote social development and social security initiatives in urban areas (Cooper, 1996). One objective behind these initiatives was the attempt to bring the natives of Tanganyika into the 20th century, and so the established social welfare centres focused on increasing literacy (Cooper, 1996). The opening of these social welfare centres was deemed crucial in the early 1940s, as many African soldiers returned from action overseas (Burton, 2008). Before, and at the beginning of, the Second World War, some established welfare initiatives did exist; for instance, literacy programmes for adults in the Eastern Province and specifically in Dar es Salaam (Eckert, 2004). Eckert provides us with this historical information to understand the deliberation and steps taken to this policy based on the archive's information. TNA 34257, cited by Eckert (2004:477) reported:

"Already in the spring of 1944, the chief secretary did mention in a circular to all provincial commissioners (TNA 61/782/1) plans 'for the establishment after the war of associations of ex-servicemen, clubs, general welfare centres having particular regard to the need of the returned soldier. The establishment of various centres of a social or welfare centre would act as a gathering place for the most progressive Africans, both ex-soldiers and others, would have particular regard for the needs of the ex-soldier and would be in some measure recognition of the services he had rendered to the Territory in the war. Such a centre would also fulfil some of the functions of a club – for which there is an ever-growing need amongst Africans and an educational centre for adults. And might, if properly organized, be a useful agency through which District Commissioners could keep in touch with the more advanced elements in their districts.'"

The British Information Officer in Dar es Salaam in 1944 declared a territory-wide mass education programme, targeting the African soldiers returning from overseas service. The British colonial establishment believed that as a consequence of their exposure to different places and lifestyles, returning soldiers would be hungry for education, and therefore they were described as the sole object of this programme (Low and Lonsdale, 1976). This quote by an Information Officer on 11 July 1944 (Tanzanian National Archives (TNA 61/67/5) best describes the background behind the establishment

of these social welfare centres. The Information Officer's words in Eckert (2004:477) read:

"the soldiers themselves have seen many strange things, have visited, in many cases, distant lands and have acquired a taste for knowledge...When they come back from the war, they will want to have at home the same opportunities they had in the army, they will wish to continue their studies and will want their friends and relatives to study with them and to keep pace with them."

Eckert's information officer's account indicates the underlying principle of thinking by the British colonial administration. The idea of setting up social welfare centres as a response to the potential needs of returning soldiers seemed an appropriate social programme.

To implement the social welfare centre programmes, a social welfare organiser, Mr Baker, was appointed, and he acted as a chairman to oversee the entire project (Eckert, 2004). The British government set out to establish 40 centres, mainly in urban areas, within a short period of time. Initially, the objectives of these centres were unclear (Tanzania National Archives -TNA Paper, 1954). Each provincial administration created a separate unit that played a role in taking care of the re-integration of returning soldiers and in 1944 welfare centres were a focal point of this endeavour. Historians provide more explanation for the establishment of these social welfare centres: besides becoming outlets for ex-soldiers' ambition, these centres had other tasks associated with them. Citing information from the TNA (540/3: Circular Social Welfare Office, Oct. 1945), Eckert (2004:478) maintained that these centres served a bridge-building purpose. "The function of the centres is to endeavour to bridge the gap between the proletariat and the intelligentsia and to inspire the latter with the ideal of service which it so badly lacks. Many policy documents followed, listing numerous potential functions and tasks of the centres, such as providing leisure and adult learning for local populations and creating a community spirit of self-help."

These social programmes were bridging the gap between the intelligentsia and the proletariat and inspiring the intelligentsia with the country's ideals of service, which were seemingly lacking. However, it seems unclear how the welfare centres were to serve as the bridge between intellectuals and the working class. It is not clear who belonged to the intelligentsia and who was part of the proletariat. Was it returning soldiers bridging the

gap with ordinary native Africans, or were British colonial officials and experts interacting with returned soldiers?

Other functions attributed to these centres were the provision of adult learning and leisure for local populations and the creation of a community spirit of self-help. Activities which took place in these centres included debates, lectures, theatre performances, sport, dance, and reading and writing courses (Eckert, 2004).

Other activities in these centres focused on women. It was believed that women promoted better conditions in the home, contributing to higher overall standards of living. Hence, much effort was spent on educating women in the ways of improving social living conditions, as women prepared the food, clothed the family, were responsible for bringing up the children, and were generally accountable for cleanliness, domestic health, and behaviour patterns (Eckert, 2004). In Dar es Salaam, female welfare officers, who were mostly the wives of European officials, organised courses for women, as did voluntary workers from the Women's Service League of Tanganyika, offering activities such as knitting, sewing, healthcare, ironing, domestic hygiene, and English. They were met with enthusiastic response, although little is known about the experiences and the motives of the women frequenting these welfare centres (Eckert, 2004).

These centres received small government subsidies, however the British colonialists refrained from entirely financing these centres, using membership payments as a way of encouraging the 'self-supporting' nature of the centres. British officials believed that this form of financing would improve the Africans' sense of responsibility in social and financial matters and they defined welfare centres as analogous to local government institutions, a kind of training ground linked to future democracy (Eckert, 2004).

History indicates that the programmes which were run at the social welfare centres received criticism and were not fully embraced by Africans. For example, the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) representatives regularly attacked the British education policy in the Legislative Council (Nyerere, 1966). The Government of Tanganyika patently neglected the educational aspects promoted in the British social welfare education system extension and development policies. Most nationalists and Africans, in general, were not comfortable with the kind of civilisation instruction and training offered in the social welfare centres (Nyerere, 1966). Additionally, questions about the effectiveness of these centres emerged, with varying opinions surfacing regarding the success of the social welfare centres.

British officials attempted to explain this situation with a mixture of self-criticism and paternalism. For example, Richards, the then Social Development Commissioner, assessed that the lack of success was caused by the two most crucial user groups of the centre, who failed to fulfil their role adequately as designed for them. The Commissioner highlighted that the 'educated class', mainly comprised of government clerks, were 'social snobs', unwilling to mingle with manual workers and the latter's interest "was limited to fun and games and in particular dances" (Richards quoted in Eckert, 2004:480). Equally, another perspective on the matter was that "as far as the less educated sections of the community are concerned, the centres appear to be unattractive in comparison with the customary and traditional relaxations. At the same time, they lack the full support of those of the more educated by whom welfare is regarded as something which should be provided and paid for by the State. The result is a degree of apathy towards the centres and a continuing reluctance to contribute even nominal subscriptions towards their upkeep and maintenance" (Annual Report to UN for 1957, 121., quoted in Eckert, 2004:479).

Furthermore, Mnyampala (1954) made a point that a strong community of interest was deemed to be a feeling that was alien to tribal exclusiveness; that in their sense, 'Africa is not club-minded'. A further explanation for the lack of success of the social welfare centre programmes was that very few ex-soldiers stayed in Dar es Salaam or other cities. In his annual report for 1947, the British Social Welfare Officer noted that no soldier felt the need to commit actively to social progress contribution because 'tribal life' had absorbed them again. Only a few former soldiers seriously engaged in political, social, or cultural activities. Their military experience impacted more on village beer party conversations than on political organisations (Iliffe, 1979). A survey conducted on the impact of the social welfare centres in the Tanganyika provinces and districts resulted in frustrating conclusions. The summary report reads:

"No District Commissioner claims more than moderate success for the centre in his area. Two centres have failed completely, and twelve are regarded as being more or less failures ... The basic difficulty is that illiterate and semi-literate African peasants are unable quickly to assimilate twentieth century ideas of community life and development. Particularly is this so when the ideas are associated with the word 'welfare', which has war-time association for the ex-servicemen for whom the centres were primarily designed in the first place. This word, for many, has

the connotation of 'getting something for nothing'. Other difficulties have been insufficient staff (European and African); the gulf between the 'educated' African and the artisan-peasant; ...and, finally, the fact that dancing, often the most popular community activity, has incurred the hostility of missionaries." (Tanganyika re. Community Centres, Summary Report, [Apr. 1952] in Eckert 2004:480).

However, others have argued that it was a big mistake to have imposed these centres on African communities without first cultivating the African understanding of these institutions' main aims and objectives (Burton, 2003). While the other above explanations are valid, the lack of consultation, partnership, and working relationships between the British colonial administration and the indigenous communities contributed significantly to the failure of the social welfare centres. How could a group of people be expected to embrace and carry on a project if they had no participation in its construction? Could such a project bear any value or meaning on people's lives through coercion alone? The social welfare centre programmes sounded as though they were a positive vision. However, the implementation process appeared to overlook essential steps: namely, collaboration in the formation and implementation of the project between stakeholders, including British colonial officials, ex-soldiers, and local communities.

The colonial occupation of Tanganyika ended in 1961 when the territory gained its independence from Great Britain, and in 1964 the mainland region of Tanganyika joined with Zanzibar and Pemba Island and formed what is known today as the United Republic of Tanzania.

Following independence, the country entered another era, and the elected Government had to grapple with the question of how to address the social problems that affected its population. Therefore, in the following section, we discuss the path, steps, and actions that the Government took to address social issues in the country.

5.4 Formal Approach to Welfare Arrangements Following Independence

The colonial invasion of Africa and Tanzania marked a point of no return, both in terms of indigenous populations' understanding of life at the time and their experiencing of life in the subsequent post-colonial era. For example, Settles (1996:1) remarked: "the imposition of colonialism on Africa altered its history forever. African modes of thought, patterns of cultural development, and ways of life were forever impacted by the change in political structure brought about by colonialism. The African economy was

significantly changed through the process of imperialism and the economic policies that accompanied colonization." The colonial activities impacted people in a significant way and left them now trying to navigate a new path as an independent nation, which required political leadership that could bring about social and economic development in the country. Soanes and Stevenson (2003) defined politics as the ideas and strategies of a government or the public affairs of a nation. Political leadership can have various meanings. One meaning which seems relevant to this discussion is the understanding of political leadership's role in giving vision and strategy to a nation and creating a conducive environment for the implementation of formulated policies. These policies aim at, among other things, bringing about economic development and social change (Ngowi, 2009:261).

After gaining independence from the British colonial Government in 1961, Tanzania faced the daunting task of creating its own Government and addressing its people's welfare. Mwenzwa and Waweru (2016) asserted that, after obtaining freedom, African states needed to revisit their social and economic development strategies through self-directed formulation and the implementation of policy processes. Hence, in its endeavour to be useful to its people, the Tanzanian Government adopted a political philosophy that has had much influence on the formation of the economy, the society, and the social welfare arrangements. Under Nyerere's leadership, the new Government's administration had the sole responsibility to bring about economic system change that would benefit every citizen and not just a privileged few. One responsibility that the Government and policymakers sought to fulfil was the extension of all necessary public social services (health, education, and water) and other social services to the entire population (Manyama, 2017).

Historians have explained that the analysis of the socio-economic reality and the vision of necessary services was motivated by some observable factors: firstly, the realisation that even after independence, the economy continued to be mainly within the hands of the British colonial masters and Asian businessmen, primarily Arabs and Indians, who controlled industries, plantations, banks, mines, and a relatively large number of commercial activities. The economy continued to be market-oriented with private sector capitalism dominating (Ngowi, 2009; Wangwe and Rweyemamu, 2001). Secondly, Tanzania inherited a colonial economic and public sector structure that benefited few people. For example, the education system in colonial times was stratified by racial categories (White, Asian, and African). The quality and accessibility of African

schools was relatively poor and under-resourced, and the majority of the black population did not receive any education (Ngowi, 2009; Wangwe and Rweyemamu, 2001). Furthermore, at that time, the healthcare system consisted of a few hospitals and private doctors in urban areas, and religious mission services and traditional healers in rural areas. In the water sector, most households, mainly rural, obtained water from natural sources. Therefore, considering all of these deficiencies in the social and economic sectors, the country through its government declared war on what they named the nation's three archenemies: poverty, ignorance/illiteracy, and diseases (Wangwe and Rweyemamu, 2001:3).

The political structure was characterized by a single party, the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), until 1964. Tanganyika and Zanzibar united under the leadership of Julius Kambarage Nyerere, who became the first president of Tanzania (Ngowi, 2009).

After gaining independence, changes did not occur straight away. The new government made a political decision to continue with the capitalist mode of production inherited from colonial masters. With regards to this decision, it can, therefore, be argued that at this time the relationship between political actors and economic policy was one in which the leaders followed the procedures inherited from colonial masters (Ngowi, 2009). Operating within the inherited old economic framework, the Government implemented a five-year plan (1961–1967) to change the economy and the social condition of the country. This strategy was the first effort, as Kaiser (1996:229) explained:

"immediately following independence... efforts were made to implement a programme which depended on foreign investment to support massive, capital-intensive industrialisation and agricultural development projects. By the middle of the 1960s, it became apparent that this ambitious five-year plan was not yielding anticipated results, and that Tanzania was on a path towards increased dependence on the North."

Factors that indicate that the five-year economic plan seemed to be unsuccessful in producing its intended results are documented. Wagao (1992) explained that during the five-year plan urban–rural income differentials increased dramatically, rural-based development was ignored, local expertise remained inadequate, and finance became synonymous with capital projects at the expense of mobilising underutilised labour and land resources. It was within this social and economic context that the Government decided to introduce drastic measures. President Julius Nyerere presented an alternative

vision in 1967 as outlined in the Arusha Declaration. The governing Tanzanian African National Union (TANU), later named the Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM), called into question the benefits of modernisation policies by challenging the basic tenets of capitalism (Kaiser, 1996).

The political leadership seemed to be facing the dilemma of deciding which economic model would bring about the social and economic changes they wished to see on the ground. Their final decision of embracing a socialist economic philosophy model, as opposed to a capitalist economic model characterised by capital markets and private enterprise, seems to have primarily been influenced by the historical experiences of colonialism and associations between the capitalist economic model and the country's colonial history. Besides, capitalism had already failed to bring about the desired economic and social changes to the large, scattered Tanzanian population. However, the Government was entering uncharted territory, with little known about how a socialist economic model emphasising self-reliance would work. This was also the first time Tanzania had become a nation with one political structure. Still, they pressed ahead because they believed that the new economic policy model was relevant and could bring about social and economic change to all.

The political and economic landscape of Tanzania changed dramatically in 1967, as a result of the political decisions that gave birth to the Arusha Declaration proclaimed in this year. The Arusha Declaration served as an ideological foundation, a blueprint declaring that Tanzania would be following 'Ujamaa', a kind of African socialism policy, in its social and economic pursuit. The Ujama (familyhood) political ideology was deemed essential to the attainment of a self-reliant socialist nation and as a solution for marginalized communities in Tanzania. Julius Nyerere, the then first president of Tanzania, wrote:

"The developed ujamaa ideology would cater and care for the sick, care for the orphans, widows, the aged; the unmarried, other people marginalized people in villages as a whole, just as the traditional society was up to the task" (Nyerere, 1968:352).

The impact of the implementation of this new policy became quickly evident on the ground. Kaiser (1996:229) explained that Nyerere's government decided to retreat from the capital-intensive industrialisation that it had planned in its first five-year plan, as it was deemed an expensive project requiring vast amounts of foreign money and technology. The Government's focus and priority were now given to the development of

the agricultural sector through Ujamaa Vijiji (Ujamaa Villages). The Government's actions seemed to be in line with TANU's Policy on Socialism and Self-Reliance (1967). The policy of the ruling party TANU stipulated those foreign grants, loans, and investments were to be discouraged in order to eliminate the complete dependence on outside help, as this endangered Tanzania's political independence and autonomous policymaking ability. To this end, the Government tried to carefully channel monitored external assistance to increase domestic productivity; to limit imports to only those goods that could not be produced domestically (TANU's policy 1967:11).

The Government took more drastic actions to implement the socialist-oriented economic and political policies. The capitalist private sector and market-led economy that was inherited from the colonial powers at independence was replaced by a state-owned, centrally planned and controlled economy. All the essential means of production in the country (industries, agriculture-plantations, commerce, mines) were nationalised, as were private-led institutions and social institutions under the voluntary sector, including schools and hospitals. The state became the principal owner, controller, and manager of these state-owned enterprises (SOEs) (Ngowi, 2009:262).

While during the colonial era the voluntary sector and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) were at the frontline of welfare service provision, all of this changed after Tanzania gained independence, starting with the so-called Nyerere era. The status and functioning of the voluntary sector and NGOs were quashed, and their influence was reduced and pushed to the background during the first two decades of Nyerere's premiership. Additionally, in order to reach as many people as possible with public social services and other social intervention mechanisms, the Government decided to create villages and relocate people into these newly constructed villages. In his account of the history of Tanzania, after independence, Kaiser (1996:229) remarked:

“Since the population was widely dispersed on small plots of land, peasants were moved to newly constructed village settlements to promote efficient agricultural production and to facilitate the equitable delivery of essential services that had not occurred during the early years of independence. The process of villagization was intended to integrate the logic of economic efficiency with the goal of social equity.”

President Nyerere hoped that socialism would promote a classless society and serve all of the people of Tanzania, as opposed to creating wealth only for some (Jivani, 2010). The Tanzanian central government tasked itself with the responsibility of

providing the social services essential to the wellbeing of its population. Services, such as free health services, water, and education were provided until late 1980s, when the Structural Adjustment Programme was introduced by international donor communities, mainly from Western countries.

However, the Government encountered obstacles in meeting the costs of public services. It ran out of steam in terms of finances, resources, and personnel. The period between 1979 and 1985 witnessed economic stagnation in Tanzania as investors pulled out of the country. Poverty was high across society, and the levels of productivity in agriculture and industry were very low. By the late 1980s, it had become clear that the central government alone was not going to be able to fulfil its desire of meeting the needs of everyone in the country without involving citizens and other stakeholders, including the voluntary sector and NGOs (Wangwe and Rweyemamu, 2001). According to Wangwe and Rweyemamu (2001), the failure of social service provision happened because:

“The cost burden following significant capital investments in health, education, and water services, and training of large numbers of personnel was enormous. While donors had been willing and able to finance much of the capital costs of developing the infrastructure, financing of the recurrent costs was primarily left to the Tanzanian government, which in turn depended on too small a tax base. Overextension of the health, education, and water systems was compounded with rapid increases in the costs of imported materials and financial demands of other sectors, and overall decline in growth of the economy.” (Wangwe and Rweyemamu, 2001:6).

Other reasons were that the Government could not manage the vast networks of water systems, health facilities, schools, and associated staff. Additionally, the poor transportation and communication network in rural areas made the effective management of social welfare service supply more difficult. At the top of the communication chain, there was a lack of coordination and accountability between central and local governments (Wangwe and Rweyemamu, 2001).

The economic struggles the country experienced and the inability of the state to meet the social needs of its people triggered reactions from the international community, especially donor countries. In the 1980s, Western countries, through international non-governmental organisations (INGOs), such as the World Bank, the IMF, and UNICEF,

gave the Tanzanian Government an ultimatum: if it was to continue receiving financial aid, it must change its way of operation. Among the requirements demanded by the INGOs was that the Tanzanian Government must abandon its socialist model and the government-centralised social welfare provision model. Additionally, the INGOs required that NGOs in the county be involved in providing public welfare services to the people, and Tanzania had no choice but to bow down to these stipulated conditions and reinstate the voluntary sector NGOs (Shivji, 2004; Ngowi, 2009).

Other perspectives see the demand for economic and social policy change in Tanzania, as well as in other parts of Africa, not as an isolated incident linked to the failure of the state to provide for its people, but instead as a deliberate push by the powerful and rich northern countries of the world to reorder the world's economic structure by forcing the developing world to be part of a globalised market economy. Concerning this point, Ravenhill (1988:181) remarked:

"With the end of the Cold War and the progressive globalisation of trade and capital markets, developing countries are encouraged to look to private enterprise as the motor of development and the means for meeting their economic and social needs. It is believed that by the adoption of open market economies, the world stands on the threshold of redirecting resources, sharing technological advances, and attaining levels of human prosperity never before imagined."

While other external factors may have contributed to the state's economic failure and its efforts to provide social services, the main reasons for this could lie within the country and especially the Government itself. Poverty was high, and productivity levels in agriculture and industry were deficient. The idea that the state could alone manage to meet the social service needs of every individual in every corner of the vast country without partnering with private and voluntary sectors itself was a bold, overambitious, and unrealistic plan. I think for a country that at the time had a meagre economic engine, high unemployment, no functioning manufacturing industries, and a low number of local educated and qualified experts in various fields, cooperation with other stakeholders would have been a sensible decision. The country could have benefited from a collaboration between the Government, the private sector, and the voluntary sector, which could have minimised the extent of the economic crisis.

Following the international community's demand, Tanzania signed an agreement with the International Monetary Fund to adopt structural adjustment programmes in 1986

(Kiondo, 1993). The conditions of this agreement included the control of money supply, devaluation of the currency, and a reduction in government expenditure for social services, among other sweeping changes (Kiondo, 1993). These decisions resulted in creating space for civil society and NGOs to address human social welfare in the country. Henceforth, development and service delivery expanded dramatically, and the number of registered NGOs in Tanzania increased from only 17 organisations in 1978 to 813 organisations by 1994 (Kiondo, 1993). The active participation of international NGOs and other forms of voluntary organisations in welfare provision has, since the late 1980s, become significant service providers, working alongside, in some cases supplanting, state providers (Jennings, 2014).

One argument for the usage of international and locally based NGOs was that they were more efficient, less corrupt, and able to operate in a closer manner with the poor than government bureaucracies. Therefore, NGOs actively filled in the gaps created as the Government retreated from its frontline service role due to severe budgetary restrictions (Jennings, 2014). These developments created a situation whereby NGOs, especially international NGOs in the country, freely tackled vast social issues. However, due to the vastness of social problems in the 1980s through the 1990s, such as the HIV/AIDS epidemic, challenges arising from a high level of urbanisation, swelling of towns' populations often without proper social structure, high level of unemployment, poverty, and lack of appropriate sanitation, services such as water, education, health-related services, and social protection, remained a challenge. The responsibility of tackling these issues could not solely be left to INGOs/NGOs, no matter how capable they might be. The Government's involvement in putting in place structures, infrastructure, and policies was needed to spearhead long-term social and economic goals while working together with the voluntary sector (INGOs/NGOs) to address social issues affecting people's social wellbeing. The state relegation in the provision of welfare services in the 1980s and 1990s retarded the national development efforts of the economy and social progress (Manyama, 2017).

As people realised the willingness of donors to give direct support to NGOs and community-based organisations (CBOs), the number of organisations exploded (Lange et al., 2000). Additionally, the rise and demand for certain social groups such as women, people with disabilities, and older people to organise and articulate their interests in the country contributed to the rise and strengthened local NGOs' role (Manara, 2009). Another factor was the move by international aid agencies to bypass the state, and also

the retrenchment programmes that increased the number of unemployed people who found voluntary organisations as an employment alternative in the country (Patel et al., 2007).

In 1985, Nyerere stepped down from the presidency. The new Government under Ali Hassan Mwinyi came up with new policies to bring about socio-economic development. This era is known as the country's 'neo-liberal' era. The presidency under Ali Hassan Mwinyi introduced new ideas, and the World Bank and the IMF supported liberalisation. Mwinyi was nicknamed 'ruksa' (all is permitted) (Lawi et al., 2013) and led the country from 1985 to 1995. He opened up the economy and allowed individual and privately led enterprises to operate in the country. For instance, in the health sector, the National Health Policy was endorsed in 1990, and private investors in the health sector were officially allowed in 1991 (Private Hospitals Act, 1991). The most significant change that occurred in the healthcare provision was the growth in non-governmental healthcare facilities, particularly at the initiative of healthcare entrepreneurs during the 1990s. The total number of healthcare facilities in the country increased from 3577 in 1995 to 4961 in 1999 (Ministry of Health, MoH 1998). Of these 4961 healthcare facilities, only 3035 were government-owned (URT – MoH, 1999, Health Statistics, cited in Wangwe and Rweyemamu, 2001:11). More workers in the public sector were made redundant and became self-employed in response to this.

One aspect of information that could have added knowledge to our understanding of the voluntary sector development was to know how many healthcare facilities were Government-owned at the start of the period. Also, to how many were transferred from the Government and how many new institutions were financed privately or voluntarily. Unfortunately, this information could not be obtained.

In contrast with Nyerere's period, during Mwinyi's leadership and the subsequent Government that followed, other forms of welfare organisations whose common interests were based on religious, regional, ethnic, or professional affiliation increased (Lange et al., 2000). The private sector became particularly important in the provision of social welfare services. For example, Manyama (2017) maintained that, by 1986, the Government was calling upon the voluntary sector—largely made up of churches and other non-governmental organisations—to play an even more significant role in providing education and healthcare services. From 1984 to 1992, the number of NGO-run schools tripled from 85 to 258 (Lange et al., 2000). The information about the total number of primary and secondary schools in Tanzania between 1984 and 1992 is not available for

comparison. The Tanzania Department of Social Welfare (2012) pointed out that the current social and economic contingencies could be attributed to the changes that had happened in Tanzania between the 1970s and 1980s. These contingency plans had helped, to some degree, to eradicate poverty, family problems, poor health, the rising rate of crime, alcohol and drug abuse, and issues related to HIV/AIDS (Ministry of Health, Social Welfare Department, 2012).

Introduced by neo-liberal supporters, this structural adjustment did not produce the expected economic growth in Africa, and the World Bank introduced another condition described as 'good governance.' It emphasised the need for the private sector and civil society to co-operate with the state to achieve 'sustainable growth' (World development report by World Bank 1989). The World Bank report of 1989 gave a broader picture of the economic and financial crisis of countries in sub-Saharan Africa and clearly expressed what actions they wished to see happening:

"The financial systems of many developing countries are in need of restructuring, however. Their present condition reflects the approach to development taken by many countries in the 1960s and 1970s, an approach that emphasized government intervention to promote economic growth. Today many countries are revising their approach to rely more heavily on the private sector and on market forces. For the financial sector, this implies a smaller role for the government in the allocation of credit, the determination of interest rates, and the daily decision-making of financial intermediaries. Relaxation of these economic and operational controls calls for an effective system of prudent regulation and supervision." (World Bank Report, 1989).

In Tanzania, corruption, fraud, and forgery among government officials affected the Government's performance. Welfare services for the people who most needed them, and the Tanzanian relationship with donor partners, deteriorated again (Lawi et al., 2013). The appearance of corruption and fraud at the leadership level, and a drop in investment in health, education, and other essential welfare services became apparent. Perhaps this resulted from the Government's loss of complete control as it moved quickly from one extreme economic model to another within a short period, without the substantial maturity required to run a neo-liberal, free market-based economic system. The World Bank and IMF's demand for structural adjustment was a bitter pill for the Tanzania government and most Tanzanians.

The section below expounds more on the further developments and improvements made to social service provision in the country.

5.5 Role of Voluntary Organisations/NGOs

The discussion in this section comprises the following elements: i) a definition of terms; ii) a look at factors associated with the development of the voluntary sector: non-governmental organisations/non-profit organisation; iii) an examination of the advantages of non-governmental organisations in contribution to social service provision; iv) any limitations of this; and v) a look at ways in which partnership working (between governments and voluntary organisations) can help overcome these limitations.

5.5.1 Defining Terms

The term ‘non-governmental organisations’ (NGOs) is recognised worldwide to describe organisations operating to address various social issues alongside governments (Lewis, 2009), and is often associated with organisations that focus on relieving various social or political issues through different long-term or short-term approaches (Cleary, 1997; Kusmanto, 2013). Hence, it would be fitting to consider the voluntary sector as the realm of social activity undertaken by non-governmental organisations, non-profit organisations.

While elsewhere other organisations may be called ‘non-profit organisations’ (NPOs), in Tanzania local NGOs consider themselves as non-profit organisations, with not much difference to be distinguished between the two terms. Both terms refer to almost the same thing; organisations that belong to the voluntary sector realm that work not to make a profit but for the social good. These organisations work outside the government body. The government may raise funds for an NGO or NPO, but they maintain a non-governmental position, with no need for government representation. Because of the variety of literature contributed to the discussion here, readers will see the two terms surfacing throughout.

5.5.2 Factors Associated with the Emergence of the Voluntary Sector

The work of local NGOs in ensuring people's social wellbeing is essential in society. Research elsewhere and in Tanzania has tried to understand the emergence, functioning, and impact of NGOs on society. The following section discusses factors associated with the development of the voluntary sector, hence, the active participation of NGOs in social service provision.

For example, in the UK, the voluntary sector has a long history of providing social welfare, ranging from philanthropic to non-profit making bodies. An extensive body of research has emerged since the mid-1980s, reflecting the voluntary sector's growing political and social significance (Kramer, 1986, Hedley and Smith, 1992; Deakin, 1996; Craig and Manthorpe, 1999). However, researchers have also observed that the importance of voluntary sector organisations has varied considerably over time. For example, literature has noted that with the rapid development of state welfare services after the Second World War, the voluntary sector in the UK took a 'back-seat in social provision, deferring to the newly emerging public services (Smith et al., 1995). However, another study revealed that it widely acknowledged that the 'post-war model of the corporatist welfare state was no longer sustainable over the last two decades. Thus, it required non-state actors to meet the burden of social welfare' (Amin et al., 1999).

Moreover, other literature such as Harris 2016, Halfpenny and Reid, M, 2002, indicated the growing political awareness of the welfare service provision by volunteers and non-governmental organisations from the 1978 onwards and the increased Government's reliance on voluntary sector organisations in service delivery. Other literature revealed that informed by neo-liberalism, successive Conservative Governments in the 1980s and 1990s moved towards market-based approaches to local welfare service delivery, underpinned by the notion of the citizen-consumer. Hence, they increased the responsibility of local communities via 'active citizens' to provide services in tune with local needs (Taylor 1992, Taylor 1996, Cochrane, 1998). Other literature noted political establishment acknowledged the active role voluntary sector organisation were supposed to play in addressing social issues in the UK. For example, it observed that with the election of a Labour Government in 1997, the momentum behind increased the voluntary sector's role and continued as part of 'New Labour's programme of welfare reform. This development was signalled in the run-up to the election by the publication of *Building the Future Together: Labour's policies for Partnership between Government and the Voluntary Sector*. They spelt out how the Government proposed encouraging a partnership with the voluntary sector to deliver policies connected with the New Deal, the Child Care Strategy, and the Social Inclusion Agenda (Scottish Office, 1998).

The above brief look at the increased role of voluntary organisations in social service provision indicates two factors that underpinned the significance of the voluntary sector. One is market failure and the inability of the government to meet the social needs of every citizen; hence, the government failure.

Other research has provided perspectives and assumptions to explain the circumstances and reasons for the rise and function of non-governmental or non-profit organisations. Researchers have considered three specific theories in understanding the emergence and development of voluntary organisations/NGOs. These theories include the 'market failure', 'government failure', and 'voluntary failure' theories. (Weisbrod, 1975, Salamon, 1987, Ott & Dicke 2016).

The first theory that sought to explain the rise and operation of non-governmental organisations in social service provision was the 'market failure' theory (Weisbrod, 1975, Salamon, 1987:35). This theory argued that, in many locations, the voluntary sector emerged historically to provide services that governments did not provide at all. Historically, many services—such as education—were provided by voluntary organisations before being provided by governments. Non-profit organisations can be very efficient at addressing unmet needs, especially when the market and government sectors fail to provide for public goods and respond to the diverse demands of communities. The principal argument of the 'market failure' theory is that "under certain conditions, the production and distribution of a commodity through a competitive market in which all the relevant agents are pursuing their self-interest will result in an allocation of that commodity that is socially inefficient" (Le Grand, 1991:223). In addition, competitive markets with self-interested agents can fail as an engine of efficiency. It is also widely agreed that market allocations can fail as their distributive outcomes are unlikely to be socially just or equitable (Le Grand, 1991). Certain social groups will always be disadvantaged by the market economy and system used to allocate commodities not characterised by equity.

Another theory, hence perspective, that has explained the circumstance for the emergence and active role of non-governmental organisations is social service provision, was the "government failure theory" (Weisbrod, 1975, Salamon, 1987:35). This theory emerged from the idea and realisation that government could only produce and provide collective goods, e.g., health care, education, and national defence, for a majority, but not for everybody. Hence, to meet unsatisfied demand, the voluntary sector therefore needed to step in (Salamon, 1984/1987). Government failure is apparent when the government responds only to the demands of homogeneous groups and the median voter, leaving other demands of different groups unmet (Anheier 2014). Therefore, according to this theory, the voluntary sector emerged historically to fill gaps in the framework of existing state provision, where the government failed to meet the social needs of the citizens. Kingma

(1997:135) wrote "...this unfulfilled demand for the public good is satisfied by non-profit organisations. The non-profit organisations' work gets financed by the donations of citizens who want to increase the output of the public good." Kingma (1997:135). This theory assumes that the government cannot satisfy all citizens' demands, specifically diverse religious, ethnic, and social groups. Thus, the unsatisfied groups move into community solutions, with non-profit organisations acting to meet these demands (Powell and Steinberg 2006).

Indeed, the 'market failure', unequal distribution of commodities and services, and 'government failure' theories speak of situations that mirror the actual reality regarding the lack of services experienced by many people in Tanzania, especially those from socially disadvantaged areas. Based on this reality, it is not surprising that there has been a significant expansion of interest in the voluntary sector's role in welfare provision, development, and other social interventions in Tanzania today. Literature indicates that small NGOs have evolved from ordinary people's needs in Tanzania and address many grassroots-level activities. Ottka (2010:1) underlined that local NGOs in Tanzania have an essential role in advocacy work and in making known the problems and hardships of local people. Research on the existence of NGOs in Tanzania has attributed the emergence and operation of non-governmental welfare organisations to the failure of the government to play its role as a facilitator and promoter of the social welfare development of its citizens, especially those from disadvantaged backgrounds (Lugala and Kibassa, 2002).

In Tanzania, NGOs seem to focus on various social problems affecting society and undertake the work of advocacy. Some deal with gender inequality, human rights, the environment, advocacy, and participatory development. All of them have assisted in strengthening civil society through supporting, informing, and educating the public on various issues, for example, their legal rights or entitlements to services, or by helping to steer government policies (United Republic of Tanzania—The National Policy on NGOs, 2001). Through the registration of NGOs in Tanzania, according to the NGO ACT no.24/2002, subsequently amended by ACT no.11/2005, we have a definition of what the term NGO represents:

"An NGO is a voluntary grouping of individuals or organisations which is autonomous, non-partisan, non-profit sharing organised at a local, national, or international level. They have purposes of enhancing or promoting economic, environmental, social, or cultural development or

protecting the environment, lobbying, or advocating on such issues. Established under the auspices of any religious or faith propagating organisation, trade union, sports club, or community-based organisation but does not include a trade union, social club, sports club, political party, religious or faith propagating organisation or community-based organisation." (Katemba, Registrar of NGOs, Ministry of Community Development, Gender, older people and Children, 2005).

This definition by the Government recognises that both locally based and international NGOs have a role to play in the social welfare provision in Tanzania. An organisation can be faith-based, private, or secular.

A policy statement by the Government briefly explains the justification of having NGOs included in the efforts of addressing social problems and providing social welfare services to its general citizens. The statement reads:

"The Government encourages partnership with the public and private sector in order to complement Government efforts in the provision of social and economic services to the community. NGOs bring creativity, innovation, and develop strong community links thereby playing a catalytic role in improving the delivery of various types of services, hence the justification of an NGO policy which recognises NGOs as development actors in their own rights." (URT-The National Policy on non-governmental Organisation-NGOs, 2001).

This quote provides a sense of the importance of NGOs and their active participation in addressing social issues and social welfare provision. The governmental level recognises this role.

The voluntary sector can play a role in addressing social problems in society. NGOs' contributions in public and individual social services can make a significant difference in the Tanzanian context. It is a general principle that public social services, which are necessary for the general wellbeing of society, should be provided or governed by the state. However, it is also a fact that there will always be room for the voluntary sector and NGOs to address social needs that are not covered sufficiently by governmental service programmes. As we have learned from the literature reviewed for this study, this is the situation in Tanzanian society. The literature indicated individuals and communities that experience marginalisation when accessing social services in the country (Njunwa, 2005; SPIRI,2013).

There may be many activities that the voluntary sector can undertake in response to the social needs of people in Tanzania. For example, the voluntary sector can play a role in helping to initiate services and requirements that are not covered by the state. This point is in line with theories about the voluntary sector outlined by Salamon, who acknowledged that the US Government has outsourced social service provision to the voluntary sector and that there are extensive ties between the two. Therefore, the voluntary sector in Tanzania has a pioneering or path-finding role in ensuring the public's wellbeing, especially regarding marginalised and underprivileged groups in the country. There are advantages associated with voluntary organisations/NGOs in undertaking this service provider role. The section follows below has clarified this.

5.5.3 The Advantages of Voluntary Organisations/NGOs

Research has elucidated certain advantages in the characteristics of non-profit organisations. These include a significant degree of flexibility resulting from the relative ease with which agencies can form and disband and the closeness of governing boards to the field of action (Salamon 1987). Additionally, non-profit organisations/NGOs generally involve a smaller operation scale, providing greater opportunities for tailoring services to client needs. They provide a degree of diversity both in the content of services and the institutional framework they are provided (Salamon, 1987:44). The social services provided by voluntary organisations/NGOs is hugely significant in most people's lives, especially those in a vulnerable situation, whose social wellbeing and function are affected by problems in Tanzanian society. Where governmental social intervention programmes do not exist or are poor and unreachable, voluntary organisations/NGOs are significant.

5.5.4 The Limitations Associated with Non-Governmental Organisations

There is an acknowledgement that even though non-governmental and non-profit organisations appear to be filling the gaps in providing services and public goods, these organisations are limited in the extent to which they can effectively fulfil their roles. Salamon (1987) explained some basis for governmental involvement in social service provision; he based his justification of government intervention on what he sees as limitations that mark the voluntary sector. Salamon, who articulated the 'voluntary failure' theory, described four reasons behind its occurrence, as follows:

Philanthropic insufficiency: referring to the situations in which the resources available for NGOs and non-profits organisations are insufficient (Salamon 1987).

Philanthropic particularism: referring to situations in which non-profit organisations focus on specific demands for ethnic, religious, geographic, and ideological groups, duplicating efforts in some cases and neglecting other needs (Salamon, 1987).

Philanthropic paternalism: this limitation refers to situations where non-government organisations and non-profits rely on philanthropic contributions and volunteers. The contributors' interests govern them among donors and volunteers who decide on priorities rather than having the beneficiaries setting these priorities (Salamon, 1987).

Philanthropic amateurism: referring to situations in which non-governmental organisations rely on volunteers who lack professional credentials and specialised knowledge in certain areas of action (Salamon, 1987). In cases of voluntary failure, the market and government sectors take roles in providing services and responding to public needs (Powell and Steinberg, 2006).

In Tanzania, voluntary organisations/NGOs face limitations and challenges too. The literature indicates evidence about the operational reality and situation non-governmental welfare organisations face as they fulfil their social work mission of intervening and supporting those who face issues to address problems in Tanzania. For example, Noboye (2013), who investigated the effectiveness of NGOs in rehabilitating street children in Dar es Salaam, identified some problems that impede and limit local NGOs' efforts to accomplish their mission. Some of these problems include a lack of enough funds and community support, poor working environments, the poor educational backgrounds of the rehabilitees, and a lack of trust between children and their minders. Another literature has observed that although the civil society in Tanzania has been fast-growing, particularly the NGO sector, it is still considered weak by international organisations working in the country (Lange et al., 2014:3).

Similarly, Ottka (2010) observed that a common problem local NGOs face is finding financial means to implement activities. The most significant support comes from international governments and donor agencies, especially Western countries. However, Ottka recommended that funding from local and national government sources is urgently needed with a long-term view. Additionally, local people in business and corporations, and those benefiting from economic growth, should take on more social responsibility within society (Ottka, 2010).

Another issue facing NGOs is a lack of professionalism in their operation and long-term sustainability. According to Okorley and Nkrumah (2012), a sense of

professionalism involves proper leadership, accountability (good governance), and good management, and is necessary to help NGOs stand out from their environment and become more competitive. NGOs that stand out from the rest tend to have more success in receiving donations.

Kusmanto (2013:37) clarified further this matter of professionalism, stating that this also means adopting best practices to address dysfunctionality within organisations (Kusmanto, 2013). Likewise, Šešić (2011) suggested that improving NGO's professionalism and management as a practice and science needs to be introduced through management consultancy and training, which is known as organisational capacity building in the context of NGOs.

According to Šešić (2011), organisational capacity building can benefit NGOs by equipping them with adequate strategies, techniques, and logic for long-term goals to improve management performance and address immediate challenges such as funding reductions and operational dysfunction. Indeed, insights emerging from this discourse help us understand particular problems and areas that NGOs in Tanzania must consider, including those appearing in this research. One crucial issue that needs to be worked on is the relationship between local NGOs in Tanzania and the Government (Lange et al., 2000). Local NGOs must take the necessary measures to improve their internal professionalism, including organisational capacity building, and create an accountable culture and creativity in addressing finance-related issues. They must maintain close working relationships with the communities they serve for their organisation's sustainability.

Research has also indicated that NGOs face a lack of good governance. This challenge is perceived as an internal threat to NGOs' sustainability. Interestingly, although this challenge comes from within the NGO, it strongly correlates with the first challenge: reductions in funding (Jepson, 2005). Research sees a lack of good governance as one reason for reducing funds from donors. Consequently, donors reduce their contributions to prevent the NGOs from abusing funds. The failure of NGOs to handle the lack of good governance can negatively affect their accountability in the long run (Edwards and Hulme, 1995; Edwards, 2000; Kusmanto, 2013).

The discussion in the section below provides some answers to the limitations indicated in this section.

5.5.5 Partnership Between Government and NGOs to Overcome Limitations

One aspect that has drawn attention in the literature is how Government and NGOs can collaborate to address social issues. Literature emphasised the working relationship between governments and NGOs. This aspect of knowledge is relevant to the discussion concerning the situations of NGOs in Tanzania. Research about the involvement of NGOs in social service provision in other cultures has indicated partnership and collaboration between governments and the voluntary sector in the daily endeavours to address people's social welfare needs (Salamon, 1984; Salamon, 1987; Lewis and Kanji, 2009). For example, Salamon (1987:29) revealed that the voluntary sector in America had been an integral part of the Government's strategic plan to address its citizens' social welfare needs. The Government relied on non-profit organisations to deliver government-funded human services. Salamon observed that non-profit organisations receive more of their income from the Government than from any other single source (Salamon, 1987:29) in America.

Another aspect Salamon discussed is recognising the need for government involvement and the legitimate government accountability requirements to NGOs. The participation of the Government in social welfare provision and working with NGOs in service delivery has certain advantages. Salamon (1987) perceived that government involvement could strengthen the relationship with the voluntary sector. He mentioned some benefits associated with this relationship, firstly those that benefit an organisation from 'a financial perspective'. Salamon argued that one could not rely solely on private giving and voluntary activity to address human services; hence, financial government involvement is crucial. Second, in functioning as a body that oversees the distribution of funding, the Government can ensure equity in distributing voluntary services. Third, the Government can ensure diversity in the service delivery system as the non-profit sector may, e.g., monopolise the flow of funds, limiting their access to newer or smaller groups. Fourth, a central tenet of a democratic society is that the public should set priorities through a democratic political process and then muster the resources to address these priorities (Salamon, 1987:45).

Another vital point to emphasise here is that there is always a need for improvement in the partnership management between the Government and voluntary sector. In order to strengthen this relationship, according to Salamon, "it may be appropriate to consider ways to achieve a greater degree of dialogue on questions of resource allocation, division of responsibilities for meeting community needs, and joint

public-private ventures." (Salamon, 1987:46). It is also worth noting a further insight from Salamon that the Government is advised to respect specific structural elements and the needs of non-profit organisations to strengthen the relationship.

Voluntary organisations/NGOs can play a role in addressing social problems and social service provision, making a difference in the lives of people whose wellbeing and functioning is impacted by issues in Tanzanian society. Salamon advocates that the Government should support the voluntary sector. In the first ten years of Tanzanian independence, the voluntary sector struggled to contribute to the social wellbeing of people in Tanzania. Part of the reason for this seems to have been the new Government's choice of socialist philosophy which influenced its approach to economic and social welfare provision, and its drastic action of the mass nationalisation of structures (Tibaijuka, 1998). This decision weakened the private sector and the voluntary sector. Since the voluntary sector was represented mainly by Western mission organisations and NGOs, anti-colonial sentiments, which were high in the post-colonial-independence era, affected the voluntary sector's place and status in the country. Today in Tanzania, the voluntary sector is actively tackling various social issues affecting the wellbeing of individuals and society (Manyama, 2017).

In Tanzania, one issue of concern is the partnership and working relationship between the Government and voluntary organisations/NGOs. The Government has a responsibility to recognise and endorse voluntary sector services as necessary and legitimate to the population, become responsible for NGOs in terms of verification, and oversee the voluntary sector for the public's sake. The Government should show support towards the work of the voluntary sector, and in this way, the voluntary sector and the Government-led sector can work together. However, a study conducted in 2007 indicated a mixed picture about the relationship between the Government and NGOs.

The Research on Poverty Alleviation (REPOA) in Tanzania asked the question: How are tripartite relationships among non-governmental organisations (NGOs), donors, and the State perceived in poverty reduction efforts? The paper reported issues perceived as obstacles to collaboration between NGOs and Government in poverty reduction and addressing general social problems. It stated that "viewing the Government as an adversary is counterproductive. Knowing the Government's position and forming relationships with key officials can help effectively influence policy debate" (REPOA,2007). NGOs should continue monitoring and scrutinising the Government to

strengthen their impact to protect their 'public investment'. The critical issue here is that voluntary organisations/NGOs can hold governments to account.

Furthermore, the report suggested that individual NGOs needed to build skills and capacity to overcome their organisational weaknesses to improve their impact. Advocacy efforts need to be well informed and organised (REPOA 2007). Moreover, NGOs can channel and interpret information between government and grassroots communities and help fill gaps where Government does not or lacks the capacity to provide services (REPOA 2007). The report also emphasised that NGOs should analyse government policy and enhance outcomes wherever possible by providing information and offering creative solutions.

Indeed, how the Government relates to the voluntary sector or vice versa is vital, as it has a bearing on the functioning of said organisations. This relationship is essential in understanding the role MAPERECE, Dogodogo Street Children Trust, and SMGEO is playing. These organisations try to care for marginalised groups of society that the Government does not directly support.

The discussion in this section clarifies two points: first, it acknowledges the importance of voluntary organisations/NGOs as social service providers, meeting people's societal needs. Additionally, it highlights that the relationship and partnership between NGOs and the Government in this respect are crucial. Indeed, a working relationship of this kind where the Government supports local NGOs might be beneficial for consideration in Tanzanian society.

5.6 Contemporary Issues of the Research

Currently, the Tanzanian government seems to focus more on strengthening the country's economic status, hoping that it can realise the public services through economic improvement. Indeed, public service offerings such as free primary and secondary education and the extension of water provision and health services to the population have shown some improvement in the last ten years (HakiElimu 2017; Goda, 2018; The United Republic of Tanzania- Ministry of Education, Science and Technology, 2018). The corruption that characterised previous governmental regimes seems not to be a big problem. The current president has made the curtailing of corruption his top priority since the beginning of his leadership in 2015.

Despite the strides that the country has made in recent years surrounding the economy, the increase of employment, and the reduction of poverty, Tanzania still

struggles to provide social services to its people. For example, government social efforts are still not sufficiently addressing the welfare concerns of the children living and working on the streets. Yet, this social group is an integral part of society. Gender-based inequality and discrimination against women at domestic/family and social/public levels are still problems that do not seem to feature much in the current government's economic and social improvement strategy (United Nations, 2016). Issues that negatively impact women's experience of life still exist, such as discrimination and abuse at a domestic and societal level (Rugira, 2015). Stigmatisation, discrimination, and the denial of fundamental rights were a problem for street children (Fredrick, 2010; Luena, 2011). Furthermore, people with disabilities experience discrimination at a domestic and societal level (Uromi and Mazagwa, 2014).

This project focuses on providing social services and especially the voluntary sector's involvement in addressing social issues in the country. It is a contextually based examination, explicitly looking at Tanzania. Hence, it is crucial to view what is currently happening and what has happened historically. The discussions surrounding the social welfare provision in the country indicate some key events that have shaped society and how it addresses social issues. As a country, Tanzania has gone through challenging times to reach where it is today. It has made significant progress in the economy and its efforts to address social problems. However, the citizens of that nation still face many challenges concerning their social wellbeing. This discussion also highlighted the importance of the voluntary sector in social problem-solving. However, despite progress, problems and their effects on the ageing population, street children, gender inequality, and disability persist; hence, the following chapter explores the role of three different voluntary organisations in tackling these problems.

Current literature on the debate concerning social work practice in Africa has called for indigenising or decolonising social work education and practice in the African context and emphasised the importance of social work by individuals or groups to consider local African traditional ways in their effort to address social problems among communities in Africa. For example, reflecting on indigenous social innovations in rural West Africa, Matthews (2017) cautioned against the common practice of externally induced innovations targeting poor rural communities. He argued that since humanitarian and development agencies usually are outsiders to their target groups, rural communities face the danger of being overpowered by exogenous ideas and processes (Matthews 2017). The inclusion of local indigenous knowledge systems is a prerequisite for what

has been called the 'indigenisation' (Rankopo and Osei-Hwedie, 2011) and 'decolonisation' of the social work profession in Africa (Ibrahima and Mattaini, 2019). Therefore, the debate on social work practice in Africa suggested the inclusion of local epistemologies and methodologies into social work theory and practice. Rankopo and Osei-Hwedie (2011) pointed out that the starting point of this process must be the community. They see that rural communities with their resourceful coping mechanisms of helping and healing are under-researched and underestimated and must therefore be at the forefront of this discourse (Rankopo and Osei-Hwedie, 2011).

Many of these arguments have been echoed by Spitzer and Twikirize. For example, Spitzer (2019) observed that social work in many African countries is still mainly based on imported, Western-oriented theories, concepts, and methods. In this way, it disregards culture-specific indigenous knowledge systems. However, Twikirize and Spitzer (2019b) showed that rural communities show resilience and exhibit innovative ways of handling their problems at a grassroots level, thus improving their lives by themselves. Therefore, Spitzer and Twikirize (2021) advised that policymakers, academics, international development actors, and social workers in rural communities must seek to discover and utilise the potential rural grassroots innovative approaches to social problems-solving.

Spitzer and Twikirize (2021) highlighted two examples of indigenous rural innovative problem-solving models in African countries. One example of the rural social innovative model comes from Uganda (akabondo, a household cluster model to fight poverty). It is a community-based concept model to promote rural development in Uganda. The other example of the rural social innovative model comes from Rwanda, and it is known as 'umugoroba w'ababyeyi', which refers to a community-based family strengthening model. This model is mainstreamed into government policies. Rwanda's model developed in the challenging context of a post-genocide society (Spitzer and Twikirize, 2021).

Indeed, the two highlighted examples of rural indigenous innovative models from rural Uganda and Rwanda rural communities indicate the potentials of rural communities and the possibility that they can play an active role when engaged in the strategic process of social problem-solving.

Literature indicated that the terms 'decolonisation' and 'indigenisation' represent the academic effort to formulate and promote Africa's social work methods. Consequently, the deliberation effort has developed a new approach known as the

'developmental social work model'. The developmental social work model stresses the importance of linking the so-called 'micro' and 'macro' to address social problems by social workers. The 'micro focus' orientates social work practitioners toward such questions as "how do I improve your life?" In comparison, the 'macro' focus is concerned with addressing the social structural circumstances that make the life of individuals difficult. Whether local NGOs or international NGOs work with rural communities in Africa, addressing social problems necessitates understanding and considering how a society operates. Social work practice must evaluate local people's capacity and resources and work with a community. Such consideration is beneficial in the long term as it could bring service providers, community, and service users into a more symbiotic working relationship.

However, I would like to comment on how the debate concerning social work practice in Africa has been framed: whether to adopt 'Western' or 'indigenous' approaches. Concerning this issue, my argument is that the discussion should not be about choosing between Western methods over those indigenous-African approaches or indigenous approaches over Western methods in addressing problems. Thinking in this way perpetuates the superiority of one method over the other. Instead, the academic discussion should objectively acknowledge the strengths and weaknesses of Western and indigenous methods in social problem-solving. Those involved in social problem-solving must consider the socio-cultural and economic context in which they operate, what seems to work in that context, and not consciously think which method is African or European. However, any welfare organisation addressing social problems must see that it works with communities rather than upon the community it seeks to help.

Another critical reality a contemporary debate on social work practice in Africa must consider is the realisation of the social change in societies across Africa. In particular, the destruction of the traditional extended family support networks system as a reliable mechanism of social protection for older people results from (a) their more limited relevance to urban settings; and (b) the impact of depopulation on their application to rural settings.

Destruction of the traditional extended family support networks system illustrates that society and its cultural ways of life and practice do not remain static but constantly evolve as they interact with external social forces that often produce internal changes. In this regard, it is incorrect to talk about indigenous or traditional ways of addressing social issues that social work in Africa or East Africa-Tanzania must adhere to as if the methods

of dealing with social problems that characterise traditional African society are readily there. This view assumes that the community remains the same, unchanged at all times. Therefore, when one advocates the need to use traditional African ways to solve social problems, they must also consider thoroughly the social-cultural and economic changes that characterise contemporary communities in Africa today, including Tanzania. Literature shows that the traditional extended family network that characterised traditional African societies is diminishing as a reliable mechanism for problem-solving in Tanzania (Manyama, 2017; Evans, 2005; Aboderin, 2006). Other studies have observed the same social phenomenon in other parts of Africa (Akuma, 2015; Apt, 2000; Theron, 2013; Eboiyehi and Onwuzuruigbo, 2014). This changing of social reality requires that those involved in social work practice and the academic debate in Africa be in tune with the new social reality. They may acknowledge that social work practice in some circumstances might not just seek to preserve local cultural identity in their way of finding the solution for social problems. Instead, their approach must be objective, employing whatever methods may be effective on the ground.

Another crucial point of reality we must bear in mind is the realisation of the extent to which contemporary Tanzanians' problems are rooted in 'traditional' cultural norms and practices. While we talk about the benefit of knowing and using existing 'traditional' cultural practices and ways in communities to address social problems, we must also know that not all aspects of social-cultural values and traditions are conducive to the dignity and wellbeing of persons (Linda, 2014; Essien and Ukpong, 2012; World Bank, 2003; Klasen and Lamana, 2008).

This observation echoes the social reality of Tanzanians who participated in this research. The current study has observed that a number of the problems local organisations address result from cultural attitudes and practices embraced by these communities. Some of the issues that specific individuals experience are caused by and relate to traditional prejudice against certain groups—for example, gender inequality, discrimination, and the abuse women experience in domestic settings. The patriarchal culture yields a misogynist attitude and discrimination towards female members of society. In some Tanzanian communities, many women experience domestic abuse, suppression, and discrimination when accessing certain rights, such as self-expression, social and economic opportunities, and inheritance. Women endure these challenges in their daily social living experience.

A further example is that the traditional attitudes towards the roles of women and girls in domestic and society settings underpin the negative life experience of many girls and women in these communities. Also, the existence of witchcraft beliefs in these communities influences the harmful mistreatment of older women. This reality is an essential side of the story/social truth that one must consider. Indeed, MAPERECE, in the initial stage of addressing issues, understood that the victimisation and killing of older women were influenced by the superstitious beliefs embedded in the community. Therefore, the organisation sought to confront the root cause of the problems it identified by directing its response strategically at the community itself.

Also, people with disabilities experience isolation, stigma, and discrimination within the same culture due to held cultural beliefs, mindsets, and misunderstandings of disability. The wrong ideas about disability underpin society's hostile attitude and engagement with people with disabilities. Therefore, this awareness of where the source of problems lies necessitated SMGEO to focus its response on the community and its structures, challenging the underlying roots within the cultural mindset and traditional practices at the heart of the community itself.

This does not mean that we should ignore the importance of a bottom-up approach or the need to draw on local communities' resources to address social issues where possible (see also Spitzer and Twikirize 2021). The key characteristics and strengths of the bottom-up approach are that it considers seriously the views of service users, community involvement, and methods that rural communities might use in dealing with social issues. The current thesis has raised this point as one of the critical issues affecting the working relationship of service providers and service users in Tanzania. Take the following example from the MAPERECE organisation. MAPERECE, as indicated on page 60 of this thesis, believes that for changes to happen in older people's lives, they must involve the entire local community. Hence, they help older people within their respective local communities to help themselves and challenge families and communities to support them. MAPERECE delivers its clients' services through the community's older people council. However, the degree to which the organisation considers the opinions of clients it serves is not profound, as the empirical report provides a different picture. There is a sense that the older people whom MAPERECE help see the organisation coming in from the outside, with its view on how things ought to be changed on the ground. According to female respondents' reflection of their service experience, MAPERECE does not necessarily consider what the older people (service users) think about their

situations and solutions to their problems. This lack of the organisation closely working with its clients indicates a reality that in its working manner, MAPERECE may not be able to draw on or harness the local resources (including local people and communities) to promote empowerment and resilience.

By way of emphasising, the above discussion has highlighted some critical points to note. It emphasised the need for any welfare organisation to address social issues to work with communities and utilise the capacity and resources available within the community, rather than belittling and imposing ways or solutions to solve problems upon the communities it seeks to help. However, it is necessary to understand that some of the difficulties people face may lie in or be an integral part of the communities themselves. Therefore, it would also be required for a social work organisation to be prepared to take account of the new perspectives provided by 'non-indigenous' approaches in challenging the problems embedded in those communities. They must seek to know whether the overall operating culture underpins issues experienced by individuals in that community.

Chapters Six, Seven, and Eight show the outcome of this investigation. These chapters provide an accurate picture of the local non-governmental welfare organisations' social issues and the interventional approaches in solving and providing services to their respective clients.

6 Case study 1: MAPERECE

The previous discussion in Chapter Five provided a historical background based on the literature on the voluntary sector's emergence and involvement, particularly the role missionaries and NGOs played in social welfare provision efforts towards indigenous people when Tanzania was under German and British colonial regimes. Chapters Six, Seven, and Eight provide an evidence-based current picture of NGOs' involvement in addressing the social problems in contemporary Tanzania.

Based on the gathered empirical data, Chapter Six provides experience-based discussion relating to MAPERECE's work and clients - older people. This local non-governmental welfare organisation addresses older people's social welfare concerns in rural Mwanza areas.

Older people face various challenges concerning their livelihoods, social welfare needs, and fundamental rights in Tanzania's rural areas. Until the start of the 21st century, older people in Tanzania could often rely on their children and grandchildren to care for their livelihood and wellbeing. Adhering to family traditions was important. Within this culture, it was a well-acknowledged view and the proper expectation for a young person to look after an older person, but in recent times this long tradition has been affected by forces of change (Aboderin, 2010; Spitzer and Mabeyo, 2011). Amongst these visible changes is a high flow of young people migrating from rural communities into cities and different regions (Tacoli and Agergaard, 2017), leaving older people struggling in unsafe living environments. Local non-governmental social welfare organisations are involved in addressing the social welfare needs and fundamental rights of older people in Tanzanian society. However, their contribution and impact on older people's lives are not widely known and researched. Therefore, this knowledge gap led to this research study, which worked with one local non-governmental social welfare organisation called Magu Poverty Focus on Older People Rehabilitation Centre (MAPERECE) in the Mwanza region.

Let me first clarify one aspect regarding the name that identifies this organisation—specifically the use of the term 'rehabilitation centre' to which the organisation refers. Despite this name giving the impression that the organisation runs a rehabilitation centre or a rehabilitation programme for older people, the truth is that MAPERECE takes its social services to clients who live in rural communities, offering support at their homes.

This chapter presents and discusses the data findings related to this case study in the following order:

- The first section offers contextual information about older people's social situations in Tanzania and, more specifically, in the Mwanza region.
- The second section discusses information about the origins and formation of the selected organisation, MAPERECE.
- Part three justifies the choice of this organisation for this research.
- The fourth section discusses the main issues that the organisation addresses.
- Part five discusses the organisation's services and how they reach clients.
- The sixth section assesses the impact that the organisation's activities have on social situations and the services provided to clients from the perspective of the service users.

6.1 Contextual Information about Older People in Rural Tanzania

This empirical research took place in rural communities around the Magu district in the Mwanza region of northern Tanzania, which lies on Lake Victoria's southern shores. It is one of six districts in the Mwanza region, and the Magu district has a population of approximately 400,000, most of whom belong to the Sukuma tribe. About 19,500 members of the regional population (4.9%) are aged 60 or over, and 55% of older people are women over the age of 60 (Wamara, 1997; Forrester, 1998). As per the census of 2012, the population of Magu was 299,759 (National Bureau of Statistics, 2012). This amount is less than previously mentioned because the district was split up in 2012 (Wikipedia "Magu District", retrieved on 11 July 2021). At the time of the research, no current data were available. Sukumaland (mainly Mwanza and Shinyanga regions) is notorious for being the area of Tanzania with the most severe problem of witchcraft-related killings. Statistics collected by the Tanzania Women's Media Association (Sheikh, 1998) on such killings in the region showed that in 1997, 93% of women's killings had occurred in Sukumaland. Of 194 women killed in 1997, 86 were killed in the Mwanza region and 85 in neighbouring Shinyanga (Forrester, 1998). As references indicate, researchers studied these issues almost twenty years ago; however, the problem in question never went away.

The Magu district is an area where many older people have lost their lives, especially older women, due to victimisation and witchcraft-related beliefs by various

communities (Kibuga and Dianga, 2000). Studies indicate that in 2012, 630 older people were reported to have been murdered following witchcraft accusations. In 2013, this rose to 765, two-thirds of whom were women (the United Republic of Tanzania, Human rights report 2005; HelpAge Tanzania, 2014 *Sauti Ya Wazee*, Issue 05). The numbers provide a picture of the widespread nature of these problems across society.

Older women have faced stigmatisation, physical and psychological abuse, and marginalisation because of witchcraft allegations in rural communities. The majority of those targeted have perished, and those who have survived physical attacks still experience physical and mental trauma (Spitzer and Mabeyo, 2011). Additionally, older people in rural Tanzania suffer and experience a general shortage of social welfare provision because of neglect and lack of support (HelpAge International, *Sauti ya Wazee*, Issue 06, 2016). Twenty years ago, research by Kibuga and Dianga described the social changes affecting the living situations of older people in Tanzanian rural areas; Kibuga and Dianga (2000:30) wrote:

"In the past, older persons lived within an extended family system. This system ensured that they were supported as their strength decreased and that there would be numerous family members to take over the more arduous household tasks. Nowadays, many older people report that their adult children have left the villages because of economic pressures, the land is becoming scarcer. In the new economic climate of cost-sharing in Tanzania, it is more challenging to earn enough income through agriculture to pay for school fees and medical treatment than work in the cities."

The scarcity of the land within the above quote requires some thought. In previous eras, where family members lived close together, lands or farms belonged to the family and not to individuals as it is apparent today. Young family members would not demand land because the traditional practice was that the older generation would pass the land/farms onto their children. In the past, multiple generations tended to live under the same roof, in the same place and pursue the same activities for their livelihood; thus, rivalry over land-related matters within a family was not common. However, the reality of life today presents various challenges to young adults because of poverty, aspirations, desperation, and lack of own resources. Urbanisation and modern lifestyles have made people realise how valuable an asset land is. Frictions emerge when those who leave rural areas for urban life return and demand individual ownership and usage of land at the same

time as their parents or grandparent are still alive. Today people use the land for many purposes, such as building houses and business infrastructures to enhance individual livelihood. The population is increasing; thus, the demand for land by the young generation is high.

On a governmental level, the efforts to help older people have focused on putting in place a social policy to facilitate the proper treatment of older people, creating a more favourable living experience for them. In 2003, the Government formulated the National Ageing Policy. It expressed its responsibility and commitment as follows:

"The Government realises that older people are a resource in the development of our nation. The existence of Tanzania as a nation is evidence of older people's contribution in [the] political, economic, cultural, and social arena" (United Republic of Tanzania, 2003a:2).

In elaborating further, the following rights are part of the National Ageing Policy:

"Older people have the right to live like any other human. Older people have the right to free health treatment. Older people have the right to their dignity as human beings like any human being. They deserve respect, acknowledgement, and honour. Older people have the right to have a good life, income and access to credit" (United Republic of Tanzania: National Ageing Policy, 2003).

The Government established this policy eighteen years ago. However, the National Aging policy has not yet yielded a positive change in the practical living reality of older people in their communities. During the study, participants in rural communities explicitly remembered 2012, 2013, and 2014 as terrible years. Many older people lost their lives, suffering horrific deaths due to victimisation that resulted in killing. These problems occurred when the Government had already formulated their social policy. The policy has not impacted the mindset and attitudes of people in rural areas, especially in their way of thinking and treating older members of their communities. Others believe that most of the people in the villages are ignorant of the National Ageing Policy and its contents, with most not knowing about the existence of this policy (Spitzer and Mabeyo 2011). In their study of older people's social welfare needs and the importance of social protection systems, Spitzer and Mabeyo (2011:115) observed that:

"Older people acknowledged that it is not only them who lack sufficient knowledge about regulations, entitlements, and policy documents. They blamed the very government authorities responsible for implementing

existing policies and laws of being inadequately informed and aware...Most people, even leaders at the ward and village levels, do not know existing policies in our country. This makes it difficult for them to fulfil their responsibilities."

Two issues can be said to underpin the problematic situation affecting older people's wellbeing, as indicated in the above discussion. The first issue is the effective destruction of traditional extended family support networks reflected in younger people's migration into urban settings and other regions. The consistent presence of young adults around older people in rural communities ensured social stability, safety, and provision. When this balance is disturbed, older people in rural areas find themselves vulnerable as they are on their own and lack the necessary support.

The second situation that endangers older people is direct threats for either economic or cultural reasons perpetrated against them by young adults and close relatives. As various literature observes, victimisation and threats towards older people emanate from an embedded superstitious cultural belief that serves as a cover-up for true motives, which is often an economic reason. Individuals, because of a covetous desire for assets, such as lands, alleging that an individual older person is a witch or involved in harming others in the community using witchcraft. The result is that the individual receives hate and threats and is eventually killed. Consequently, when the older person is out of the picture, those who concocted the witchcraft story can take the deceased's assets.

6.2 Origins and Formation of MAPERECE

Magu Poverty Focus on Older People Rehabilitation Centre (MAPERECE) is a local non-profit organisation (NGO) based in Magu town, working with older people around rural communities in the district. The organisation was formed in 1993 by Mr Shitobelo. Its main objective has been to promote community awareness of, and care for, older people. In 1993, MAPERECE carried out an informal survey in thirteen villages to understand older people's situation in the area. Their investigation found that older people were affected by various problems in various communities around the district. One of the most complex and disturbing of these problems was the allegations of witchcraft which had a devastating impact on older people's lives, especially older women. Remarking on the beginning of the organisation, a male respondent at the managerial level said:

"The reason for establishing an institution dealing with older persons, came to Mr Shitobelo after hearing, witnessing many deaths of older people in Mwanza region, especially Magu District. The massacre of older people was taking place in the village, county, the districts which are also home for Mr Shitobelo. He had lost many of his elderly relatives to attacks, killed by swords. Victimisation and violence against the elderly were happening so often. Older women were being accused of being witches and therefore attacked. They were stabbed with swords, strangled while sleeping at night. Therefore, this organisation was established to eradicate violence, brutal murder against older people." (Msuya)

Allegations of witchcraft leave older women exposed to various risks and vulnerabilities. The physical, social, and emotional trauma caused by this victimisation and the killing of older people prompted the formation and work of this organisation. The organisation's vision reads: "striving to create a conducive environment where older people over sixty years live in peace, harmony, and are valued by their community" (Magu-guide, 2002:4). Furthermore, MAPERECE expressed its mission in the following statement:

"MAPERECE is a non-profit making organisation based in Magu whose mission is to mobilise and sensitise the public to discard harmful beliefs and values that contribute to the killing of older people in the society. We do this through creating awareness and education among the community, the establishment of older people forums, lobbying and advocacy of leaders and policymakers on a variety of issues that affect older people" (Magu-guide, 2002:4).

Administratively, MAPERECE has in place the following bureaucracy:

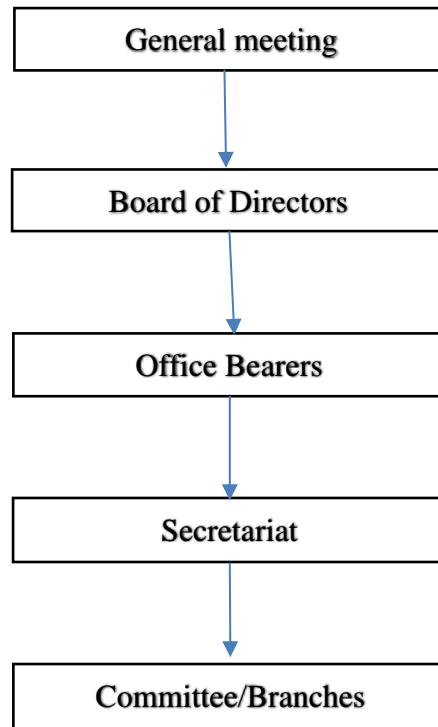


Figure 2: Organisational Structure of MAPERECE.

The general meeting is the decision-making body within the organisation. This meeting is held once a year, and every active member of MAPERECE attends, as do representatives of the elders' councils appointed by the MAPERECE organisation for the year. One of the responsibilities associated with the General meeting is the approval of the Board of Directors' recommendations.

MAPERECE works with communities through its established rural branches and relevant project committees. There are committees elected at various branches in villages where the organisation operates. These committees are comprised of elders' councils (respondent Paul, the project coordinator-MAPERCE).

Currently, the organisation has both employed and volunteer members of staff. There are eleven workers: five paid staff and six staff working on a volunteer basis. The organisation's work is funded by well-wishers, including religious groups and individuals from across Tanzania. Besides this, it receives financial support from different donors from abroad, including HelpAge Germany. Members of staff also make small contributions.

Since the organisation is legally allowed to operate across mainland Tanzania, it has, since its inception, spread its work beyond the Mwanza region, including Shinyanga, Simiyu, Geita, Mara, and Kagera. It seems that this expansion has been driven by the

organisation's mission to create education and awareness of the welfare and rights of older people and the need to support them. The fieldwork undertaken with this organisation involved a total of twenty-two participants who all took part in one-to-one interviews.

6.3 Justification for the Choice of MAPERECE

The discussion of the social problems that emerged in the reviewed literature in Chapter Two influenced the selection of the organisations involved in this study. Since the research sought to learn how local organisations are involved in service provision and their impacts on service users, the researcher chose MAPERECE and its clients to learn from their lived experiences.

At the empirical stage, the research involved individuals representing three levels: managers, employees/social workers, and service users, enabling me to acquire the necessary and appropriate information for this study. Through interviews, the study learned about the social problems and service provision from both the service provider and the service users, i.e., older people. Twenty-two participants took part in interviews. The identities of respondents who participated in this research investigation linked to the organisation are pseudo-anonymised to protect their identity. I translated the respondents' responses into English from the audio recordings made during the interviews in the Kiswahili language.

	Total number	Age range	Gender
Managerial level	4		Male: 4 Female: 0
Social workers	4		Male: 1 Female: 3
Service users	14	65–80	Male: 9 Female: 5

Table 2: Interviewed Participants at MAPERECE

6.4 Main Issues Addressed by MAPERECE

The empirical evidence demonstrates the issues and concerns affecting the wellbeing and functioning of service users—older people—in the rural community. This chapter discusses the main problems and needs that the organisation currently seeks to address. Understanding and engaging with those problems that emerged in this study has

been influenced by the researcher's world view on the social world and knowledge creation, so-called social constructionism. Based on this, the researcher used a distinction of problems: People face immediate issues in their daily lives. But those issues are often problems that reflect broader circumstances. The study has found immediate problems and the underlying causes of those immediate problems. For example, a social problem like unemployment can lead to significant personal, immediate issues on the individual's wellbeing, such as depression or financial troubles (O'Donell, 2002).

Understanding problems in this manner enabled me to acquire an accurate picture of the root causes of the issues affecting people's wellbeing and, to some degree, helped in deciding upon an appropriate interventional approach. Thus, for example, issues embedded within society and widely impacting everyone cannot sufficiently be addressed by solely focusing on the individual (a person-centred approach) while ignoring the underlying factors that emanate from broader social-cultural circumstances.

The discussion starts with problems that reflect immediate needs based on personal circumstances, often originating from social structural failure. In responding to the question: "What kind of difficulties do you face in your life?" a female respondent (80 years old) replied:

"I am asking for cooking flour, cassava flour, and maize meal because there is no food in my house. If you help us older people, our lives will be prolonged, go forward, even become less burdened." (Esther)

This respondent's account describes the issue that has an immediate impact on her living situation; the main problem is a lack of food. Esther's narrative listed actual items or food-related materials that she desperately needs to meet her immediate needs. She sees these items as the solution to her situation in this context. Food is necessary for our human existence. A lack of food can create malnutrition, making an older person physically weak and potentially bringing about other issues that may affect their daily functioning. Her immediate hunger problem could have its root cause in older people's general accessibility of food, e.g., as they are physically unable to farm. Also, it could be that the young adults whom older people relied on for acquiring basic needs and survival are no longer there or have never been there. Underlying issues include lack of formal social security schemes and pensions as those are hardly available for people living in rural areas and favours those in formal employment, mainly in urban settings. There are no local government structures available to support older people to access food, housing and security. Hence, this makes older people even more reliant on family support

structures. But those traditional support structures are in decline, which leaves older people in rural areas vulnerable and unprotected (refer to Chapter 2.2.1).

In line with above, another female respondent named Mageni (78 years old) explained the challenge that she faces daily:

"I live alone. I have never had a child, or a grandson, who can say they can help me. Living alone, being old, the physical power that enables you to work or run here and there is not there and has made my life very difficult"
(Mageni, who lives alone and is in poor health).

Mageni's account reveals her awareness of her diminishing physical strength due to ageing and the struggle to maintain her life and take care of herself. She explains that she struggles daily because no one can assist her with essential daily needs because of her weakening physical strength. This situation indicates the reality that many older people in rural Tanzania communities experience. The diminishing of the social network of protection and lack of community support are the underlying causes of immediate problems that are apparent in the life of Mageni. Therefore, the issues expressed here find their root cause in broader social circumstances-structural problems.

On a similar question about the problems affecting study participant's wellbeing, a female respondent named Joyce (70 years old) describes the situation she faces, saying:

"I am old and in poor health. Taking care of my surroundings by myself is a major challenge for me. Getting food is a struggle for me. I am poor."
(Joyce, who has no children).

The account indicates that poverty and poor health have an immediate negative impact on Joyce's experience in life, affecting her ability to take care of her living surroundings. Maintaining better living surroundings is vital for our human well-being. The failure to keep one's living environment healthy can lead to the emergence of other risky situations, such as health-related difficulties and illness arising from a lack of hygiene.

Mageni and Joyce indicate a cognitive awareness that something in their being and functioning has fundamentally changed, the ageing process and the direct impact. They seem to struggle when undertaking even a simple chore, such as maintaining their surroundings.

Having a severe physical problem such as a lack of physical strength can severely affect other aspects of life. For example, it can lead to an older person's inability to cope with a simple task or failure to handle day-to-day challenges. Most respondents in this

study indicated that as older people, they feel that the extent to which they can manage life independently is impeded.

The respondents revealed more issues. From a first reading, they immediately impact the respective individual, but looking closer at them reveals problems that reflect broader social circumstances. Therefore, they can be described as structurally caused.

In responding to the question: "What kind of difficulties do you face in your life" during an interview, a female participant (68 years old) expressed this answer:

"Water wells are too far away. It is difficult for me to walk a long distance while carrying a bucket of water on my head. I am an old person, and my body is weak. Every time I try to carry a bucket full of water on my head, I fall." (Margaret)

This account indicates a social-structural problem because the well is too far away, and there is no easy access to water. The respondent feels powerless and vulnerable. Water, something she needs daily, seems inaccessible because of the distance involved.

During the interviews, Maria, a social worker, explained the challenging situations that older people face in rural areas.

"The economic problem is a problem in rural areas. Because of age and diminished physical strengths, our older people who used to work in agriculture, now many of them have no work to do which can bring them income. The lack of involvement in agriculture makes it so difficult to meet daily needs such as food, clothes, health treatment. Changing clothing is a problem; an older person tends to wear the same clothes for a long time without even washing. Also, maintaining their own house without help is a challenge" (Maria).

Indeed, farming is an essential source of income and livelihood for most rural communities, and the older generation has considered farming to be the sole source of income. Food production is used both for consumption and income generation. Inability to participate in agricultural activities means that older people have no means upon which to survive. Thomas (72 years old), a service user, described the problems that he and other older people face in the area that he lives in:

"Our farming is in trouble. There is the unavailability of food; this is a significant trouble. And as you know, when a famine exists, without adequate yields, enough food, it means that the person is restless. This situation impacts the life of an older person, much more than on any other

person. The challenge is climate change, lack of rain, and the worst climate change for this time we have, different from the past. Climate change has harmed food acquisition. There is drought and hunger" (Thomas).

According to Thomas, climate change, in terms of shortages of rain and the rain coming late, seems to underpin the absence or deficiency of food production, affecting the community's source of livelihood. This situation appears to be more severely felt among older people. There can be no doubt that older people are more likely to be affected than, for example, young adults. Older people are more immobile, while young people may attempt to move around searching for new opportunities.

The impact of climate change on food production is felt by many, a situation evident at the community level. The social structure supposed to represent and protect the community's social wellbeing must have strategies in place to intervene in this situation regarding a lack of food which could relieve the pressures and remove the uncertainty that older people feel, enhancing their social wellbeing.

Health-related problems also affect the wellbeing of older people in rural areas. This aspect of the problem was echoed by Henry (67 years old), a village council representative, who described older people's situation:

"Health problems rank first in the order of problems here in our village. Older people struggle with many illnesses, including Malaria, physical pain, stomach-ache. What makes this health issue even more difficult is the fact that health centres where people go for treatment are located far away. To be able to reach the health centre, one needs transport, but the available means of transport here in our village are bicycles, and only young adults can ride bicycles for long distances, and not older people" (Henry).

Having good health is essential for our well-being and functioning as human beings. Henry's narrative reveals that older people struggle with various health issues affecting them directly in this community. The inability to access medical treatment because of the distance and the lack of appropriate transport complicate older people's health situations and their possibility of escaping from these health problems. Although health-related issues are felt directly by the individual, they find their root causes essentially at a social-structural level due to a lack of available medical support and transport. Society's awareness of this issue, especially local governmental awareness,

indicates a structural failure, particularly considering that local government is a body that is supposed to represent society's interest and take care of its citizens' well-being.

Living with an untreated health condition may cause it to spiral into long-term severe health problems, especially if there are no available interventions or support to minimise this risk. Suppose many older people suffer from health-related issues because they cannot get to the medical centre for appropriate treatment. In this instance, a lack of proper transport means is the primary need in a community such as this.

This study found that older people often lose their assets and resources by force to their adult children and grandchildren. This problem was reflected by a respondent, Masanja (60 years old), a male leader at the community level:

"One thing that has been the outcry for many older people is the denial of their basic rights. Young adults or relatives would come demanding by force the ownership of land and properties belonging to an older person. When an older person says no to their demand, then she gets threatened. If the older person stood her ground, then he or she is attacked. Most attacks happen in the night-time. You would find an older person dead, mostly horrific death by being strangled. The unfortunate thing is that those who commit these terrible things are relatives. Even when the deceased's neighbour had known about the threat, they tend to remain quiet, not reporting the perpetrators to the local authority or police"(Masanja).

This account reveals a tragic situation where children and grandchildren turn against their older relatives by demanding their property. Masanja's report on older people's concerns indicates emotional and material abuse. Relinquishing resources and assets could significantly affect an older person's practical living experience in the village community, potentially increasing poverty and destabilising their lives, making them destitute. There is another further observational point in the narrative above worth pointing out. There seems to be a lack of collective responsibility, a neighbourhood failure and a general community failure to protect older people, especially those faced by these threats from allegations. The community must be the ear and protector of vulnerable people. Still, according to Masanja's narrative, they fail; therefore, their silence and failure to intervene contribute to the problems affecting older people's social wellbeing. Essentially, this is a social-structural issue.

A female social worker, named Maria, explains what she sees as the problem facing older people in rural areas, saying:

"Older people, especially older women in rural communities, face threat and killings. The origins of these brutal acts are in perverted superstitious beliefs. These older women would often have been cooking for a long time using a 'minyaa', a firewood that produces heavy and sharp smoke, leading to red eyes. Still, many people in this rural community do not see this as a factor, when they see an older woman, whose eyes are red, they say this is a witch" (Maria).

Maria's narrative indicates how culturally entrenched superstitious beliefs blur people's understanding of the real reason that some older women have red eyes. Red eyes are not indicative of someone being a witch, instead they are the result of long-term exposure to burning firewood. The implication is that education is needed to expel these erroneous ideas in rural communities.

Furthermore, she described social situations and the causes of abuse of older people in rural communities:

"Inheritance claims are also the origin of the murder of older people in village communities. Children or grandchildren lacking wealth return home and begin to disrupt the life of the older person, by demanding an inheritance, and if they are denied of property or estate of land, they so often resort into murder, killing their older relatives" (Maria).

As in Masanja's narrative, Maria's account raises two concerns: one is a human right, namely the individual right of access and ownership of resources; the other is inter-generational tension based on the availability of assets.

There is no doubt that this act of taking resources or assets belonging to an older person by force amounts to elder abuse (also known as the mistreatment of older people). It is generally agreed that the abuse of older people is either an act of commission or omission, in which case it is usually described as 'neglect'. It may be either intentional or unintentional (Ferreira, 2005:19). The abuse may be physical, it may be psychological (involving emotional or verbal aggression), or it may include financial or other material maltreatment. Regardless of the type of abuse, it can undoubtedly result in unnecessary suffering, injury or pain, the loss or violation of human rights, and a decreased quality of life for an older person (Hudson, 1991). The abuse of older people is reflected in Maria's

narrative, involving abuses related to material resources and emotional and physical harm.

Another category of problems facing older people are those associated with allegations of witchcraft. Such allegations often result in devastating social outcomes in the lives of the accused. Many respondents in this study have indicated the negative impact of, and problems caused by, accusations of witchcraft on an older person's life.

A respondent named Peter, who is a manager, pointed to the issues affecting older people's wellbeing and explained the negative impact of witchcraft beliefs on the lives of older people in the community:

"When someone (becomes) ill or dies, especially in Sukuma-land, people must go to the traditional doctors-healers to seek reason and solution. Since the so-called traditional healers want money, material wealth, they feed people who go to see them with wrong information, saying, for example, the death is caused by your older aunt, grandma, or your mother, so go and get rid of them. Many young adults ignorant of other factors and desperate for an answer, resort to consulting traditional healers and implement the recommended steps, only to find themselves in a more distressing situation and more difficulties befall them" (Peter).

The explanation or basis for killing older people in rural communities is complicated. Peter, the respondent at the organisational level, revealed that superstitious beliefs and the labelling of older people as witches had been used as a cover-up or scapegoat for something more sinister. 'Scapegoating' carries the idea of blaming or incriminating someone for something they did not do (Crossman, 2020). These superstitious beliefs are deeply socially embedded in the cultural mindset.

Another response came from Nelson (58 years old), a leader of an older people's forum and a village monitoring committee who look after older people's welfare concerns in the community. Nelson describes the problems faced by older people in rural communities, by saying:

"It is now about a year since the MAPERECE social project started operating in our village community. But the years back before MAPERECE has come to this village, it was very bad. Older people faced challenging problems, including security threat to their personal safety, freedom of movement, victimisation, and abuse of older people (especially older women) instigated by jealousy, prevalent beliefs, and witchcraft

practices. Many older people fell victims of vicious attacks, killed in night times when no one is awake or watching. Houses occupied by an older person would be attacked. Some older women have sustained injuries, scarred for life" (Nelson)

It is worth noting something important in the description that this respondent provides of the situation. Nelson's account describes two contrasting periods: The first period is before MAPERECE arrived in the village. This time is portrayed as dark and is characterised by horrible events and the victimisation and killing of older women. The second period is marked by MAPERECE working in the village when virtually all of the terrible events and difficulties older people endured, especially older women, stopped. Highlighting the positive impact, the presence of MAPERECE had made.

Responding to the follow-up question, "Which years did these terrible events take place?", Nelson answered:

"I would say, the years of 2000s were the worst period. From 2000 to 2010, each year in that period, you would hear six older people (older women) losing their lives to vicious attacks, hatred, victimisation and killing. These events created a sense of fear, terror among the older population in our community. Older people could not attend their farms, socialise openly. Some chose to sleep outside due to the fear that being inside something terrible might happen to them." (Nelson)

The respondent was retelling these horrifying stories regarding the abuse and killing of older people in this interview, indicating how older people in communities were physically, mentally, and socially troubled and were at risk and lived in a vulnerable social environment. It also suggests that families who lost their loved ones to these terrible events still live with the trauma and psychological scars even today.

The same respondent explained how young relatives contribute to their older relatives' difficult social living condition in rural communities. Nelson explained:

"Older people in our village have been experiencing many problems. Some have received a threat from their adult children and relatives, pressurised to relinquish their land, property, farms, and any valuable assets. Witchcraft allegations have been used as a ground for killing an older person, while the truth of the matter is that it is older person's disagreement to give up his/her ownership of property, land, farm." (Nelson)

There is a distinction between the idea that someone is a witch and that somebody else believes specific individuals are a witch and using this allegation to sabotage somebody's life and livelihood. So, in Nelson's account, it appears that people in these settings use their belief in witchcraft as a pretext for attacking older people to rob them of their assets and hence livelihood.

A male respondent, Peter, the manager, elucidated further in his response about the situation:

"MAPERECE researched to find out what caused older people to face social isolation, lack of living space, discrimination, harassment, and torture... we found out land issues and inheritance to be behind this problem. Today, the number of people is growing. Still, the land is decreasing. When there is land belonging to parents, grandparents, it is happening now that everyone is looking at that land as a resource for livelihood, and this is causing tension among relations. You find grandchildren wanting the land, and the quarrel arises. Young adults force grandparents or grandmothers to give up the landownership ...and if parent, grandparents don't hand over that piece of land, you see the intimidations and killings happening." (Peter)

One may ask a question: If people leave the countryside for the towns, one might expect the ratio of land to people to increase, but as indicated in the above quote, scarcity of land is an issue.

Having highlighted these points, I would like to incorporate other perspectives as I consider the effects of witchcraft allegations on a person's life. Being labelled as a witch carries with it profound adverse effects. Such allegations can profoundly affect a person's inner sense of being and social, external reality. Since an older person is powerless, perhaps living alone can be an easy target. Stigma, as a process, is based on the social construction of identity. Thus, people who become associated with a stigmatised condition pass from being 'normal' to having a 'discredited' or 'discreditable' social status (Parker & Angleton, 2003). Equally, Goffman argued that stigma is a relationship of devaluation in which one individual is disqualified from full social acceptance (Goffman, 1963). Stigmatisation, at its essence, is a challenge to one's humanity. Crocker et al. (1998:504) explained that "a person who is stigmatised is a person whose social identity, or membership in some social category, calls into question his or her full humanity—the person is devalued, spoiled, or flawed in the eyes of others." Stigmatisation involves

dehumanisation, threats, aversion, and sometimes the depersonalisation of others into a stereotypical caricature. Thus, stigmatisation is personally, interpersonally, and socially costly (Crocker et al., 1998).

The elimination of oppression and creating better human living conditions, especially for older people, is critical for social change to improve the life experience of older people in rural communities. This emancipatory framework recognises that some issues affecting individuals are profoundly rooted and prevalent in society and characterise the functions of social structures. From a social point of view, this implies that human emancipation depends upon transforming the social world and not just the inner self (Wright, 2007).

Another respondent described the issues affecting older people's wellbeing. Paul, the organisation's program coordinator, told of the challenges facing older women in the communities:

"They face rights and law-related challenges. Some of the held traditions and customs in some communities tend to undermine and endanger older people's lives. Some of these traditions and customs serve as obstacles to older women's life experiencing and social development in some communities in Tanzania. A woman is still not seen as a person with certain rights, not allowed to own land or inherit property." (Paul)

This account suggests that women are unfairly treated when accessing personal and social development opportunities and inheritance. In this context, older widows may feel the harsh impact of gender discrimination because of various restrictions and denied heritage. Without assets, women, especially older women, remain weak and vulnerable. To realise gender and social equality in society, legislation and legal systems play a role in reforming social attitudes, behaviour, and misguided actions (Ndulo, 2011).

The research findings show that many social issues affect older people, including poverty, which directly impacts a lack of income, physical and health-related problems, stigma, discrimination, and vulnerability. These are arguably structural in the cause.

6.5 Addressing of Problems by MAPERECE

When considering how the organisation responds to the identified problems, I used Dominelli's social work model as a framework, as introduced earlier in the thesis. The model provides a way of understanding and categorising social workers' approaches

towards problem-solving. Dominelli's model is made of three processes, namely the maintenance, therapeutic, and emancipatory practice.

In considering Dominelli's model, one can see that there may be a link between the way one understands or conceptualises a problem and the kind of solution to which one thinks a problem then lends itself.

A point about MAPERECE's mode of operation: this organisation distributes support to its clients through intermediaries rather than directly. Describing how the organisation identifies the needs of those who require its services and reaches them with help, Peter, the manager in the organisation, said:

"We have made conducted meetings at village levels with the council of older people, and then the older people in that council could identify those most in need in their community. We work closely with councils of older people at the village level in providing services."

Equally, a female respondent, Margret (68), who is critical of the organisation's mode of operation, said: "If MAPERECE wants to give anything to the elderly, e.g., soap, food, or money, my advice is that they should not give it to the village councils or older people council..."

This account indicates that delivering needed immediate support to clients through intermediaries (such as the village councils) has some challenges and may require extra observation from the service provider.

(i). Problems that have an immediate impact:

The gathered information indicates how MAPERECE responds to immediate and the needs of its clients.

In an interview, a respondent, Paul, representing the managerial level, explained that:

"MAPERECE is involved practically in providing tangible social support according to a client's needs, for example, building a house, counselling, building a friendship with older people (clients)." (Paul)

Commenting on the support he has received, Jonathan said:

"Every time MAPERECE comes here; they bring soda, they give a piece of soap. We receive one Coca Cola, one soap." (Jonathan)

Immakulata, a social worker in the organisation, described the activities she does to support clients:

"I provide cleaning services to keep his/her environment clean and safe. Make sure that his/her health is not affected by the surroundings."

(Immakulata)

This response indicates that older people who cannot take care and maintain their own living surroundings receive assistance from social workers employed by the organisation, like Immakulata, as demonstrated here.

There appears to be a difference between the client's perception—soap and Coca cola—and the organisation's—building a house, counselling, building a friendship, as Section 6.6 will elucidate further.

The above response resonates with and reflects Dominelli's approach to problem-solving, the 'maintenance' approach. This approach focuses on tackling an individual's immediate needs rather than addressing the broader social situation or more significant social problems beyond an individual (Dominelli, 2009).

Furthermore, Immakulata's response indicates action, offering help directly to clients in their home by cleaning their home environment. This sort of support aims to help older people maintain a good level of hygiene. This practical support activity directly offered to an older person's home setting demonstrates Dominelli's model's maintenance response, in this case, working with the client to maintain their independence at home.

In describing the process through which employees or social workers of the organisation fulfil their duty, Joanna, a female social worker, explained:

"A social worker of the organisation assesses the actual situation of the clients—older people—and decides the right support or course of action in accordance with the condition of our clients." (Joanna)

Likewise, Immakulata, a social worker, explained that:

"MAPERECE undertakes the assessment and provides advice based on the client's situation. For example, a client may have a personal concern, such as religious or spiritual concerns, or in need of legal advice. Then we can give appropriate direction and suggest a solution to this person."

(Immakulata)

Joanna and Immakulata's accounts indicate some essential steps vital in determining a situation facing individuals and how best to help the individual recover normality. This process is called an assessment of need, and it is one of the essential steps a social worker must take. It involves examining and establishing an accurate picture of a client's situation or people might be facing (Wilkins and Boahen, 2013).

During an interview Joanna, a female social worker, described the tasks she fulfils with the clients:

"When I am with clients, other work is to teach them about older people's laws and rights and human rights. I also emphasise that older people are still needed in society because they have responsibilities for the community. So, there is a capacity building element, increasing awareness. My tasks include counselling, as the majority of our older people experience emotional and mental stress. Sometimes due to high pressure, an older client will not feel comfortable and ready to see me and cooperate with you." (Joanna)

Joanna's narrative of her task, providing counselling and imparting relevant information as a response to older people experiencing emotional and mental stress, demonstrates the 'therapeutic' approach part of Dominelli's model.

In therapeutic interventions, the prime focal point is improvement through interpersonal relationships. This approach focuses primarily on what individuals can do to improve their position through targeted professional interventions. A principal aim is to enhance a person's psychological and emotional functioning to handle their affairs (Dominelli, 2002a:12). In working with individuals therapeutically, the social workers' task is to open discursive spaces in which clients can develop their own interpretive story, which gives meaning to their experiences and enables them to understand how dominant discourses operate to suppress this story (Dominelli, 2002a).

One thing worth pointing out, which directly concerns addressing immediate needs, is that not all respondents belonging to the organisation and service users indicated this type of service. Most respondents indicated that they do not get support and assistance for their immediate pressing needs. Though it needs to be noted that some mentioned they received support in the form of sugar and soap, the organisation claims to have built houses, and the staff provides various forms of advice. Those activities match Dominelli's maintenance and therapeutic approaches. But frequent and continuous tangible support and assistance that could help clients in their everyday needs are not a daily occurrence in the organisation's overall service provision.

(ii) The Social structure's defects are the underlying causes for immediate problems.

According to the data, many older people find it difficult to access hospital treatment due to inappropriate transport and have difficulty accessing water on a daily

basis. Upon close examination of these issues, it is evident that the problems' sources are structural, embedded within society. Institutions have created the perfect grounds for the emergence of these issues, affecting the functioning of individuals and their wellbeing.

The organisation goes beyond individual concerns and challenges the whole community and the social structures and institutions representing the people to respond to these problems.

In an interview, a male respondent (Paul) who is the program coordinator in the organisation, explained the activities that are undertaken in response to these issues. Paul explained that:

"MAPERECE is involved in educating the community about the welfare and challenges facing older people. We believe that giving education to the broader community can help bring a positive perspective and attitude towards older people." (Paul)

Paul's narrative of the organisation's responsive actions to problems indicates that the organisation believes that the whole community and its social structures are responsible for the issues affecting older people's wellbeing. Thus, this realisation of the collective failure of responsibility leads the organisation to address the community in its approach to managing individuals' wellbeing.

The activity described above as a response by the organisation to the situation, which involves imparting knowledge about older people's welfare at the community level, in a bid to affect change, reflects the emancipatory way of responding to a problem. The emancipatory approach changes society and seeks structural changes to ensure social justice. In this sense, the community addressed its issues for the sake of older people's wellbeing.

Paul, furthermore, explained in detail the involvement of MAPERECE in addressing the problems:

"We are involved in advocacy work, making the concerns of older people known to various stakeholders, including critical institutions in government, police, local, and regional social welfare offices. Also, MAPERECE is involved in educating multiple communities in rural areas about ageing, older people and the need to take care of older people." (Paul)

Paul's account indicates the organisation's effort at the structural level, targeting essential institutions representing the wider community's social interest. The idea behind

reaching a wider society is to transform the community from being negative and hostile to being positive and caring towards its older people, who are valuable members.

MAPERECE's response and actions towards solving these issues, particularly their decision to address older people's welfare concerns at a community and structural level, resonate and reflect one suggested approach in Dominelli's social work practice model, the 'emancipatory' approach to social problem-solving. The emancipatory approach to responding to social problems identifies the oppressive nature of social relations and argues that social workers are responsible for doing something about these whilst also helping people as individuals (Dominelli, 2002).

In clarifying the usage of emancipatory approaches from a practical point of view, Dominelli (2002b:85) wrote:

"Practitioners who follow emancipatory approaches seek to achieve anti-oppressive practices by focusing on the specifics of a situation in a holistic manner and mediating between its individual and structural components."

MAPERECE understands that older people's issues span from the immediate needs of individuals to the community social structure and are often culturally entrenched. In its effort, MAPERECE brings old and young people together to discuss the importance of their roles in the community. They also challenge long-held negative and cultural views, the negative impact of superstitious thinking, and misconceptions about ageing and older people. Their education package promotes awareness of older people's rights as enshrined in the Tanzanian national policy across the community.

Other observations are worth noting regarding the organisation's response to the highlighted issues and clients' social concerns. Reading and considering what the organisation does in response to social problems, older people face some specific problems that appear not to have been given any focus by the organisation, as revealed in the data findings.

Because of the distance, older people cannot afford medical treatment and cannot reach where medical services are available. Therefore, they tend to live with health issues. There is no evidence of the organisation's activity to offer support to individual older people facing a health issue who are struggling to reach medical services.

Another issue flagged by the service users is living without water in the house. Older people struggle to get water from the water source, a well, because of the distance, and as a result, they sometimes go days without washing or drinking. Older people, especially older women, explained this problem with an anguished tone in their voices,

indicating this considerable need and burden. Yet, there is no indication that the organisation supports this critical need in the data gathered.

Furthermore, most respondents mentioned a lack of reliable means of livelihood as the underlying cause of their challenging life experiences. For various reasons, older people who took part in this study in the community have no steady means to acquire a daily living, possibly because of their inability to cultivate. Considering that a person's existence is dependent on food, water, shelter, and good health, lacking these essentials makes the life of an older person very difficult, if not impossible, in rural areas.

If the organisation were to provide support in all aspects of older people's needs, this would be a massive undertaking for an organisation lacking resources and financial capacity. It would mean giving financial capital for starting a business as an alternative way for older people to earn a living instead of farming. It could mean MAPERECE becoming committed to supporting clients with daily needs—for sustenance—whatever that may mean for each older person involved. Such an undertaking would require a significant reservoir of finances and other resources.

The lack of complete coverage and response to all the highlighted issues implies limitations to what MAPERECE can do in responding to its clients' problems and needs. Hence, it makes sense for MAPERECE to devote at least some of its time to campaigning and to advocate to achieve the more significant changes necessary at the structural level.

The section below examines the impacts of the organisation's work on the situations mentioned above.

6.6 Impact of MAPERECE's Activities: From a Perspective of Service Users

This section deals with the impact of the organisation's services on their clients, and it considers MAPERECE's effect on the broader population in the communities they serve. In considering the organisation's impact on clients who experience their services, the study has revealed a contradictory set of perspectives from service users concerning how they see MAPERECE's impact.

A male respondent, Nelson, commented on the impact of the organisation's work in his community, saying:

"It is now about a year since the MAPERECE social project started operating in our village community. But the years back before MAPERECE came, it was very bad." (Nelson)

Although Nelson did not elaborate on the specific activities by MAPERECE that contributed to this change of affairs, there is an acknowledgement of the organisation's vital role in supporting older people.

However, some respondents expressed a dissatisfied view of the organisation's impact on a personal level. Phrases used by respondents in describing their experiences that surfaced in interviews included "I have not been helped", or "I have not received any support." In an interview, a female respondent, Margret (68) explained:

"I have not been helped by MAPERECE. They only encourage us older people to come into groups, being part of the older forum, older people group at village-level councils. But privately in my trouble, I have not received direct support from the organisation or seen anyone from the organisation coming to want to know the realities of my life. Older people meet and talk about the problems and challenges they have. You see the benefits of being part of a big group. Meeting other older people in the area reduces loneliness, sadness, and depression. When you are with others, you feel a little happy, peaceful, and laughing, but problems continue."

(Margret)

Margret's account seems to acknowledge the impact of MAPERECE's work at the community level. She seems to value the coming together/peer support among older people in the community but does not feel that it is helping in solving her problems. She says that she has not been helped directly by the organisation. She uses the term 'privately', and this could mean, on a personal level. Her dissatisfaction with the organisation's handling of the social problems facing older people appears to emanate from her awareness of her circumstances. She believes that her requirements cannot be resolved by mere peer support or meeting with other older people in the community. She sees that the only way to solve her problem is by receiving direct, tangible support or one-to-one direct contact with the organisation.

She claimed that she has never received any support directly from the organisation, although she may be associating 'help' with being 'given' something. It may be the case that, in this context, the idea of help is taken literally to mean 'give'.

In further discussion with her in an interview, it became apparent that Margret's dissatisfaction could arise from the lack of trust in the system set-up, which is supposed to serve as an intermediate structure for MAPERECE's work.

For example, in answering the question “What do you think MAPERECE should do to help older women?” Margret, who lives alone, replied:

“The best way to help us older women is for MAPERECE to come to visit the older women and listen carefully to the ideas, know our needs. If MAPERECE wants to give anything to the elderly, e.g., soap, food, or money, my advice is that they should not give it to the village councils or older people council. Still, they should meet one older person after another, in person, and listen to her and to give that relief, support. Through this way, I believe MAPERECE will see the reality of the older people, the older women, elderly female widows. Because so often the assistance that is being passed onto the council of older persons, does not reach the targeted audience, especially older women, and it is not clear what is happening with that support.” (Margret)

Margret seems to be saying that the organisation delivers service and resources through intermediaries—the councils—but that they may not pass the materials on to the intended users. Older women, especially, seem to be disadvantaged when it comes to service reception. From her response, there appears to be a lack of trust and integrity in how these councils operate. This concern could explain why the respondents would prefer a one-to-one direct service from the organisation.

The older people's councils and village councils were formed on the initiative of MAPERECE and upon instigation from the local government. These councils are supposed to be the bridge and channel that can process older people's concerns and support. The issues she raises here are severe, and they can potentially jeopardise the organisation's good work. If the systems that are in place function in a way characterised by dishonesty and a lack of transparency, honesty and gender discrimination, then criticism arises.

Another reflection on the organisation's service delivery came from Joyce, a female respondent. In an interview she said:

“MAPERECE does not help me with anything directly. But we, older people have been encouraged to come together, forming an older council group. We meet and talk. We meet on Friday. At our meeting, we share ideas and encourage each other in this life. So, I can say that I have never received help from MAPERECE: food, soap, clothes, or otherwise. Many

times, when people from the organisation come, they speak only words, and then you are left in the same situation in your trouble." (Joyce)

Joyce's account shows that she, too, feels that she has never received any help from MAPERECE that could enable her to address her immediate needs. However, she does acknowledge that MAPERECE has helped older people in her community to come together and meet regularly. Bringing older people together helps against isolation and loneliness and provides some sense of solidarity and belonging. However, this mixed reaction to the service might be driven by the clear differentiation between what a service user regards as their immediate essential needs and the organisation's perception of clients' needs.

It could be that for these service users, addressing their immediate need is much more important to them than waiting for changes at a societal level. A mismatch exists between the organisation's activity and the service users' expectations, which revealed the complex nature of service provision: the challenge of balancing service users' hopes and aspirations with the agency's understanding of the issues and their approach to a solution.

Another female respondent named Mageni expressed the following perspective on her experience of the organisation's service provision. Mageni (78 years old), who lives alone, gave this view of the organisation:

"Sometimes ago they gave me soap, and another time they gave me a little bit of money. But I do not see the representative of the organisation visiting me. It would be beneficial if they were aware of my life situation, how I am. If there will be someone around to help me, the burden of my life will be a little easier." (Mageni)

This response indicated the existence of some direct tangible support. Mageni acknowledged receiving soap and money, but she used the word "sometimes"; this may suggest that receiving physical material support is not a daily occurrence. She said that she had never seen a representative of MAPERECE visiting her at her home.

Another reflection on the organisation's service provision came from a male respondent, named Jonathan (70 years old). He had this to say:

"I thank you MAPERECE for being willing to help us older people. However, the thing that bothers me I find that, when MAPERECE comes here, they bring soda and give a piece of soap. We are given soda, Fanta, one Coca-Cola or one soap. Older people are happy. But if you look, or overthink of this kind of help, from a far-reaching perspective...mhmm. Is

drinking soda, or being given a single soap, helps us? Where will one soda lead us? Helping an older person by giving one soda!...I don't know.”
(Jonathan)

This view is an opposite reaction towards the tangible or material service provided by the organisation. While Jonathan appreciates that the organisation is willing to support older people, he seems to question the effectiveness of the kind of help given to clients. He specifically asks how far the provision of a Coca-Cola or one soap can go in changing an older person's situation in the rural area. The respondent might be questioning the impact of the type of tangible items given from a background of awareness of the complicated situation older people face in these settings. The challenges facing older people in rural areas, according to this study, seem to be comprised of both long-term needs and immediate needs.

Even though the organisation recruited service users for this study, they were not afraid to criticise the organisation's type and manner of involvement with them. This attitude may indicate an independent mind, awareness of circumstances, and what individuals might wish to see happening.

As shown in this chapter, MAPERECE plays a significant role in addressing issues that impact older people's wellbeing in rural areas. This social group faces immense challenges but does not receive sufficient solid support from the government. Data findings indicate the active involvement of the organisation and its impact on the ground. However, the data revealed criticism expressed by the service users for not having received tangible help to address their immediate needs. This observation suggests a mismatch of expectation between service-users and what the organisation thinks it is doing or has set out to be doing. Clarifying expectations is vital to ensure a smooth and meaningful relationship between the clients and the organisation. Though support delivery through intermediaries, i.e., the village council of older people, may indicate a close working relationship between the organisation and the community, it appears that operating in this mode complicates the service provision process. But coming together in these forums helps older people be part and engage with their peers who have similar experiences and concerns. This social gathering creates positivity and hence more benefit than they are willing to recognise. Situations within society and its social structure seem to underpin many issues affecting older people's wellbeing. This explains why the organisation is directing its effort at the societal level by challenging society to create a socially conducive living environment for older people. This effort has been particularly

successful regarding witchcraft allegations against older people. However, as revealed in the data, primarily through the clients' reflections on the service, the organisation seems not to meet all the perceived needs, especially the immediate ones, due to its limited capacity.

7 Case study 2: Dogodogo Street Children Trust

This research study has set out to understand how social services provided by local non-government social welfare organisations in Tanzania address social problems and their impact on service users such as street children. One of the local organisations recruited to participate in this research was the Dogodogo Street Children Trust. This organisation addresses the social welfare needs of street children in Dar es Salaam in Tanzania. The phenomenon of street children is amongst the most challenging social issues in urban Tanzanian society. According to observations in social studies, Dar es Salaam is one of the many cities with a high influx of street children exposed to unsafe living conditions (Luena, 2011).

Social researchers and the international community have offered various perspectives in understanding the distinctiveness of this social group. Accordingly, a street child is:

"any girl or boy who has not reached adulthood for whom the street (in the broadest sense of the word, including unoccupied dwellings and wasteland) has become his or her habitual abode and source of livelihood."

(Thomas de Benitez, 2011:7).

Another perspective is that which construes street children as those for whom the street more than their family has become their home, a situation in which there is no protection, supervision, or direction from responsible adults (Parveen, 2014; Bhukuth and Ballet, 2015). These interpretations are adopted in this study and resonate well with the social reality of street children in the context of urban Tanzania.

During the research, I carried out a series of semi-structured one-to-one interviews to understand the social problems and social service provision from both the service providers and users of the services linked to the Dogodogo Street Children Trust. Hence, this chapter presents and discusses the data findings related to this case study in the following order:

- The first part discusses contextual information about street children in Tanzania. This part also includes information about Dar es Salaam and the social situation facing street children.
- The second part explains the origins and formation of the Dogodogo Street Children Trust.
- Part three discusses how the organisation identifies its clients.

- Part four discusses the central issues and needs that the organisation currently seeks to address and how they undertake this responsibility.
- Part five explains the organisation's response to each of the problems, with reference to Dominelli's social work practice model as discussed previously.
- Part six looks at the impact of the organisation's work on clients' situations and the broader society.

7.1 Contextual Information About Street Children in Tanzania

In Tanzanian culture, having children is considered a significant blessing and a sign of wealth. Society sees children as a symbol of high social status and social insurance for the future older generation's social wellbeing (Mbilinyi and Omari, 1996). However, in the light of such a dominant pronatalist culture, it seems surprising and contradictory to learn that, in the same society, there are cases of child neglect, child abandonment, and homeless children living on the streets of cities across Tanzania today (Rwezaura, 2000; Rwegoshora, 2002; McAlpine et al., 2010).

It is recognised globally, including in Tanzania, that all persons under the age of 18 years old are children. All children in Tanzania are protected by the Law of the Child Act 2009 (UNICEF, June 2012-Tanzania). The parliament of the United Republic of Tanzania enacted the Child Act's Law, No.21, 2009. This law applies to the whole country concerning promoting, protecting, and maintaining children's welfare and rights.

The Law of the Child Act 2009 brings together child-specific provisions from a range of national laws into one document. The law enshrines the fundamental rights of children drawn from international and regional agreements. It establishes a framework for protecting children from abuse, violence, and neglect at local and national levels. Existing provisions for children who need care outside their own homes, and restrictions on child employment, are strengthened in this law (UNICEF, June 2012-Tanzania).

In order to understand how important this research project on street children's social wellbeing is, we must place this matter in the context of the local social reality. Additionally, it is vital to understand how the inactiveness of the social structure and legal provisions potentially contribute to the miserable social conditions that affect children in general.

The Law of the Child Act 2009, Article 8(1) expresses whose duty it is to maintain a child:

"It shall be the duty of a parent, guardian, or any other person having custody of a child to maintain that child. In particular, that duty gives the child the right to—food, shelter, clothing, medical care, education and guidance, liberty, right to play and leisure." (United Republic of Tanzania: The Law of the Child Act 2009, Article 8(1), p. 14).

The Law of the Child Act 2009, further states that:

"If a child's parents die, and there are no other relatives to care for the child, or if a child is neglected, abandoned, or abused by their parents, the state should ensure they have a safe place to stay." United Republic of Tanzania: The Law of the Child Act 2009.

The Law of the Child Act 2009, part iii, titled "Support Services for a Child by Local Government Authorities", Article 94 (4) and (5) states that:

"The local government authority shall have the duty to keep a register of most vulnerable children within its area of jurisdiction and give assistance to them whenever possible in order to enable those children to grow up with dignity among other children and to develop their potential and self-reliance." (United Republic of Tanzania, Law of the Child Act 2009, Article 94 (4)).

"Each local government authority shall, within its area of jurisdiction, be required to provide assistance and accommodation for any child who appears to the authority to require such assistance as a result of having been lost or abandoned or is seeking refuge." (United Republic of Tanzania: Law of the Child Act 2009, Article 94 (5))

These few quotes above indicate the Tanzania Government's efforts to address children's social welfare needs at the policy level. It also appears to set out the duties of the Local Government to intervene and provide support and protection. Notably, the Law of the Child Act of 2009 lays out some dangerous social circumstances that could potentially affect children's wellbeing and, therefore, necessitate the Government to intervene and practically support children who find themselves in unsafe social living environments.

Despite having these rights and legal provisions in place, children have continued to experience social difficulties. Tanzania has witnessed a tremendous increase in unsupervised children living alone or working on urban streets in the past three decades. Tanzania is home to over 54 million people, most of them below thirty years of age. Half

of the adult population lack employment. Children under 15 constitute approximately 46% of Tanzania's people, where the urban population is estimated to account for about 26% (Luena, 2011). Studies indicated in 2012 that one in four children lived in an urban centre, and it "is projected to be one in three in the short time span of one generation" (Riggio, 2012:6).

The emergence and growth of the street children phenomenon in Tanzania are caused by a combination of many inter-related factors (McAlpine et al., 2010). The diverse factors exacerbating the problem mainly originate in the rural villages. The rise in the numbers of street children is usually in response to the deterioration of the living conditions in these rural villages and the hardship faced by poor communities on the outskirts of cities. For many, the perception that larger towns offer more significant economic opportunities makes the streets more attractive than a weaker rural economy (Kopaka, 2000). However, a life waiting in the city is often difficult. These children often do not have the education and basic skills necessary to deal with the risk factors and to cope with adversity in cities (Ayuku et al. 2004; McAlpine et al., 2010), finding themselves in more risky situations, with their personal and social wellbeing and development deeply affected.

A further observation is that the family institution in Tanzania has gone through a great period of upheaval. Fewer and fewer children have stable and loving family environments. Absent parents, alcoholism, and domestic violence increasingly have characterised many families (Kopaka, 2000, Consortium for Street Children—2009 Survey Tanzania). Besides, Juma (2008) observed that most extended families lack adequate resources to provide for orphaned children and other children in their households. Though this literature is almost two decades old, a picture is painted regarding the circumstances underpinning the escalation of the street children phenomenon same today.

The street children phenomenon is an acute social problem in big cities such as Dar es Salaam, Arusha, Tanga, Mbeya, and Mwanza, where urban population growth rates have been exploding (UNICEF- the United Republic of Tanzania, 2009). Rapid urban population growth has been associated with an increase in the number of children living alone on municipal streets or spending most of their day on the roads in their quest for survival. Street children, or 'Watoto Wa Mitaani' as they are known in the Kiswahili language, are among the most vulnerable groups of the urban poor (Nyoni, 2007). In 2012, an estimated 849,054 street children lived in Tanzania (Government of Estimate—

International Labour Organisation Survey; 2012). However, other sources in 2016 stated that the number of street children aged fourteen and below had increased by forty per cent between 2012 and 2015 (Tanzania Daily News, 2016). When one calculates the forty per cent increase of street children from 849,054, the result is 339,622, indicating the total number of street children reached an estimated 1,188,676 in 2015. When I was conducting this research in 2018/2019, there existed no reliable statistical data to show the current number of street children in Tanzania. Others consider the number of street children to be higher.

The section that follows provides information that sheds light upon street children's situation in Dar es Salaam.

7.1.1 Street Children in Dar es Salaam

Dar es Salaam is the largest industrial city in Tanzania and is located on the coast of the Indian Ocean. The city's land area is 538 square miles, equivalent to 1,393.41 square km, with a population density of 12,457 people per square mile. The city's current population is estimated to be 6,701,650 (World Population Review—<https://worldpopulationreview.com/world-cities/dar-es-salaam-population> accessed July 2020). This big city is made up of five municipalities or districts. The present study was conducted in the Ubungo district, located on the southern central side of Dar es Salaam. This area is one of the places where the Dogodogo Street Children Trust operates.

Since colonial times, Dar es Salaam has taken the lead in urban population growth and accommodated over a third of all urban dwellers in the country (Lugalla, 1995). According to the census conducted in Tanzania in 2012, Dar es Salaam had 4,364,541 inhabitants (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2013:14). Since the 1960s, Dar es Salaam has grown and is Tanzania's biggest, most developed city and has experienced significant economic growth. Dar es Salaam city has been represented as the principal concentration of wealth, population, and modernity. Therefore, the city has acted as a magnet to many Tanzanians, especially young people, from the surrounding areas and other parts of the country.

Nevertheless, large slum areas have been growing along with the city, and an increasing number of families struggle to provide for their children. Like most urbanised cities in Sub-Saharan Africa, urbanisation in Dar es Salaam is characterised by the fragmentation of a formal economy, unplanned and planned inhabitant areas, poverty, weak institutions, a lack of employment, and non-existent public service provision for

people's welfare (Mkalawa et al., 2014). The city receives children from different parts of the country, including from the outskirts and slum areas to the city centre (Consortium—survey on Street Children, 2009). Other studies indicate that poverty drives children into the streets, where they hope to make ends meet, only to find themselves being embraced by a harsh living environment characterised by severe poverty (UNICEF, 2012).

Other investigations indicate that street children in Dar es Salaam experience severe difficulties, hardships, and violence daily. They are often harassed, physically, and verbally abused by adults and law enforcement institutions (Kibassa and Lugalla, 2003; Sanga, 2014). Indeed, Luena (2011) explained that the street children's day-to-day life is a continuous struggle for survival. Street children who live in the city experience loneliness, homelessness, loss of parental contacts, parental protection, a lack of love and care, and frequently extremely squalid living conditions. Likewise, Shrestha (2009) described that street children in Dar es Salaam are among the most vulnerable and marginalised members of society, often lacking access to food, shelter, healthcare, security, and education. Equally, another reality is that street children share the streets with hundreds of thousands of adults, many of whom regard them as nuisances, if not as dangerous 'mini-criminals' (Mbunda, 2011; Niboye, 2013). During the day, children work informally as car-parking boys, vehicle security guards, car washers, or baggage loaders. They use the money they receive for these jobs to buy cheap food in shanty hotels, commonly known in Dar es Salaam as 'Magenge' or 'Mama Nitilie'. Others get their daily food by begging. Bathing or washing is not considered especially important (UNICEF, 2012).

Another perspective insists that street children in Dar es Salaam are among the most invisible populations, overlooked by government, law, policymakers, and the public. The lack of responsible actions by the establishment contributes to the plight of street children who are living and working in urban streets (Consortium for Street Children, 2019). This observation corresponds with an assessment study by the Tanzania Ministry of Health, and Social Welfare (2012:1), which reported that:

"In Dar Es Salaam, street children are seen as a problem by many, which further compounds the nature of an urban crisis. Politicians, policymakers, and urban planners seem to be helpless in their efforts to either solve the problem or to assist street children and other vulnerable children and have failed to prescribe plausible concrete solutions. Street

children are considered to be hooligans, vagabonds, and prone to commit crimes. As a result of this, they have routinely been the target of harassment by law enforcers. There are many cases of street children being beaten by police, rounded up, detained, and sometimes repatriated to their rural homes against their will. Nevertheless, these measures have not provided long-term solutions to this social problem. The number of urban street children and children trafficked for different purposes has continued to escalate every year in Dar Es Salaam.”

Other studies stress the importance of understanding the social concerns that affect the welfare of both street children and children in general. Such knowledge could enable the identification of social problems, the elements that lead to the negligent conditions faced by orphaned children, and the factors that expose street children to situations detrimental to their overall wellbeing (Spitzer et al., 2014).

Although the exact total figure of street children dwelling and working in the city is unknown, Dogodogo's perspective is that the numbers have increased. The government has not done enough to understand who these children are, where they come from, their reasons for leaving home, how they survive, and the issues they are facing (Nyakwesi, 2012). However, let there be no doubt that living in the streets can potentially have severe long-term effects on a child's mental and physical wellbeing.

In Tanzania, the efforts and support towards street children's welfare needs seem to come from non-profit, non-governmental social welfare organisations operating in the cities. In Dar es Salaam the Dogodogo Street Children Trust has stepped in to address street children's welfare needs and rights.

This chapter presents the second case study of this research, focusing on the Dogodogo Street Children Trust's work. The central purpose was to understand how the organisation fulfils its role of social care and its impact on its clients—the street children in Dar es Salaam.

The following section is focused on trying to understand how the Dogodogo Street Children Trust was started and for what purpose.

7.2 Origins and Formation of the Dogodogo Street Children Trust

The Dogodogo Street Children Trust is a Tanzanian local non-profit, non-governmental social welfare organisation (NGO). It was established in 1992 by Maryknoll Sister Jean Pruitt (Maryknoll Sisters are a group of Roman Catholic religious

women, initially based in New York, but also involved in mission) in collaboration with local people in Dar es Salaam.

The arrival of the Dogodogo Street Children Trust was a story of hope for street children experiencing various problems in the city. These children appeared to be forgotten by the central and local governmental authorities. The organisation's representatives said that the Dogodogo Street Children Trust was created in response to the growing number of vulnerable children who had moved from various parts of rural Tanzania to Dar es Salaam. The term 'Dogodogo' means 'little ones' in Kiswahili.

The organisation learned of various reasons for children living in the streets, including child abuse and the desire for a better future. The organisation adopted a holistic approach to addressing the children's needs in its consideration and response. Thus, the organisation sought to provide shelter, education, promote justice and children's rights, and overcome the poverty and exclusion of this vulnerable group. At its inception, Dogodogo's vision was to see a Tanzania where all children were empowered to enjoy their fundamental rights to survival, development, protection, and participation in society (Dogodogo Street Children trust—<http://www.dogodogocentre.com>, accessed on 27 November 2019).

To realise its vision, Dogodogo took the following actions. In 1992 the Dogodogo Street Children Trust opened a drop-in shelter, the Dogodogo Centre, in Dar es Salaam. The history of the organisation's work reveals that in the first sixteen years of its existence, more than 1,500 street children passed through the centre's services and programmes, including education and vocational training. Aside from this, the organisation helps many children and young people return to their families or move into the wider community (Maryknoll Office for Global Concerns, 2011).

In 1996 the Dogodogo Trust took another significant action when it opened the Kigogo Home in Dar es Salaam's suburbs. Here, trained staff members provide vital services for up to 60 street children at any one time. The Kigogo Home provides shelter, nourishment (body and soul), education, healthcare, arts and culture, sports, counselling, and family reunification. They also run other programmes, including a vibrant programme on HIV and AIDS, using theatre and the arts to reach street children in more than twenty villages, as well as a successful anti-drug programme.

The Dogodogo Street Children Trust, through its work, is also involved at a governmental level. The organisation has served on a government-led steering committee to promote policy development on the issues affecting vulnerable children, pioneering the

National Network for Children and the Global Network of Religions for Children. (Information accessed at <http://archive.maryknollogc.org/regional/africa/Together-with-Africa/Dogodogo%20Centre.html>, on 27 November 2019).

Furthermore, the organisation works with other public bodies nationally and internationally. The Dogodogo Street Children Trust has also served on another government-led steering committee to promote policy development on issues affecting vulnerable children, pioneering the Tanzania Child Rights Forum (TCRF), of which it is the current Chair. Dogodogo works closely with other like-minded organisations to promote children's best interests, both nationally and internationally, such as UNICEF, Save the Children, the Global Network of Religions for Children (GNRC-Africa), and Plan International. Dogodogo is also a member of the Implementers Partners Group (IPG), meeting monthly to share ideas and new developments, progress, and challenges regarding children. Additionally, Dogodogo is also a member of the Children Agenda (CA) and is part of the CA Advocacy Task Force.

The tasks and responsibilities carried out by the organisation can be described as follows:

- First, Dogodogo is involved in advocacy and lobbying for children's human rights, especially those living and working on the streets in Dar es Salaam.
- Secondly, they facilitate and subsidise street children attending secondary schools, and they do the same for marginalised street children in vocational skills training.
- Thirdly, they offer guidance, counselling, and psychological support to street children attending secondary education and those at Bunju Vocational Skills Training School.
- Fourth, they provide medical treatment, assisting street children in need of medical treatment by taking them to the hospital.
- Fifth, they monitor and evaluate their work regularly.
- Sixth, the organisation provides daily sports activities, including jump rope and football.
- Finally, they carry out mobile education, offering primary school lessons on Dar es Salaam's streets.

The organisation revealed that more than 4,500 children have benefited from their services in the last 28 years, including medical, educational, and vocational training. They have also helped 500 children to return to their families (Dogodogo Centre, 2020).

However, it is a challenge to obtain information on how many people have lived as street children in Dar es Salaam over these twenty years, as no data records exist. It would also be interesting to know the overall proportion of the street-child population that the organisation has helped in the twenty years of its existence, however, records of this information seem to be unavailable.

Dogodogo has an organisational structure in place that guides its decisions and actions in its social care practice. Organisationally, Dogodogo is governed as follows:

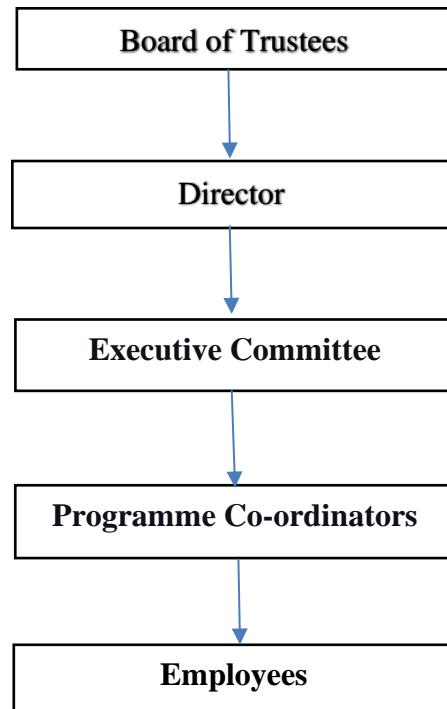


Figure 3: Organisational Structure of Dogodogo Street Children Trust.

This structure determines how the roles, power, and daily responsibilities are assigned, controlled, and coordinated, and how information flows between the different levels of management.

The organisation recruits its employees and volunteers following its needs, which are very much based on its overall purpose. To be part of the organisation, staff must know or have received education on social work, community development, and management. For a person to work in the organisation they must have had received education and qualification in one of these areas.

Financially, in terms of resources, the Dogodogo Street Children Trust is not self-reliant. It relies on donors and well-wishers from inside and outside Tanzania. It is this dependence on donors that has both enabled, as well as limited, the organisation in adequately addressing the needs of street children in Dar es Salaam.

A male respondent named Shija, who represented the managerial level, reflected this fact during an interview. He explained:

"During the period between 2008 and 2010, there was a global economic crisis. During this period, the organisation's performance struggled due to financial difficulties. The global economic crisis led some of our donors to withdraw and stop funding our programmes, and others to move away from Tanzania and aid in our programme declined. Due to lack of funding, money in 2010 we were forced to close the centre at Kigogo A. We had to ask the kids to go back to their homes. So, we decided to take them back to their homes for the young people who were ready to go back home. Those who did not want to go back home we requested a place for them in other centres run by other organisations in Dar es Salaam. So, from December 2010, the centre of Kigogo A was closed. In December 2017 we sold the Kigogo A building to the Government in the Kinondoni municipality in Dar es Salaam. Since then, this centre has been used as a clinic facility." (Shija)

This quote shows that the organisation has seen highs and lows in terms of its work. In the first seventeen years of its operation, Dogodogo's work attracted attention from various donors outside the country who were financially and materially supportive. As a result, various aspects of its work thrived. However, the global economic crisis meant that donors could not sponsor Dogodogo's work to the same level, which forced the organisation to scale back and stop some of the programmes that required more funding.

One of the programmes that the organisation had to stop offering due to financing limitations was the material services provided to street children from low-income families from the surrounding communities on the outskirts of Dar es Salaam. Previously, these families received school materials, such as pens, pencils, school notebooks, school uniforms, and daily counselling. Consequently, after the financial crisis, the organisation made the difficult decision to reduce the services given to this group. Instead, it concentrated its full assistance to the children and young people in the street permanently. These children do not have relatives or a family to be part of in Dar es Salaam.

The organisation put these children in what they refer to as the 'twenty-four hours' category, denoting children who consider the streets to be their permanent dwelling. They are there in the streets twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week.

In their daily operation, the organisation has categorised their clients—the street children—into two groups, 'twelve-hours' and 'twenty-four hours'. These categories reflect and help identify an individual's street child, determined by the duration of time spent on the streets. The following Section 7.3 will clarify this matter further.

The research enquiry used one-to-one semi-structured interviews to acquire relevant information. Interviews were conducted with staff members and the organisation's service users (street children). Interviews were audio-recorded in the Kiswahili language, audio-recorded, and then the transcribed transcripts were then transcribed into English.

I interviewed a total number of fifteen participants. The interviews involved individuals representing three levels: managers, employee/social workers, and service users. The respondents' identities who participated in this investigation are pseudo-anonymised to protect their identity.

Represented area	Total	Age range	Gender
Managerial level	3		Male: 3 Female: 0
Social worker/social care giver	5		Male: 3 Female: 2
Service users	7	17–21	Male: 5 Female: 2

Table 3: Interviewed Participants at Dogodogo Street Children Trust

7.3 Identification of Clients by Dogodogo Street Children Trust

The organisation has guiding factors by which it can identify and ascertain an accurate picture of their client's circumstances and, therefore, fashion services relevant to the client, presented in this section. Two key questions led to information generation: What kind of street children does the organisation support? How does it identify the client's needs? Respondents at the managerial level revealed factors or criteria that guide them in identifying and determining their clients' needs.

A male respondent (Shija), at the managerial level, pointed out age as a criterion for including a person into the organisation's service provision:

"Street children aged 7 to 17 years old are welcomed to be part of the Dogodogo program as clients. Children within this age range are influenceable and could be guided. The individual is expected to finish and leave our programme at the age of 19 years. This street youth would end his time with the organisation and get on with life independently."(Shija)

The choice of enrolment age is interesting because, in Tanzania, it is the law that a seven-year-old child must start primary school education. I did not ask whether the organisation chose this age due to the existence of this law.

Seventeen years of age is the cut-off point for enrolling a street child into the organisation's service programme. A street youth can be part of the organisation's service programme until she/he is nineteen years of age when they must leave the programme. During my time with the organisation, I interviewed three individuals who previously lived in street life and passed through the Dogodogo programme and now have their careers in the city.

This response prompted another question: What happens if a worker encounters a child below seven wandering helplessly in the street?

A male respondent, named (Mayunga), a staff member, explained.

"We would send a child below seven years of age to other non-governmental organisations that are involved with abandoned children of that age here in Dar es Salaam." (Mayunga)

Apart from the age factor, the organisation uses other factors to determine the needs of a street child and decide who should be part of its programme.

In responding to this question, described in another way, Mayunga explained:

"A 'twelve-hours' category' is another group of street children that we have identified. This category comprises children, young people who spend twelve hours working in the streets each day. They have family, relatives, and a home to go to at the end of the day. So, they do not sleep in the street, and relatives or parents may know their whereabouts and activities." (Mayunga)

Mayunga elaborated on the second category that the organisation uses to understand street children and their needs. He said:

"There is a 'twenty-four hours' category of street children. This category comprises of young street people who are without family connections in

Dar es Salaam city. These are young people who work and live in the streets. For them, the street is a permanent home. The organisation pays much more attention and focuses its work on those in the streets for twenty-four hours." (Mayunga)

Mayunga's accounts indicate the organisation uses a 'duration factor' as a basis for deciding which street child is in need of which type of service.

This way of identifying the street children, based on the 'duration factor', agrees with other social science research conceptualisations of street children, which tend to categorise children into two groups: 'children on the street', and 'children of the street'. This distinction is based on two criteria: the amount of time the child spends or has spent on the street, and their relationship with parents or other responsible adults (Apteker and Stoecklin, 2014).

The phrase 'children on the street' represents children or young people who work on the streets in the daytime but return home at night where they sleep, although some occasionally sleep on the streets (UNCHS, 2000; Ibrahim, 2012). On the other hand, 'children of the street' refers to homeless children for whom the streets in urban areas are both their source of livelihood and where they sleep and live (Ibrahim, 2012:1). Dogodogo Street Children organisation refers to the 'children of the street' as 'twenty-four hours' children.

The children in the 'twelve-hour' category may have different problems and needs. There may not be concerns regarding them sleeping rough on the streets because they may have a family to go to at night. However, it might be the case that spending twelve hours on the streets may be instigated by the level of poverty or an impoverished life in a family. No food to eat and other basic needs characterise their families.

The problems and needs of the children in the 'twenty-four hours' category may be more complex. Children in this category may lack a safe place to sleep, food, clothing, be vulnerable to harassment or sexual abuse at night, and vulnerable to exploitation.

Another strategy that the organisation uses to identify and determine its clients and their needs is face-to-face interviews with street children. In response to the question, "How do you determine that a person is a street boy or girl, who deserves your services?"

A respondent (Shija) at the managerial level, explained:

"A method we use to determine whether or not this boy or girl deserves our service is one-to-one interviews and face-to-face conversations. We also conduct some observations, trying to map the whereabouts of the

person. The activities she or he is involved in while in the streets. Otherwise, the interview does reveal a lot about a person.” (Shija)

Ascertaining an individual's eligibility to be part of the organisation's program takes time, as respondent, Mayunga, a social worker, explained:

“It takes time and more than one encounter to establish an accurate picture of a person's identity. For a street boy to trust you in the first encounter is difficult. Perhaps that is to be expected. Therefore, what we do is to go to talk with this person more than once, getting to know him, befriending him, and letting him ask us questions. It is a two-way traffic-conversation. After a second time, you leave him alone and work on the information gathered at the office level to discern the type of service suitable for him. For the street children belonging to the 'twelve hours' category, we talk with them and acquire permission to speak with their parents. We try to have a conversation with both parents and children involved in the same room.” (Mayunga)

This section's discussion, particularly the respondents' accounts, indicates how important and seriously the organisation considers its role as a service provider to street children. As elucidated above, it has devised strategies and an approach to know its clients and address their needs. In general, it seems that they consider every street child as important and deserving of support. The organisation's strategy in identifying who is a street child and their individual needs is through face-to-face interviews. This way of determining its clients also ensures a genuine picture and the right client who deserves to be part of their service programme.

Section 7.4 considers the issues and needs that the organisation currently addresses, as revealed by the data findings from the interviews.

7.4 Main Issues Addressed by Dogodogo Street Children Trust

The empirical evidence displays the issues and concerns affecting the service users' (street children) wellbeing and functioning in Dar es Salaam. This chapter discusses the main problems and needs that the organisation currently seeks to address. Data revealed issues that represent immediate needs that affect respondents' wellbeing. And the existence of those issues often finds their root cause from within the broader social structure.

The discussion starts with those immediate problems. However, as we consider these issues, we must know that their underlying root causes are embedded in society-broad social circumstances.

Responding to the question: "What problems do street children face?", Kulwa, a staff member, explained the circumstances that present danger to street children, saying:

"Working and collecting empty bottles in slums, areas hygienically not safe; most of our children and youths have contracted infections because they touch anything; they walk over anything with bare feet." (Kulwa)

Kulwa's account indicates physical and health-related challenges and circumstances in which children are likely to contract health problems. Street children are vulnerable health-wise because they live and work in a hygienically poor environment. These issues form part of the environmental concern in which street children live and work. So, the nature of the problems is not simply reflecting immediate health issues, but it is structural too.

Nicolas, a street boy, demonstrated how harmful the streets can be as he focused on his physical injury:

"My leg is injured, and it is hurting, troubling me. I was running, and I fell at the bridge of Ubungo station. I fell on a sharp metal, and it cut me so deep, as you can see. It is now a week since I got this injury." (Nicolas)

Another street boy (Kevin) described the physical health problem affecting his person's wellbeing and attributed this health issue to his lifestyle and poor living conditions:

"I have been feeling weak physically for three months now. Young people here are sleeping in the same place, use one toilet—even the food we share. We also eat from one container, plate. So infectious diseases in this environment are very easily getting transmitted from one person to another person." (Kevin)

Kevin's account shows that street children are susceptible to various health situations and incidents that potentially harm their physical wellbeing because of poor living conditions and living arrangements.

In an interview, Mayunga, a male social worker, highlighted that finding a safe place to sleep is a problem that street children face. He explained:

"Street children sleep in unsafe environments in a rough place. When you walk around Dar es Salaam during night-time, you see many children

sleeping on floors without clothing, some sleep in the heap of boxes of rubbish. When the weather is unfavourable, for example, raining, cold, or scorching, street children have no choice but to endure the harsh living conditions.” (Mayunga

Indeed, the challenge of finding a safe place to sleep during the night featured as a significant concern for street children in Dar es Salaam.

“The challenge in street life is to get a safe place, to feel safe, sleeping safely. Living in the streets without fearing being attacked, beaten, without being harassed, ridiculed or chased by police around.” (Kevin)

These accounts indicate how vulnerable, powerless, and unprotected children are on Dar es Salaam's streets; they operate in a hazardous environment.

Sleeping is one of our human needs, and it plays a significant role in our development as human beings (Connolly et al., 1996). Indeed, going through days or nights without sleep because there is no safe place to sleep can negatively impact a person mentally, emotionally, and physically, yet this is the experience that a child living in the street is likely to face.

In Kevin's account of street children's problems, he mentions being chased around by the police, an aspect worth attention. Indeed, the police institution plays a significant role in society, with a mandate to protect and ensure all citizens' safety, particularly vulnerable people, including children and street children (Millar et al., 2019). Hence, how police officers respond and interact with street children is hugely important, as they could increase or decrease street children's feelings of safety and wellbeing. Various studies have explored and contributed to understanding the role of policing in children's experiencing abuse and the realisation of children's social wellbeing (Richardson-Foster et al., 2012; Millar et al., 2019). Other investigations into street children's reality exposed instances where police officers abuse street children in Dar es Salaam (Fikowski, 2013).

The accounts above by the respondents demonstrate aspects of vital immediate needs of street children, namely health and safety. Those are threatened by hazardous environments they find themselves in. Basically, there is a broader underlying issue here: society's, including government and police, responsibility to create a good and healthy living environment to ensure the safety, health, and wellbeing of children.

Economic problems due to the lack of stable means of livelihood are other pressing issues that immediately impact street children in Dar es Salaam. Timothy, a social worker in the organisation, explained that:

"You know, many children from rural areas, are being misled by others, believing that life in Dar es Salaam city is good, there is no problem, there is food, there is work. However, the reality is always different. The truth of life in the streets is not the same as it was promised or conceived. Many children, youths come here in the city and find that no one is interested in them, there is no reception, not accepted and no one to help them. So, a child or youth finds himself in a worse situation never expected."

(Timothy)

As indicated by the above account, the problems are that a child accessing their basic needs faces incredible challenges without a source of income.

Similar concerns were expressed by Lydia (20), who had previously lived in the streets but was enrolled on the Dogodogo programme and received vocational education. She explained what it was like for her to be homeless and the challenges she faced:

"Poverty in our family, my mother was struggling to meet our basic needs, and education made me leave home. I desired to have a better life, so I decided to run to Dar es Salaam city life, hoping that my life in the city will be better than in the Singida village. However, life in the city proved the opposite, being without proper education and work; it was tough for me to earn a living. Besides, being a girl in an unknown place, wandering around in a city was a threatening experience for me." (Lydia)

This narrative reveals why street children lack basic needs: street children lack financial capital, job-related skills, education, and other resources vital for their existence.

The immediate issue for those children is making a livelihood in Dar Es Salaam. But behind that are various underlying issues like poverty and lack of education. Lydia came to the city without any means and education, hoping for a better life; however, she encountered a contrary environment.

In an interview, Nicolas, a street boy, expressed how having a physical injury can disrupt any engagement in earning-related activities:

"No, this collection of empty bottles are not mine; it belongs to my friend. I have not managed to go collecting bottles because of the wound on my leg. When you have a health issue, life is tough, currently, I do not have any money to buy a drink or food." (Nicolas)

Nicolas's account reveals how vital being in good health is for a street child because engaging in any survival activity depends on how healthy and physically strong an individual is.

Kevin echoed this:

"A challenge I do face, and every street boy faces, is how to get the basic needs, as it is not guaranteed that one can get money through selling items in the street." (Kevin)

Our existence as human beings are dependent on our ability to make a living and acquire food, water, and other necessities. In this context, the failure to obtain basic needs puts street children at high risk and more vulnerable.

Even though a street boy or girl may be involved in selling items, there is still uncertainty surrounding acquiring money. It may be that the items themselves are in poor condition, obtained illegally, or irrelevant to the needs of a buyer. The fact remains that the failure to sell items or earn income negatively affects an individual's life in the streets, including causing them not to afford to eat.

In trying to understand the street children's reality of life and their involvement in activities to sustain their lives, two concepts feature in the debate: resilience and vulnerability. The aspect of resilience is demonstrated by street children's positive attitude and actions to survive. Commenting on the necessity of employing some coping and survival strategies, Kebede (2015:48) wrote:

"To cope with their day-to-day challenges, street children resort to several coping strategies to avert their adversities. These survival strategies include ways they use to make money, acquire food, and other basic needs. The lifestyle inherent to living on the streets exposes children to a range of harmful situations. Hence, their survival is often dependent upon engaging in risks to their health and general wellbeing while on the streets, they have to battle fiercely to keep alive."

The concept of resilience is understood as "the capacity of individuals to face up to an adverse event, withstand considerable hardship, and not only overcome it but also be made stronger by it" (Sondhi-Garg, 2004:70). Other studies have indicated that resilience is attributed to social support networks on the streets that provide support, acceptance, and companionship (Evans, 2002). The perspective expressed by this research corresponds with the experience of street children in Tanzania. As the current study findings indicate, street children here do exhibit resilience, ingenuity, and

determination in their endeavour to survive. Lugalla and Mbwambo (1999) found that Tanzanian children living in the street are organised into peers who share resources, strategies, assets, and care.

It is also crucial to accept the aspect of vulnerability that they encounter in their lives. Although street children have and must show resilience for their survival, they remain vulnerable. Constant talk of resistance and resilience strongly indicates a continuous struggle (Lalor, 1999). It is this struggle, faced by a child when moving from one vulnerable situation (the home environment) to an unpredictable situation (street life), that needs to be acknowledged and explored in terms of vulnerability (Kilbride et al., 2000; Ali, 2011). We should not take the resilience shown by children living and working in the streets to mean that it is acceptable for an underage boy or girl to live and work in the streets. As various studies on this matter across the globe have shown, the street environment is not conducive to a child, as it is full of hazards to children's wellbeing (Connolly, 1990).

The vulnerability immediately impacts the unsafe environment street children find themselves in. This situation is accentuated by the lack of support from a structural level, i.e., local and central government, which could potentially eliminate the dangers and protect those children in unsafe and challenging environments. By living and working in a hazardous street environment, children are more exposed to risks potentially harming their wellbeing. Hence, street children are vulnerable individuals as they are unprotected, lack primary care, and experience physical injuries and mental and psychological trauma resulting from living in an unsafe environment and involving in high-risk behaviours.

The concept of vulnerability is used in several fields to refer to the potential for poor outcomes, risk, or danger (Arora et al., 2015). According to Arora et al. (2015:194), the term "vulnerability" relates to the state or condition of being weak or poorly defended." Hence, when the concept of vulnerability is related to young people/children living on the streets, it implies the ones who are more exposed to risks than their peers. They can be vulnerable in terms of deprivation (food, education, and parental care), exploitation, abuse, neglect, violence, and infection with HIV (Arora et al., 2015:194).

Illiteracy and a lack of education are among the issues that street children face. These issues featured in the response by Mayunga, a male social worker, who explained that:

"The inability to be able to read puts many street children at risk. For example, you find some sleeping in a dangerous area, even if there is a label forbidding anyone to sit or sleep, but because this person does not know how to read, he ends up sitting or sleeping in that area. Some children sleep under the hanging electrical wires. So, mobile education does consider the environment or living condition children are in and educates them in those concerns." (Mayunga)

Mayunga's narrative reveals that ignorance, characterised by an inability to read due to a lack of education, can lead individuals to conduct their lives in an environment that is potentially dangerous to their wellbeing.

Another response from Timothy, a social worker who previously lived a street life before becoming part of the organisation, described street children's problem. Timothy explained:

"Lacking education is an issue. When a child arrives in the city, he finds himself not attending school, and he loses his goals. For example, I left home believing that I would find someone to help me here in town, but that was not the case." (Timothy)

As stated in Mayunga's account, Timothy's narrative highlights education issues. Lack of education contributes to many other problems and increases potential immediate dangers. But not only the immediacy of the matter is to be considered. Lack of education has a long-term effect and may prevent street children from obtaining work-related skills and excelling socially and economically in life.

Issues, as expressed above, have an immediate impact on the life of a street child but are further exacerbated by the failure of the social structure. Hence, the paragraphs below elaborate on those issues and conditions embedded within society.

The community's careless attitude and negligence towards street children put children in vulnerable situations where they are unprotected and lack vital support. This fact is reflected in Shija's response to the question regarding which issues affect street children's wellbeing, where they explained:

"A lack of community support, support from the extended family relative to youth who is without parents. Society is missing a positive attitude, sympathy for children who are living in difficult circumstances. You find all parents dead, the child or the children are left alone without any help, and unfortunately, even the surrounding community around them does not

care. The struggle and hardships facing street children are visible to society, but the level of care towards them is non-existent." (Shija)

Shija's account indicates that the life and social difficulties that affect street children's social wellbeing are characterised by the community's indifference towards the plight of these children.

Indeed, this observation triggers several questions. For example, unaccompanied children travel perilously to reach cities, including Dar es Salaam, to make the streets their dwelling places. They board public transport without anyone seeming to be alarmed or concerned about seeing a person of such a young age travelling alone. Additionally, people in the community can often see that a child is working and living rough in the streets, but they choose to turn a blind eye. One may say that the community is a problem or has some issues to address for the welfare of these vulnerable children.

In answering the question: "What problems street children face?" A male staff member, (Kulwa), responded:

"Some people see street children as those outside the usual circle or system of life and hence unreachable, but the reality is that street children are in the front face of the society. They are everywhere; everyone sees them in their impoverished life. Therefore, one cannot say that they are hidden from public sight. Their loss and pain are visible to all of us." (Kulwa)

Kulwa's account indicates that the public ignores street children in their vulnerable situations because, for some, they are not in what one may call a normal environment such as family. But he points out that those children are part of the community, and their problems are visible. This response highlights an issue of the community's attitude towards street children.

Kulwa also further explained:

"The majority of people in our society blame and judge harshly the young people who live in the street. But they seem to forget the fact that these children are not in those situations voluntarily, but because of neglect of parents, relatives, and society." (Kulwa)

The above narrative indicates the judgemental attitude of the community towards street children, hence the stigmatisation they are faced with. Community disconnects with street children by blaming and devaluing them for their situation.

Although there may be a range of factors that lead a child into this situation, their family and the community play a significant role. Lenski et al. (1974) noted that when a

community is involved in projects involving street children, it comes to realise that the problems of street children are problems for the whole community. It also comes to understand that the issues affecting street children have multiple causes and need various responses. Current studies on the street children phenomenon also share this same observation (Friberg and Martinsson, 2017). Although Lenski et al. made this comment over four decades ago, it still rings true that the protection of street children is a shared responsibility involving the family, community, and governmental bodies.

Kulwa gave further descriptions about the problems that street children face in Dar es Salaam. He explained that:

"Children and youths encounter beating and harassment from people and the police too. A street youth is regarded as a troublemaker, undesirable socially. Whenever a police officer sees a group of more than five street youths together, his/her reaction is to chase them, disperse the group and children run and some end up hurting themselves, even some end up with broken legs." (Kulwa)

Kulwa's account of the street children's social situation indicates that the public's reactions often exacerbate the circumstances of already devastated children. Negative perceptions produce a repressive response by the public and police, reinforcing the social isolation of the street children. Indeed, other studies on street children in different cultures have observed that street children's perception and public image influence people's responses. For example, a study conducted in Latin American countries by Connolly and Ennew (1996) found that:

"The public image of street children has acted as a barrier to success in both research into their lives and programmes intended for their welfare...the emphasis should shift away from attempts to define street children towards an analysis of their relationship with the street environment." (Connolly and Ennew, 1996:131).

Another response by Andrea, a youth living in the street, echoes the physical abuse that he encounters. Andrea explained:

"As you can see, problems everywhere, not a nice place. You frequently receive threats from the police, and you get beating from other people in the streets." (Andrea)

This short account shows that it is not just the general public but also the police, a law enforcement body supposed to protect citizens, including the vulnerable, who seem

to be some of the perpetrators most frequently physically harassing these children. These attitudes can only be a sign of an embedded culture insensitive to and stigmatising street children.

As mentioned before, stigmatisation and discrimination run deeper in society. These issues featured in Kevin's response in an interview. He, a street youth, expressed his sadness regarding how the public sees street children:

"Most people in our community have a horrible view and attitude towards street children. The public sees us as second-class citizens, not treated in a dignified way. We are laughed at and debased. We are called names such as thieves, hooligans, dirty people, and dangerous people. This type of language and views creates a big chasm between street children and the rest of society, in terms of a good relationship. However, street children are human beings at heart, and they have a dream of a better life, regardless of how they may look on the outside, as shabby, dirty, rough, and confused. We deserve fair treatment, respect, and support. Each morning we get up with our daily schedule, go to the cars, sell bottles, clean up, wash cars, and work hard to meet our basic needs." (Kevin)

Kevin's account emphasises the existence of stigmatisation against street children, which appears to manifest itself in the form of condescending language, labelling them as unusual and dangerous human beings. Stigmatisation can profoundly affect a street child's self-image and confidence to engage in life socially and make better decisions that can improve their lives.

Sadly, stereotypes, stigma, and discrimination are also apparent in the educational system, as the Dogodogo organisation discovered. Shija, a respondent at the managerial level, explained their campaigning efforts for street children to join public schools in Dar es Salaam encountered resistance:

"When we approached Dar es Salaam's government authority to enrol street children into public schools, they agreed. They allowed us to enlist the street children into their schools. However, the implementation of this decision and process was met with resistance. Teachers' reception and attitudes in some schools towards street children were very ambivalent and showed a discriminatory attitude. Some school authorities, teachers, and individuals in local government did not like the idea at all. But we pressed on with the idea, and the central government agreed." (Shija)

Shija's account reveals how street children are disadvantaged because of the entrenched culture of stigmatisation in the establishment or public institution. The stigmatisation culture creates interpersonal, internal, and external social repercussions on the children's living experience. Moncrieff (2006) observed that children often struggle with low self-esteem, a lack of self-confidence, and a sense of worthlessness and shame. Indeed, discrimination against street children and obstructing them from acquiring an education deny their fundamental rights. Education has the potential to change children's lives positively, offering skills that can lead to employment opportunities and social empowerment.

In summary, this section indicated problems that affect street children's wellbeing according to the data findings.

(i) Problems that have an immediate effect according to the data findings include:

- Health issues caused by poor hygiene and hazardous environment
- Safety
- Lack of livelihood
- Vulnerability
- Lack of accessing education

(ii) Underlying causes for immediate problems according to the data findings include:

- Indifference and ignorance by community
- Lack of acceptance and protection including harassment by police
- Lack of creation of a safe and conducive environment
- Stigmatisation and discrimination

7.5 Addressing of Problems by Dogodogo Street Children Trust

Part five explains the organisation's response to the problems and considers how the organisation addresses and responds to the clients' needs from Dominelli's social work practice model perspective, as clarified in Chapter 4.

Data findings reveal some of the actions by the organisation to address these issues. For example, the organisation provides services geared towards alleviating the poor health of those with physical and medical problems. This fact is considered by Josephine, a social worker, who explained her responsibilities:

"In my position as an employee, Dogodogo has assigned me this responsibility, because health-related problems concern almost every street child/youth we encounter in the street. I do make an assessment, and

usually, it is me who takes the person for the medical evaluation and subsequent treatment. I must carry with me the First Aid Box whenever I go to the street, and if a person requires more medical treatment, then I talk with the team about his case, and then appropriate measure follows. Those with a severe health problem we help by taking them to the hospital for treatment.” (Josephine)

This account shows that a first aid service is provided to physical wounds and minor health conditions. Additionally, there appears to be practical help in transporting those with severe health conditions to a good hospital, made available by the organisation.

In an interview, Kevin, a street boy, explained the support he receives from the organisation. He said:

“They help us with advice, take us to receive medical treatment when we need it. The workers of the organisation helped me when I was not well.”
(Kevin)

In an interview, Nicolas, a street boy, described the medical help he received for his wounded leg. When asked: What treatment did you get and from where? Nicolas responded:

“A social worker, the teacher, came from Dogodogo, cleaned me, bandaged my wound, and gave me some ointment to put on the wound.”
(Nicolas)

During my time with the organisation, individual workers told me that street children's health concerns dominate the organisation's daily work. Providing support to those with wounds and other serious health issues has been a priority for the organisation to ensure survival and maintain the wellbeing of these vulnerable people, as health-related problems represent an everyday occurrence for the children living in this environment.

The absence of a safe place or shelter to sleep is another problem this vulnerable group encounters. The local social welfare organisation opened a drop-in centre for street children to address these issues.

Shija, a representative at the managerial level, reflected this fact in his description of what they do to address the issue:

“The street children and young people could come to this centre to have a shower, sleep and during the morning could go back to the streets. So, the street children were free to come and go at any time.” (Shija)

The organisation's actions and response to these issues resonate and reflect the maintenance approach of Dominelli's model, which mainly focuses on individuals.

Economic problems which occur due to the lack of a stable means of livelihood are also issues that the street children in Dar es Salaam face. The organisation does not address the economic concerns directly or provide sustenance for the street children. However, its way of helping is characterised by other services rather than fixing one such economic issue.

Andrea, a street youth, explained.

"A large part of our daily life, we support ourselves by picking cans, collecting empty plastic bottle, and selling, washing cars at road junctions, roundabout. Sometimes, we receive help, such as soaps. If you get an injury on your body, staff from Dogodogo do come to help. Dogodogo teaches us how to protect ourselves against disease, dangers." (Andrea)

In his account, Andrea says, "Dogodogo teaches us how to protect ourselves against disease, dangers." This activity is an example of the therapeutic approach within Dominelli's model, which involves providing knowledge that serves as a tool to help the individual improve their life.

Another identified issue that street children face is illiteracy, the lack of education and the accessibility of formal education. The organisation has put activities and programmes that promote literacy among street children in place. One of the programs carried out by the organisation is called 'mobile education. It is a type of educational programme carried out in the street, and it is tailored to the living environment and life of the street children through being set in the streets. Kulwa, a staff member responsible for this programme, described it as follows:

"This sort of education does not follow a ready-made curriculum or syllabus. Some of the elements in this type of education include listening, observation, observing the environment, conditions in which these children live and operate. Other elements in this education package are reading and writing. As a social worker/educator for street children, I listen to the story, observe the condition, take note on key issues, and then take a short class to talk about these observations with the children. For example, it deals with the questions, such as taking care of themselves, maintaining hygiene, not eating randomly. They are not sleeping in dangerous areas, for example, in places where there is loose electric wire,

under parked cars. This education is very much related to their living environment and experience." (Kulwa).

This account indicates how mobile education relates to the reality of the street environments in which children and young people reside. It is there to educate and train street children to be aware of their surroundings and teach them how best to take care of themselves. It gives them some tips on identifying danger or anything that could potentially harm their wellbeing.

In addition to this, part of the organisation's efforts to ensure that street children receive their education involves speaking with the education authority in Dar es Salaam to allow street children to access education in public schools. In this way, the organisation assists street children and young people obtain public schooling in Dar es Salaam. Shija, from the organisation, explained:

"We explored ways in which street children can enter the formal education system to attend school. In partnership with the City Council's leadership, we were able to ask the Government education authority to allow the street children who desired education to be given places at some of the local public schools across the city. Therefore, some children, teenagers began to go to government schools. They go to school in the morning, after school hours they come back to us, sleep at the centre during the night-time." (Shija)

Formal schooling in public schools is essential. A proper education could enable a street child to see what pathway of higher education or career they might choose to follow.

Another education service provided by the organisation for street children is a vocational training school. Students choose a type of study tailored to their career interests and undergo training for two years. They can select subjects that focus on, for example, carpentry or joinery, house construction, tailoring or sewing clothes, or house painting and decoration. Lydia, a respondent who once lived on the street, gave her views on her own experiences of this type of educational service provision:

"The Dogodogo organisation financed my education at their vocational training centre. I decided to make tailoring my career because I loved it. Receiving education gave me a sense of purpose and an occupation for my life. At the end of my studies, I did well and graduated. The organisation gave me a certificate. The organisation gave me a sewing machine as a

gesture of kindness to help me to have an easy start in my tailoring career and helped me start my independent life." (Lydia).

The organisation's activities indicated in Lydia's account concerning career-oriented education mirrors the emancipatory approach and transformative service of responding to the problem in Dominelli's model. Dogodogo provided an emancipatory solution to Lydia's situation. Lydia received vocational education service; this education has a possibility of emancipation as a purpose.

The emancipatory response gives power to a person by freeing a person from the shackle of social problems discrimination and providing a person with mechanisms and skills for life that potentially give an individual power over her affairs. In this case, vocational education with an emancipation purpose engages Lydia's mentally and psychologically, equipping her with relevant knowledge and skills that potentially enable her to make a fundamental difference in her life.

The organisation is involved in challenging the community's long-held negative views and actions that affect children and impede good interactions between street children and the community. Issues such as stigma, discrimination, and the deprivation of children's human rights receive attention. Shija of managerial level described the action the organisation takes:

"The Dogodogo organisation felt the need to run an awareness programme in those schools, sensitising teachers and other people in those structures about the welfare of street children, child rights and a healthy way of embracing, and dealing with street children in schools. We emphasised to them that just because a child or youth has been working and living in streets that does not make him or her a less of a human being, or an unusual child or a bad human. It is the responsibility of all of us to ensure that each child in our society experiences love, good care, and receives basic rights, including a good education. The need to protect street children and young people from the feelings of being unwanted, unworthy, discriminated, unwelcomed in other social groups is the key to street child progress."

(Shija).

The organisation's response reflects the emancipatory approach to solving social issues, an approach associated with radical social work that questions the balance of power in society and resource distribution. It identifies the oppressive nature of social relations (Dominelli 2002:13; Adams et al., 2009). Here Dogodogo engages with the

social structural bodies supposed to represent the community. Yet, these bodies are often the stumbling block to street children's wellbeing, development, and possible economic progress.

The organisation's support for its clients and its efforts to address the street children phenomenon does not go as far as to unravel the very reasons that often lead a child or young person to leave the family home and migrate to the cities. The reasons or causes lie within the family and home settings and these social relationships and structures. The organisation's service provision focuses on the situations that potentially cause harm and affect a child's wellbeing living in the streets.

In their efforts to help, the organisation focuses on the immediate pressing needs and gives services that have a long-term impact on the life of a child or teenager living in the street. Their approach to solving issues features mainly in the maintenance and therapeutic approaches of Dominelli. However, their work also features some characteristics of the emancipatory process, e.g., by approaching the educational sector about the importance and rights of street children.

Looking at Dominelli's model from a practical point of view, it is a valuable framework. However, the boundaries between the different types of activities are not always clear-cut. It all comes down to how the service provider conceptualises the social work task at hand. Practitioners can use this model by utilising one or more of these approaches, and in many cases, these three approaches overlap at times. Like in the Dogodogo Street Children Trust practice, where their social work tasks are more of maintenance and therapeutic form, one can see an emancipatory task as the organisation focuses on society and structure.

Other structural issues appear not to be addressed by the organisation. For example, Dogodogo can work closely with law-and-order enforcement institutions, such as the police force. The police must be aware of the street children's vulnerability, rights, and social welfare and ensure that street children are not harassed or abused but protected. But as data indicate, police members are part of the problem, as they relate and respond to street children is repressive and forceful.

7.6 Impact of Dogodogo's Activities: From a Perspective of Service Users

This part looks at the impact of the organisation's work on both clients' situations and the broader society on the ground. This reflection is based on the respondents' perception of their service experience.

Concerning this objective, the service users were asked what support was provided to them and their reflections on their service experience. Kevin, a service user, described the service he had received:

“They help us with advice, take us to receive medical treatment when we needed. They helped me when I was not well.” (Kevin)

This account testifies to the organisation's actual work regarding health issues. The reports seem to give a positive impression as the individual received support relevant to his needs. The account also reveals another aspect: Dogodogo's service provision is carried out on a one-to-one basis is person-centred.

Another respondent, a female service user, (Suzan), explained her experience:

“I received education for two years in tailoring, how to make clothes, mending clothes. Where I am in life at this moment is because of the organisation's effort to support me sacrificially.” (Suzan)

Suzan uses the word ‘sacrificially’ to highlight the invaluable support she had received from Dogodogo and how much that had had a positive impact on her life.

Another respondent, a male service user who lived in the street, named Seba, described his experience of the organisation's service provision:

“I enrolled in the Dogodogo vocational training school in 2011. My studies lasted for two years. I specialised on carpentry career. In 2013 I graduated. Now I am standing on my own feet, I have my own career.” (Seba)

This account and previous accounts give a positive reflection demonstrating how significant the work of Dogodogo has been in these individuals' lives. Through its vocational training school, the organisation has brought long-term positive impacts to the respondents' lives. They feel emancipated as they have gained professional skills useful for the rest of their lives.

There are, however, some opposing opinions regarding how service users experienced the service provided. There are service users who are not so enthusiastic about the organisation's involvement with them. For example, Andrea explained.

“The organisation does not give us money directly, which can help. But, when you are sick, ill, or injured, they would take you to a hospital for treatment.” (Kevin)

Andrea does acknowledge the practical support provided by the organisation but reveals that receipt of money directly from the organisation would be his preferred type of service and is of concern. This different picture might come from his individual way

of understanding the concept of help. His perception of support may be informed by his experience of life in the street.

Another respondent, Kishishi, gave this response when asked about how the organisation helps:

"I have never received any support, except for advice on how to protect yourself and protect yourself from problems. They have taken me to the hospital for treatment." (Kishishi)

This response is first to deny being given anything. However, Kishishi then remembered receiving advice on looking after himself and being taken to the hospital by the organisation.

It is not easy to make sense of this mixture of feedback. On the one hand, the respondents say, 'the organisation has not done anything,' or 'they have not given me anything, but on the other hand, they say, 'they have done something.'

It is worth reflecting on these varying responses. Service users seem to associate 'help' with being 'given' something. This contradictory reflection may not necessarily mean that respondents do not see and appreciate other forms of services and the organisation's impact at the societal level. However, this position might be caused by the respondents' more profound awareness and focus on their pressing issues in a particular situation. Hence, when one is in crisis, 'help' takes on a certain level of immediacy.

The Dogodogo Street Children Trust provide very tangible medical-related services, e.g., first aid or taking them to hospital, as well as help street with their education to improve their employability and the possibility of having a livelihood as revealed by the service users. Dogodogo also tries to raise awareness of the situation of street children and promote their rights.

Some respondents note that public misconceptions represent an issue for street children. More efforts directed at family, community and social structures are required to change these wrongly held narratives about street children in both community and institutions. It is also crucial to help street children understand the behaviours that could facilitate positive change and outcomes in their lives in the long-run.

In order to solve the street children phenomenon, governments and other vital social institutions that represent people in society must be concerned and genuinely dedicate their efforts toward intervening in the problems children face at the earliest stage possible. Collective efforts to understand what causes children to migrate to the street life will provide a better starting point for bringing genuine solutions. The community and

the established social structures and institutions must represent and defend all citizens' welfare, including the vulnerable children living in the streets.

8 Case Study 3: SMGEO

The existence of gender inequality and discrimination against certain social groups is an obstacle to human development in society, as the UNDP-Human Development Report (2019) highlighted:

"Inequalities in human development hurt societies and weaken social cohesion and people's trust in government, institutions, and each other. They hurt economies, wastefully preventing people from reaching their full potential at work and in life. They make it harder for political decisions to reflect the aspirations of the whole society, as the few pulling ahead flex their power to shape decisions primarily in their interests." (UNDP-Human Development Report, 2019:1).

However, inequality is the reality for certain social groups of people in Tanzania, as this research has found. In this society, women still experience discrimination at domestic and structural levels, and some suffer abuse in their domestic setting. The study examined the impact of gender inequality on women's life experiences.

This study also involved people with disabilities, another social group in society whose daily social life experience is marked by social discrimination and mistreatment domestically and in the public sphere.

This thesis has centred on three case studies. This chapter looks at the work of the Social Mainstreaming for Gender Equality Organisation (SMGEO). SMGEO, a local non-governmental welfare organisation, addresses gender-based inequality issues that impact women's social wellbeing and their experiencing life in society. Additionally, this organisation is involved with people with disabilities.

The organisation's work is evident in the Morogoro region, where the office headquarters is located. I conducted this research in Chamwino, a suburb area of the Morogoro District, where the organisation operates. The study was interested in learning how SMGEO, as a local non-governmental welfare organisation, addresses the problems associated with gender-based inequality that impact women's experiencing life and their social wellbeing. Additionally, the study wanted to find out how this organisation is helping people with disabilities affected by discriminatory social situations in the community they operate.

Before going further with the discussion, let me clarify why the organisation addresses the social concerns of people with disabilities.

Gender inequality and discrimination are social phenomena naturally associated with harmful actions and attitudes towards women at a domestic and social level. However, asserting that inequality and discrimination happen only to female members of society does not truly reflect the reality of life in all cultures globally. In some cultures, such as Tanzania, other social groups experience the negative impacts of the attitudes and actions that stem from social and cultural discriminative attitudes.

The name "Social Mainstreaming Gender Equality Organisation (SMGEO)" gives the impression that this organisation focuses on women's social welfare needs, and for the most part, this understanding is correct. However, due to the realisation that other social groups aside from women also experience social discrimination in Tanzanian society, this organisation began to direct their work towards these groups. People with disabilities are another social group whose experience of life and meeting their social welfare needs are hampered by an unequal and discriminative culture. This reality may explain why SMGEO embraced people with disabilities as a disadvantaged social group who need to be supported and defended in society.

This research aims to understand how the organisation helps its clients and its impact on the ground and the service users' concerns. Therefore, the case study involved those with experience in providing service and receiving social assistance from this organisation.

During the research, I conducted a series of semi-structured, one-to-one interviews to understand the social problems and the social service provision present from both the service providers and services users linked to SMGEO. Hence, this chapter presents and discusses the data findings related to this case study in the following order:

- The first part discusses contextual information regarding gender inequality and the impact of discrimination against women and social discrimination against people with disabilities in Tanzanian society. This part is divided into two segments: (i) gender inequality and its effects on women's lives, (ii) inequality and social discrimination and the impact of this on the lives and well-being of people with disabilities.
- The second part explains the origins and formation of the Social Mainstreaming for Gender Equality Organisation (SMGEO), the organisation's structure, and the resources upon which it relies.
- The third part discusses the main problems and needs the organisation now seeks to address. This part is divided into three segments: (i) problems affecting

women's social well-being and development, (ii) how the organisation addresses these problems, and (iii) viewpoints of female service users regarding the organisation's impact on their situations.

- The fourth part discusses problems affecting the social well-being of people with disabilities. This part is divided into three sections: (i) what are the issues affecting the social well-being and functioning of people with disabilities, (ii) how the SMGEO addresses these problems, and (iii) what do people say about their experience of service?

8.1 Contextual Information about Gender Inequality and Discrimination

The end of the twentieth and the beginning of the twenty-first century witnessed a global effort to end inequalities and discrimination based on differences such as sex, ethnic origin, economic status, and political ideology. Human rights activists and oppressed groups have placed these issues on the front pages of the media. As a result, research on women's roles in social, economic, and political progress worldwide reveals their positive impact. It stresses the need to maintain gender equality and social and economic equity in society (Matotay, 2014). This research uses Therborn's description of inequality:

"Inequality is a violation of human dignity: it is a denial of the possibility for everybody's human capabilities to develop. It takes many forms, and it has many effects: premature death, ill health, humiliation, subjection, discrimination, exclusion from knowledge or of mainstream social life, poverty, powerlessness, stress, insecurity, anxiety, lack of self-confidence and pride in oneself, and exclusion from opportunities and life chances. Inequality, then, is not just about the size of wallets; it is a socio-cultural order, which reduces our capabilities to function as human being."

(Therborn, 2013:15)

Studies show the impact of gender inequality on women's experience of life and their functioning in Tanzanian society. The following section expounds upon this aspect in more detail.

8.1.1 Gender Inequality and Discrimination of Women

Gender inequality is an issue of great concern in Tanzania. In Tanzanian culture, women and girls receive unequal or disadvantageous treatment compared to men.

Literature indicates a range of efforts, including many conferences on women's rights and gender equality at international and African regional levels, such as Beijing 1995, the New York summit in March 2005, and the Maputo Protocol on the Rights of Women in Africa 2003 and the Istanbul Convention 2014. Despite these mentioned conferences, many voices from Africa and Tanzania lament the prevalence of domestic violence, widespread poverty, and various forms of discrimination directed against women and girls (Mutume, 2011).

The prevalence of inequality in society goes against the first article of The Declaration of Human Rights. This article states that "all human beings are born free and enjoy equal rights. They are embedded with logical consciousness to act towards each other in their unity of purpose", United Nations: Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Article I).

Why do women and girls experience discrimination and subjection in Tanzanian culture? One major factor that underpins these discriminatory tendencies is that the root cause of women's oppression in African societies is found in long-held customs and traditions (Olatunji, 2013). Various studies observed that most of these customs and traditions are patriarchal in their orientation. In patriarchal societies such as Tanzania, women are viewed as inferior, and so they face discrimination in accessing various opportunities, regardless of their experience and qualifications (Mbepera, 2015; Bhalalusesa and Mboya, 2003).

Nevertheless, other studies say that the resilience of gender inequality may be in part due to stereotypes, which portray women and men as innately different and unequal. Such stereotypes may create interactional processes that help maintain inequality (Ridgeway et al., 2004; Shafer and Malhotra, 2011). However, I argue that stereotypes do not exist independently of the customs and traditions present in communities. Stereotypes are a manifestation profoundly embedded within cultural perspectives, here the patriarchal system, and practices that generally impact women's social status and social wellbeing. These observations stress that internal attitudes can have significant external impacts on society-wide levels of inequality and public policies. Indeed, any effort to address gender inequality must consider the customs and traditions underpinning social living reality, as these are often the root cause of inequality and discrimination. Shafer and Malhotra (2011:209) suggested that "changing beliefs about the appropriate roles of women and men in social structures, such as marriage, family, and the workplace, may therefore be one of the keys to promoting gender equality."

The Gender-Related Development Index (GDI) and the Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) are structured social measures that use specified gender indicators to understand women's social situation. Their goal is to reveal how a country is performing in the case of addressing gender inequality and its commitments to gender equality and sustainable development. The Gender Empowerment Measure considers various aspects relating to women's progress. It focuses on education and economic aspects of women's empowerment and gender equality (Klasen and Schüler, 2011). Other indices, such as the Women, Peace, and Security Index, ranks countries based on the additional dimensions of social inclusion, justice, and security (Klugman et al., 2017). However, other salient domains of women's empowerment must also be considered; some of these domains include women's self-reported human, social, and economic resources for empowerment (Miedema et al., 2018). Other aspects to be considered are the attitudinal and behavioural evidence of empowerment, such as women's attitudes about gender and violence against women, freedom of movement, and domestic, sexual, and reproductive decision-making (Mistry, Galal and Lu, 2009; Yount et al., 2016).

Indicators on gender equality at the national level reflect structural equalities and inequalities (such as policy commitment, legal frameworks, and national legislation). They may measure manifestations of gender inequalities (such as a lower retention rate of girls in education compared to boys or the prevalence of violence against women), or they could refer to the impact of a lack of government provision of essential services on both women and men (Grown et al., 2005).

As a country, Tanzania exhibits a lower Gender-Related Development Index (GDI). Both government and society have not yet addressed and demonstrated gender equality within the social, cultural, political, and economic spheres. Some of the issues facing women in Tanzania include access to education, resource ownership, freedom of expression, participation in decision-making at the domestic and social level, gender-based violence, participation in economic production, and personal development. (The United Republic of Tanzania-National Five Years Developmental Plan 2016; Human Development Trust 2011; Idris,2018).

The government believes that gender equality has a significant role in shaping society and individuals' lives. However, its efforts to bring about gender equality have been slow. One area in which change can be observed is in the Tanzanian parliament, where there has been an increase in female representatives. Currently, the country has a

female president; however, the general living reality for most women across the country, particularly in disadvantaged areas, is of enduring problems.

Likewise, Idris (2018) examined factors that cause women to experience economic inequality and exclusion from economic progress in society, observing that women in this culture are often time-poor, spending more time on household chores than men. They have primary responsibility for the strenuous and time-consuming job of water collection and fuel (firewood) collection tasks, leaving limited time and opportunities to engage in productive (as in paid) work. Idris (2018:2), elaborated "unpaid care work/household chores are seen as predominantly female activities. This perception and cultural norms and religious values, which can impose restrictions on women's interactions in wider society, hamper women's engagement in productive (paid) work" (2018:2).

Studies on gender inequality stress the importance of female empowerment. Indeed, the idea of women's empowerment holds relevancy and contributes insights that shed light upon the situations women face and potential solutions to inequality and the mistreatment of women. Empowering women in various areas is an indicator of social change and a priority for sustainable development goals (Miedema et al., 2018).

The concept of female empowerment is understood to be multi-dimensional (Agarwala and Lynch, 2006). Kabeer (1999:436) construes the empowerment of women as "the process through which individuals attain the ability to make choices under conditions in which choice was previously denied." The dimensions of female empowerment include resources for empowerment, agency, or the ability to make choices, including concerning one's gendered attitudes and beliefs, achievements in the political, economic, social, and cultural realms, and the intergenerational transmission of resources and opportunities (Moghadam and Senftova, 2005; Kabeer, 2011; Cornwall, 2016; Eger, Miller and Scarles, 2018). Women's empowerment is contingent on social transformation across these interrelated domains (Kabeer, 2005). Female empowerment is an individual and a collective process (Eger et al., 2018; Kabeer, 2011) and involves claims on new resources and control over beliefs, values, and attitudes (Cornwall, 2016).

Studies on female empowerment have resulted in the theory-based validation of women's empowerment measures. In attempting to gain information about the implementation of the concept of female empowerment in a particular culture or country, researchers have tended to focus on three interrelated domains of female empowerment measured as in the DHS (Demographic and Health Surveys): (1) access to assets and

enabling resources, (2) the ability to exercise choice in the household (instrumental agency, or power to), and (3) the expression of equitable gender beliefs and attitudes (intrinsic agency, or power within) (Cornwall, 2016; Kabeer, 1999; Kishor, 2000).

Indeed, these three domains represent areas where women have and are disadvantaged.

For example, on the point of 'enabling resources', Kabeer (1999) considers enabling resources the precondition of empowerment. Similarly, Kishor (2000) stresses that positive economic, social, and human resources and conditions can enhance women's potential to exercise instrumental agency. Other studies consider enabling resources from the perspective of women's schooling attainment. They stress that women's schooling attainment, the acquisition of economic resources, and a later age at pivotal life events (for marriage and childbirth) predict greater instrumental and intrinsic agency and wellbeing (Yount, Crandall and Cheong, 2018). Equally, others see schooling as enhancing women's cognitive abilities (Kabeer, 2005), which, in turn, is associated with greater wellbeing (Carlson et al., 2015; Pratley, 2016; Rieger and Trommlerová, 2016).

On the intrinsic and instrumental agency point, Kabeer (2005) explained that agency is a woman's ability to make choices about her life under conditions when an option exists. Agency can be instrumental or intrinsic. The instrumental agency often is measured as women's ability to make household and family-level decisions (Becker et al. 2006; Gammage et al. 2016). This aspect is also about women's political and community participation (Moghadam and Senftova, 2005) and freedom of movement (Ghuman et al., 2006; Yount et al., 2016). The measurement of women's participation in family decision-making is a time-invariant indicator of women's agency (Cheong et al., 2017). Additionally, Gammage et al. (2016) also see the voice of women and their ability to express beliefs that may run counter to dominant norms as essential elements of women exercising their agency.

Realising female empowerment in East Africa and Tanzania encounter specific contextual challenges. The implementation of the empowerment of women is conceptualised and mainly operationalised in classic patriarchal settings (Kabeer, 2011; Kishor 2000; Santhya et al., 2010; Yount et al. 2016). Entrenched traditions, customs, and cultural practices emanating from a patriarchal framework within African settings create conditions for the limitation of female empowerment. Female empowerment is measured mainly in the family and household context (Kishor, 2000; Mason and Smith, 2003; Yount, 2005).

In patriarchal settings, where women occupy a lower social status than men, the distribution of power within a household systematically favours men (Kandiyoti, 1988). Compared to classically patriarchal settings, for example, in South Asia and the Middle East, women in East and sub-Saharan African countries may hold greater autonomy, particularly in the operation of economic decision-making, due to women's roles in community and household economic activities (Dolan, 2001; Larsen and Hollos, 2003). At the same time, women often control low-revenue commodities (Njuki et al., 2011). Asset differentials reflect gender power relations and the gendered nature of household cooperation among agricultural communities (Njuki et al., 2011). The processes of female empowerment in Africa must consider these cultural conditions. However, it is an under-researched area with much of the literature on the empowerment of women focusing on South and South-east Asia (Schuler et al., 1996; Kabeer, 2011), with some studies conducted in the Middle East (Kishor, 2000; Yount, 2005; Yount et al., 2016).

Women's control over household assets and income increases household nutrition among specific pastoral communities in Tanzania. In general, social life in Tanzania is characterised by patriarchy. Interregional variation of gender systems may moderate women's strategies to negotiate and attain power in Tanzania and East Africa (Mason and Smith, 2003). The Tanzanian society is a large one and comprises more than 125 ethnic tribes characterised by different cultural traditions, customs, and practices. The question of gender inequality and women may consider factors specific to the region in which a tribe is situated and, at the same time, consider how the situation may differ in the other areas and tribe groups. Likewise, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) Health Policy Initiative Task Order 1 (2008) revealed how gender roles and norms disadvantage girls in their progression and independence compared to boys in Tanzania. They reported that focus group participants affirmed that boys' education tends to be valued more than girls, especially in low-income families. Girls may be taken out of school to assist with domestic responsibilities or marry. The quote below illustrates this observation:

"Girls in the family, we have been placed as workers. Therefore, a girl, even if she goes to school and gets more knowledge, the parents believe that if she continues, she will be a mother of a house, she will get pregnant... and there will be great loss. Therefore, the parents do not see the importance of continuing the education of girls to go farther to help their future lives. Each parent thinks their girls will go and get pregnant

and have a baby, that is it." (Adolescent females focus group participant- USAID | Health Policy Initiative Task Order 1. 2008:8)

Measures at the policy level show that the United Republic of Tanzania (URT) constitution protects the equality and rights of every person (Ministry of Community Development, Women Affairs and Children, 1992). Tanzania has policies and acts geared towards promoting gender equality in leadership roles, including the Women Gender Policy of 2002, the Public Service Commission (on all-sector gender equality), and the National Employment Promotion Service Act of 1999. Tanzania also has adopted the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (Muro, 2003) and the Beijing Platform for Action 1995 (United Nations, 1995), whose objective is to increase women's participation in decision-making by 30% (Muro, 2003). However, as the above observations indicate, women in Tanzanian society face discrimination and mistreatment at domestic and social levels. They are often denied opportunities that would enable their personal and social progression.

Another social group experiencing social discrimination that impacts their welfare needs in Tanzanian society is people with disabilities. The following section explains this matter in more detail.

8.1.2 Discrimination of People with Disabilities

The United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (UNCRPD), as an international treaty, identifies the rights of people with disabilities and stipulates that governments must promote, protect, and ensure that these rights are realised. Studies on disabilities have highlighted the potential effects of a disability on a person, including the loss of their freedom and independence, practical problems—transport, choice of activities, accessing buildings—and frustration and anger at having to rely on other people (Tavares, 2011). The Tanzania Disability Survey Report 2008 acknowledges that people with disabilities are among the most vulnerable groups in society. It adds that people with disabilities in this culture are often uneducated, frequently is unemployed or underemployed, and poor: especially women, young people, and those living in rural areas (National Bureau of Statistics, 2008; Sida, 2015). Other significant challenges facing people with disabilities in Tanzania are access to transport and information; negative attitudes at home, school, and work; inaccessibility of public services or premises; poverty; and inadequate representation (Tanzania Disability Survey Report, 2008).

In Tanzania, there has been a long-term effort to ensure that all people are valued equally with and without disabilities. The government has legally enacted different documents to recognise the rights of people with disabilities. In terms of international instruments, these steps include signing and ratifying (in 2009) the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD) and the optional protocol, the first international, legally binding treaty aimed at protecting the human rights of people with disabilities (Aldersey, 2012).

The Tanzanian government has also signed and ratified the UN Convention on the Child's Rights, the African Charter on Human and People's Rights, and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women. All these treaties reference protecting the rights of people with disabilities, fair treatment, appropriate care, inclusion, and full participation in society. Tanzania is also committed to the East African Policy on People with Disabilities (2012), which outlines joint policy commitments in line with the CRPD and country-level recommendations (Sida, 2015).

The 1977 Constitution and its amendments recognise the rights of persons with disabilities and prohibit all forms of discrimination against them. The new Constitution adopted in 2015 has some disability-specific provisions (URT Constitution 1977:44) which express explicitly that a person with disabilities has the right to:

- be respected, recognised, and treated in a way which does not lower a person's dignity;
- an education through specialised equipment and to participate in social affairs.
- have the infrastructure and an environment which allows an individual to go wherever they please, use transport facilities, and acquire information.
- use sign languages and written language with the aid of special machines or other appropriate methods.
- learn with persons without disabilities; and
- get a job and contest leadership posts in various sectors.

The country's authority shall specify the procedure for enabling people with disabilities to participate in representative activities (United Republic of Tanzania, Constitution, 1977). In addition to this, there exists the Persons with Disabilities Act of 2010 of Tanzania, which incriminates all forms of discrimination and mistreatment against people with disabilities, while at the same time providing for the rights and duties of the same (Uromi & Mazagwa, 2014). Another structure that exists to promote the welfare and rights of people with disabilities in Tanzania is the Federation of Disabled

People's Organisation (FDPO), in Kiswahili known as Shirika la Vyama vya Watu wenyewe ulemavu Tanzania (SHIVYAWATA) (Aldersey, 2012).

While having these legislative laws, acts, and policy provisions in place are something to be appreciated, they remain statements. Their intended impacts on the living situation of people with disabilities in the community are not yet visible. More work needs to be done by the Government and its representative bodies to implement and realise changes, as promised in these policy and legislative documents at the grassroots, community, and national levels.

One of the biggest challenges that people with disabilities face is stigma. Research has shown that stigmatisation still exists on a large scale and leads to exclusion, continued poverty, and a poor standard of life (Munyi, 2012; Koszela, 2013). People with disabilities in Tanzania face attitudinal barriers, including prejudice, low expectations, and even fear. Negative attitudes about disability impact all aspects of the lives of people with disabilities, including their ability to access education, participate in work, make decisions, live where and with whom they choose, and move about freely within the community (Munyi, 2012). This abuse and discrimination happen at both the domestic and community level. One person with a disability shared her opinion as to why mistreatment and the denial of equal rights happen to people with disabilities in Tanzanian society:

"I think it is mostly due to the negative attitude attached to people with disability. Most people do not respect us as people who deserve to be treated with dignity. When something happens to a disabled person, it is not taken as seriously compared to when something happens to a nondisabled person. This is not only by the community, even the police, the hospitals, the schools, the churches, parents, everybody." (Mary)

The question that lingers is why does discrimination and stigma surrounding disabilities still exist in African society? Studies on this matter attribute this problem to misconceptions. Lack of awareness or knowledge is one reason the negative attitudes manifest as explicit vilification or direct or indirect discrimination (AbleChildAfrica, 2013; Stone-MacDonald and Butera, 2014). AbleChildAfrica (2013) observed that stigma against children with disabilities arises for various reasons in sub-Saharan Africa and Tanzania. One reason is a lack of information regarding what causes disabilities and what a child with a disability can achieve.

Indeed, not being aware of how physical disability occurs and thus having an incorrect mindset leads people to come to the wrong conclusions. Mostert (2016:9) observed that misconceptions about the cause of disabilities often result from cultural or religious beliefs. Disability is often blamed on the misdeeds of ancestors or parents, the transgressions of the person with disabilities, or supernatural forces such as demons, spirits, witchcraft, or punishment from God (Mostert, 2016:9). In a circumstance where a baby is born with disabilities, often the blame is placed on the mother for having a child with a disability, but the impairments can be caused by poor maternal health or a lack of prenatal services during pregnancy (AbleChildAfrica, 2013; Uromi and Mazagwa, 2014). Besides, in some families and communities, disabled children are hidden away because of stigmas placed on them and the embarrassment or harassment that the mother may encounter. Hence, societies have minimal experience and few examples of what children with disabilities can accomplish, leading them to assume that they are incapable and should not be included in daily life (AbleChildAfrica, 2013).

People with disabilities may face significant challenges in overcoming the negative views held by the community and society, making it difficult for them to achieve self-acceptance and a sense of pride in their lives. The stigmatisation of people with disabilities can lead to exclusion from society and from developmental programmes that could help improve a person's quality of life and future. Stone-MacDonald and Butera (2014:6) explained that:

"Inequalities not only lead to their exclusion... but combined with the general absence of social protection measures, almost unavoidably lead persons with disabilities, (and their families) to situations of poverty and extreme poverty, which can even result in a risk to their lives."

The discussion in this section indicates the social status of both women and people with disabilities in Tanzanian society. It reveals the harmful impact that inequality has on the reality of life for women, girls, and people with disabilities. Inequalities create many barriers, including physical and institutional communication obstacles and attitudinal barriers. These barriers often lead to women, and people with disabilities, being invisible and considered to lack the ability to participate in society and decision-making processes.

At the grassroots levels, local non-governmental organisations address gender inequality, welfare, and the rights of people with disabilities in Tanzania. One of the organisations involved in this research is the Social Mainstreaming for Gender Equality Organisation (SMGEO). This organisation is based in Morogoro and works around the

Morogoro, Dodoma, and Tabora regions. The researcher was interested to learn what issues this organisation tackles.

The next section looks at the origins and formation of the Social Mainstreaming for Gender Equality Organisation (SMGEO). It explains when and why this organisation was formed.

8.2 Origins and Formation of SMGEO

SMGEO is a non-governmental organisation working at a national level in mainland Tanzania. It was established on 10th August 2015 and received permission to carry out its tasks from the United Republic of Tanzania under the Ministry of Community Development, Gender, and Children (MCDGC). The emergence of SMGEO was rooted in evidence-based research about the prevalence of social inequality in Tanzanian society.

SMGEO believes that gender discrimination and imbalance are challenges that jeopardise society's stability and wellbeing for the present and future generations. Thus SMGEO, as a non-profit organisation, attempts to restore and promote the equal integration of both men, women, and disadvantaged groups in the development of projects that benefit the community.

SMGEO was formed to deal with the present socio-economic problems in different areas in Tanzania. However, currently, its work focuses more on the Morogoro-Chamwino community area, where its main office is located. It aims to achieve its goals by understanding the issues, sharing them, and solving them through free discussion in different projects.

SMGEO's mission is to promote gender equality and freedom effectively and efficiently from discrimination and segregation for all people (male and female) in society in general. The purpose of SMGEO is:

- to provide teaching and information that promotes the equal integration of both men and women as well as disadvantaged groups, including people with impaired vision, physical disability, albinism, and deaf people, in the process of development.
- to help society and individuals willing to create equal opportunities in ownership, access, and control.
- to provide information that reveals the current situation surrounding gender issues, and the impact that this has on society.

- to propagate ideas that promote gender relations within the community.
- to provide necessary knowledge regarding gender matters within society.

(SMGEO Profile Information, retrieved in October 2018, from

<https://smgeoorg.blogspot.com/p/smgeo-constitution.html>)

During an interview, James, a male respondent from the managerial level, explained how this organisation started, saying:

"This organisation was started in the year 2015 by Mr Eric Kuhoga. Mr Kuhoga received education in gender-related issues and social development from the university. Through his education, Eric saw a need to set up an organisation that would address gender inequality and women mistreatment problem in our society, which is apparent at all levels in our society. Chamwino community is a place where gender inequality is visible." (James)

Another respondent, Matthias, from the managerial level, described the formation of the organisation in these words:

"SMGEO is a local organisation established to address the attitudes, traditions, and cultures that oppress women, girls, people with disabilities, and those with special needs. We felt it was important to educate communities about gender equality, women's rights, and disabled human rights. Women, as human beings, have the potential to bring about social and economic development." (Matthias)

SMGEO operates in the Chamwino district situated in the eastern part of Tanzania, west of Dar es Salaam. Chamwino is three kilometres from the city and is distinguished from the Morogoro inner-city area. It seems to have been built without proper planning, and its residential outlook appears disorganised. Its proximity to the Morogoro city centre attracts many people looking for employment from the surrounding villages, who come and set up some forms of shelter, including mud-houses.

Some people who live in the area commute back and forth for work in the city centre. Previous social studies about the Morogoro-Chamwino area estimated its population to be around 100,000 (Lyimo-Macha et al., 2002), although figures on the current total were unavailable. When visiting the organisation, I saw a heavily congested area bustling with people at every angle. There were primary schools, a health dispensary centre, and various small businesses, shops, and agricultural activities. It was confirmed

during the interviews that poverty is widespread, there are not many job opportunities in this area, and many of the residents are unemployed.

Neither the provincial government nor the local government seems to be doing enough to help the inhabitants of this area improve their social and economic conditions. According to SMGEO, most families in the area are headed by single mothers as many families are abandoned by men, with social problems and poverty ripping families apart.

This organisation is a voluntary local social welfare organisation engaging in activities relevant to social work.



Figure 4: Photo of City Centre of Morogoro City District (by David Kanyumi).

The photo intends to give the reader a sense of the area in which the study took place.



Figure 5: Photo of Chamwino Area (by David Kanyumi).

This photo of Chamwino area, three kilometres away from the Morogoro City district, it intends to give the reader a sense of reality about the place in which the research took place.



Figure 6: Photo of Chamwino Area (by David Kanyumi).

This is also a photo of Chamwino area, three kilometres away from the Morogoro City district and gives an idea of the area of the research field.

I interviewed a total number of twenty participants. The identities of the respondents who participated in this investigation are pseudo-anonymised to protect their identity. I translated the respondents' answers into English from the audio recordings, which were made during the interviews undertaken in the Kiswahili language.

	Total #	Age range	Gender
Managerial level	5		Male: 4 Female: 1
Social workers	3		Male: 2 Female: 1
Service users	12	25–70	Male: 6 Female: 6

Table 4: Interviewed Participants at SMGEO

According to their constitution, the organisational structure of SMGEO follows this order:

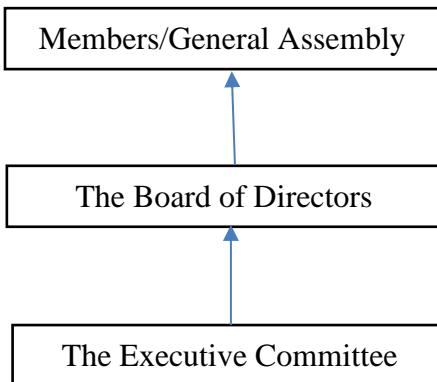


Figure 7: Organisational structure of SMGEO.

The General Assembly meets at least once a year with a plan set according to the constitution. Voting on some issues is part of the assembly. Also, this general assembly determines the Board of Directors.

The organisation has few employees and relies heavily on volunteers to fulfil its mission. This raises questions of commitment, reliability, and how realistic an organisation can accomplish its objectives by relying mainly on honorary members and voluntary workers. In an official document, SMGEO indicates having 9–26 Field Worker Volunteers working part-time. This is quite a large range. However, during the period in which this research took place, the researcher witnessed five individuals representing the organisation at the managerial level and three field workers.

Another vital aspect to consider concerning the organisation's functioning is its source of resources and funds. The organisation needs resources and funds to function and carry out its social service mandate. Support comes from the following sources:

- Contributions from members statutory registration fees
- Fundraising events
- Donation and grants
- Charitable individuals
- Compulsory annual SMGEO membership contributions as may be determined.

Let me elaborate more on the compulsory annual SMGEO membership contributions as a finance source of the organisation. To become a member, a person needs to pay an initial 100,000 TSH (equivalent to approximately £32) or \$550 if a non-

Tanzanian. Then, the annual fee for members is 50,000 TSH (equal to about £16). Any member can pay more if they wish to.

The organisation invites those who wish to undertake a research study about the organisation's work; however, they must pay a fee to the organisation. Thus, I paid TSH 100,000 before prior to my involvement studying the work of the organisation. The organisation stipulates that:

"Anyone who wants to volunteer as part of his or her training or field studying in the organisation should contribute to the organisation monthly TSHs 100,000 for a Tanzanian while USD 550 for a non-Tanzanian. Those basic needs such as accommodation and meals shall be his or her own cost during his or her training time, but where necessary, the organisation will support volunteer to meet his or her targeted goal." (Constitution of Social Mainstreaming for Gender Equality Organisation (SMGEO)2015:6).

The organisation put in place a members' statutory registration fee to ensure some inflow of funds for its operation. The employees are mandated to pay TSH 50,000 annually as a statutory registration fee. However, during my time with the organisation, the leadership made it apparent that this type of fund does not come in regularly as it is supposed due to the financial difficulties that individual workers have. Having no steady inflow of finance means there will always be a deficit in the organisation's budget for its program. Elaborating further on the issue of staff contributions, Matthias, chairman of the organisation, said:

"Employees are also members of the organisation. The decision and order of employees to contribute was established and accepted as an appropriate procedure by the organisation practically based on the real economic and financial situation of the organisation. Also, the decision took into account the broader environment around us, socially and economically. So, this is an organisational process. Our organisation for the most part is almost exclusively a volunteer, the membership form explains it. These donations are donated by employees with the intention of developing the organisation only. But if a person fails to give because he is not in good financial condition, he is not obliged to contribute, there is no problem, he is not bothered, but the day he gets it he will bring it. The organisation is considering alternative projects, a variety of projects that will generate income for its support and community service projects." (A telephone

conversation between me, the researcher and Matthias, took place on April 30th, 2021).

What this quote reveals about the organisation's finances is important because it shows the constraints under which it is operating and these in turn have implications for its overall strategy. This response also helps to explain why the organisation might struggle to offer the kinds of material assistance for which its 'clients' might be hoping.

The following discussion in Section 8.3 looks closely at the issues that the organisation currently addresses.

8.3 Main Issues Addressed by SMGEO – Women

This section looks at immediate issues and the underlying causes of those immediate problems. The presentation focused first on issues that affect women's social wellbeing, and then it presented the issues affecting the social wellbeing of people with disabilities.

8.3.1 Problems Affecting Women

In an interview, a respondent, James of managerial level, described some of the cases they deal with in the organisation:

"We have received female clients complaining about the lack of support, neglect and abuse from their husband. For example, one woman, a mother of three children, came to us. She told us she is among those women who received a loan for vegetable business. Still, her husband has made it difficult for her to set up a business and sadly he has taken the money that was meant for the vegetable business, claiming that he can use it on an important matter. She is frustrated by her husband's behaviour, who has stopped her from using the loan for her vegetable business. She doesn't know what her husband has done with the money." (James)

This account describes a woman who faces discrimination and is deprived of her fundamental rights to livelihoods by her husband. James also indicates that women who come to them seeking help face domestic abuse issues. What becomes apparent here is the issue of power that has an immediate impact on the livelihood of women. This power issue mainly related to decision making is deeply embedded in the patriarchal culture with its condescending and devaluing tendencies towards women in domestic settings.

Additionally, patriarchal culture's pervasiveness means that this problem experienced by females stems from within society. The unhelpful traditions and customs

dictate and direct the social and interpersonal relations and functioning of men and women in society. Studies on female empowerment in the developing world highlight challenges women who desire to run small businesses face. Access to finance is just one of the female entrepreneurs' many challenges (Kuschel et al., 2017). Other barriers stem from deep-rooted socio-cultural values, and strong family orientations that tend to influence the choices women make (Ituma and Simpson, 2009; Cabrera and Mauricio, 2017).

In an interview, a respondent, James, who represents the managerial level, stated:

"Gender inequality is a phenomenon whereby a person is discriminated against based on his or her gender. In our context, women are the most discriminated against, and in some situations, they even experience violent, bullying and mistreatments." (James)

James outlines two key issues here. One in the domestic abuse that has an immediate impact on women's mental, psychological, and physical wellbeing. The other one is gender inequality. Both issues seem to stem from the general social-cultural discriminatory mindset of society.

Another respondent, a female social worker, Janet, described the problems affecting women's wellbeing and functioning in the community:

"In Morogoro's community, women have no say, no power, and their voices are squashed continuously both at domestic settings and social level. There have been some incidences where a woman is domestically abused, intimidated, suppressed by a husband or a male colleague. Here at our office, we have had women come to report about abuse, a husband taking all the money for his drinking habit and leaving his wife nothing and yet she is supposed to be caring for the children. When she has dared to question him, the only reply is beatings and insulting words." (Janet)

Janet's account describes the general social context. There is a culture of abuse and the oppression of women's rights at domestic and societal levels. The husband's behaviour in this story indicates the influence of the patriarchal culture. One of its characteristics is the undervaluing of women. It is a culture that does not seem to regard women as entitled to equal rights. This account also indicates that the woman is suffering and unable to care for the children due to a lack of money. It is almost a paradox: on the one hand, women are suppressed, restricted in decision-making, and on the other hand,

they are expected to care for the family when they are denied their right in making a livelihood.

A female respondent, Rahel, a service user, described the difficult situation she experienced domestically:

"There was a time when I got the opportunity to go into management and leadership training. The problem came when I was assigned to teach women seminar in another place, away from home, to teach other women about what I had learned. The idea of me going to conduct a women seminar away from my home area was a big problem for my husband. Despite explaining how important taking part in the seminar was to me, to us as family, my husband did not agree. He stopped me, forcing me to stay home, but I decided to go because I felt that my education would help many other women and my progress... When I returned, the situation got worse in my home. I received harsh, insulting remarks from my husband. He decided that I should never go to teaching seminars again. He did not have any underlying reasons to stop me, but it was the tendency of oppression, to see the woman as a mere passive instrument and follower of a husband. So, I often get in touch with women here in this area. My desire in life is that what I know I would like others to know too." (Rahel)

Rahel's narrative reveals how male control suppresses women's freedom and affects women's rights, status, and social progress. This observation indicates how women are denied the power and liberty in decision making, significantly when it involves their progress. Rahel's actions show an attitude of someone determined not to give in, who tries to stand up to her husband's oppressive behaviour and takes bold effort to accomplish what she sees to be of benefit for herself and her family without her husband's consent.

8.3.2 Addressing of Problems of Women by SMGEO

The organisation offers counselling to help women who are victims of gender-based violence, domestic abuse, and discrimination. It works together with clients to understand their situation and provide options to support them. This procedure featured in James' response in an interview:

"When such a case comes to us, we listen to the client. We, together with the client, seek a way forward. If the client has been subjected to a life-

threatening experience, we then would advise to take her to police and follow legal advice, the legal pathway to secure justice.” (James)

James' account indicates how the organisation provides options appropriate to the problem described. In the case of assisting the victims of social and domestic abuse, the involvement of the police and the legal system is the correct course of action. The organisation listens to female victims of domestic abuse and journeys with them throughout the recovery and acquisition of justice. One of Dominelli's models, this therapeutic approach, focuses on the individual situation and emphasises the need to provide the individual with skills. Giving someone skills as means for recovery is also emancipatory.

To address the issue of making a livelihood to avert poverty and lack of finances and resources and improve the progress and living standards of women, SMGEO undertakes some activities, including helping female clients interested in starting a small business by organising business training workshops. A respondent, female social worker, Janet, described this service:

"Many female clients are interested in starting a small business, so they come to us looking for ways to get a loan and start a business. We, as an organisation, organise entrepreneurship education. We look for the right facilitator to provide empowering women seminars." (Janet)

Janet's account indicates that the organisation facilitates entrepreneurship workshops to equip women with the knowledge and skills to start a small business in their communities. This essential training seems vital for women to grasp the idea of business and gain enough understanding to boost their confidence. Again, the organisation's activities here in response to their client's situations reflect the therapeutic approach.

Regarding Janet's quote, Janet uses the phrase 'empowering women seminar' in describing the activity. I want to develop the concept of empowering women further.

Studies on women's empowerment provide insights into what the word 'empowerment' means in this context. Accordingly, the empowerment of women emphasises their participation, for example, in political structures, informal decision making, and the ability of female members of society to obtain an income enabling their participation in social and economic decision-making (Mosedale, 2005; Aminur, 2013). Equally, Gupta et al. (2006) explained that women's empowerment is necessary for the very development of a society since it enhances both the quality and the quantity of human resources available for development. Another perspective construes empowerment to

mean accepting and allowing people (women) who are outside of decision-making processes into it (Women's empowerment, Accessed on 23 January 2021 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s_empowerment). Others consider women's empowerment (or female's empowerment) to mean accepting women's viewpoints or making an effort to seek them, raising the status of women through education, awareness, literacy, and training (Bayeh, 2016:38).

The women's empowerment agenda may be focused solely on facilitating the realisation of women's potential and their contribution to society's social, political, and economic development. On the other hand, the emancipatory response to a problem delves deeper into unravelling the social structural root causes of the social issues that affect individuals' wellbeing and functioning in society. Nevertheless, there are connections between women's empowerment and the emancipatory response to social problems. As the few studies cited here show, in some way and to some degree, the empowerment of women is an emancipatory issue as it addresses the factors that keep women in poverty and deprive them of freedom and equal access to social and economic opportunities in Tanzanian society.

The organisation also endeavours to educate various social groups in the community on the impact of gender inequality and the culture of discrimination on a woman's life experience. A respondent, James, in an interview, explained:

"The organisation involves educating the various groups in our community, such as women group (women forum), seminars attended by men only, and seminars attended by both men and women. Also, the organisation carries out workshops in primary schools and secondary schools." (James).

James' account indicates the organisation's effort to change the cultural mindset and held attitudes that perpetuate discriminatory behaviour against women must involve the various people that make up society.

Asked why SMGEO decided to carry awareness seminars to schools, James, a respondent at the managerial level, replied:

"We felt that without engaging with both primary and secondary schools, the realisation of a society characterised by gender equality would be a distant dream in our community. The future progress of our society depends on the girls and boys who are currently in schools. Suppose they are well educated on these issues. In that case, they may avoid and

challenge the wrongly held traditions about the place of men and women in society and the roles woman and man potentially fulfil and create a culture that equally values both men and women. They would seek to create a society that holds equal right for both genders." (James)

As this account shows, SMGEO's vision aims at transforming society. It sees the students, girls, and boys currently in education as key agents for social change in society. If adequately educated on the harmful impacts that gender inequality and social discrimination have on women's wellbeing, the young generation can be instrumental in change.

One area of life crucial in realising gender balance is sharing chores domestically—men and women collaborating and partnering together in running family life. Women in Tanzanian culture are overwhelmed by domestic responsibilities. This aspect of domestic life is included in SMGEO's awareness programme, which is carried out in the community. The picture below illustrates this point.



Figure 8: Shared Household Responsibilities (by SMGEO).

(Source: SMGEO-Tanzania <https://smgeoorg.blogspot.com/p/smgeo-profile.html.>)

The organisation's actions and activities demonstrate that their targets and structural responses to social issues affecting women mainly reflect the emancipatory approach. The usefulness and application of the emancipatory approach arise from the realisation that the problems that affect individuals have their root causes at the heart of society's structures. Gender inequality and how it manifests itself through male control, abuse, the suppression of women's freedom, the exclusion of women from decision making, and the deprivation of women's equal access to social and economic

opportunities are all problems structurally caused. They happen because the existing traditions and customs sanction them. SMGEO's involvement with various social groups and people at multiple levels helps emancipate the whole community from these problems.

8.3.3 Impact of SMGEO's Activities: From a Perspective of Service Users – Women

The discussion here focuses on the impact of SMGEO's work on their clients' problems and situations (women). In order to understand the effect that the service provider has, we have considered the service users' perspectives collected from the women who participated in this study.

The first reflection is provided based on a female respondent's feedback regarding her experience of domestic abuse and discrimination. When asked to describe what help she has received from the organisation, Aliya replied:

"The organisation is vital in our Chamwino area because it educates us. I have received education on gender equality and women's rights. Education is a significant contribution. If they could find us the capital and other equipment, it would be great."(Aliya)

Aliya acknowledges that, on a personal level, she has benefited from the organisation's awareness and education programme on gender equality and women's rights provided in the community. However, she asks for money and equipment in her response, most likely to make a livelihood.

Another female respondent, Rahel, gave this perspective on the service provision:

"There are many women and mothers in this community whose life is full of challenges like mine, but they do not have any help. Most women do not dare to fight against oppression, harassment by men, especially in family settings. SMGEO's organisation in one of its campaigns has put forth a lot of effort into the issue of sexual harassment, gender-based discrimination, and in protecting women rights and child rights. Their work has helped women like me to know ourselves, our place in society and to have the courage and to stand up against abuse, discrimination and get justice." (Rahel)

This narrative gives a positive reflection of the service provided by the organisation in the community. Accordingly, women seem to grow in self-awareness and

confidence and understand that they have a role to play in combating gender-based discrimination. Another female respondent, Eriety, gave this reflection:

"Up until now, the organisation has been able to help us women, widows with ideas. The organisation has helped us understand the concepts of women rights, self-awareness, and women's self-esteem. The importance of using mental abilities and opportunities in improving our lives and our families." (Eriety)

Eriety's account positively reflects the organisation's impact on social issues at the community level. The women in this community have gained knowledge that is vital to women's progress. Consequently, women know their rights and have their confidence boosted with regards to decision making. There is a sense that the respondent feels empowered by this knowledge.

Another female respondent, named Dilek, spoke of what the organisation had done for her:

"This organisation gives us many ideas on how to improve our social and economic life. Counselling can be enough to help, because someone may give you some money, but if they cannot give you some ideas on spending that money, you can waste that money." (Dilek)

Dilek acknowledged having received services in counselling and ideas from the organisation, and she seems to value this type of service much more than receiving money. Observing the respondents' reflection on the service of the SMGEO closely, one can see that the organisation focuses more on informing and increasing awareness of the impact of gender inequality and discrimination on women's experience of life, emphasising the importance of women knowing their human and legal rights. Given that the organisation focuses on training and education, it can be said that the organisation requires qualified members. The ones interviewed were graduates from the university; some have education in community development discipline. There is hardly any mention of material support for basic needs. This way of serving is very much advocacy work addressing the underlying causes of gender inequality and discrimination against women.

8.4 Main Issues Addressed by SMGEO – People with Disabilities

This section explains and makes sense of the problems and needs of people with disabilities as indicated by data findings.

8.4.1 Problems Affecting People with Disabilities

In an interview, a male respondent described the personal challenges he faces. Rashid, a service user, has a physical mobility limitation. He is unable to stand on his feet and uses his hands to walk. Describing the problems that he faces in life, Rashid said:

"You find that sometimes neighbours do not help you, bring something you need. Since I am disabled, my life is dependent on the support of people who are not disabled. Maybe you need water to wash your clothes. Sometimes you need someone to hang the clothes on the dryline, to dry them in the sun. Because of disability, my own life depends heavily on other people to help me in various ways. But sometimes the neighbours around me do not help me at all. Some even prevent their children from helping me fetch water and other necessities. This situation hurts me. You feel that because you are disabled, then you have no value in the eyes of others. You are considered a burden." (Rashid)

In this account, Rashid describes a situation in which he has a personal difficulty exacerbated by other people's unwillingness to help him. His limited physical mobility impacts his daily living negatively and makes him dependent on his community. Lack of support from the people around him complicates his everyday practical living experience. The unwillingness of people to help him seems to be rooted in broader social and cultural negative attitudes towards people with disability.

Another respondent, a female older person with a disability named Fatima, described the challenges she faces in life:

"Hunger is a great challenge. Also, I am old, and life is harder. I do not have work. And on top of that, you see I have disfigured fingers. ... My legs do not have the strength to allow me to stand for a long time or hours, so I cannot do much work either." (Fatima).

Responding to a follow-up question on how she meets her basic needs, Fatima replied:

"I live by begging people to help; whoever is willing and able to help. That is how my day goes by. My legs do not have the strength to allow me to stand for a long time or hours, so I cannot do much work either. Life, for me, is extremely hard." (Fatima)

Fatima's daily life is complicated by a physical disability that does not sufficiently allow her the use of her leg or fingers. Her physical situation restricts her from getting

involved in any activity that could enable her to earn a living. She also points out that being disabled and old, without reliable support, is even more challenging to an individual.

All the people with some form of impairment who participated in this investigation shared that they experience difficulties undertaking physical tasks to support their daily living. Therefore, an individual must rely on the kindness and support of the people around them.

Another respondent at the organisation's managerial level, named James, described the issues and needs that people with disabilities face:

"People with some form of disability experience neglect at the family level and community level. One thing you notice here is that it is hard to see a person with a disability mingling with other people publicly. At the family level, you find a person with a disability kept inside, just staying home, not much thought given about his or her future life prospect. The language people use when talking about a person with disability implies as if he or she is less human, or it is his or her fault that is born in that way or involved in an accident." (James)

James' account indicates the entrenched culture of stigma and social discrimination of people with disabilities at the structural and societal level, impacting their experiencing of life at a family level. Negative attitudes from family members and people around them act as barriers to social equality and promoting their social wellbeing. The word 'neglect' in James' account could mean that no one is paying positive attention to the wellbeing of the person with a disability or thinking constructively about things that could further their personal, social, and economic welfare.

Another respondent, a male service user named Mohamed, has a physical mobility problem and cannot move without a mobility aid. Mohamed has a wife and three children and is involved in polishing and mending shoes as his source of income. He described the challenges he faces and the challenges that people with disabilities in general encounter in his community:

"A disabled person is put at a very lower rank person in our society. People in our community see me not as a person, but they see the disabilities I have. Disabled people in our society are denied work opportunity and other rights. When you look for work, the way you are looked at, judged is different from a person without a disability. Disabled people in our

society are always looked at pitifully but not dignified, enhancing way.”
(Mohamed)

Mohamed's account presents the social challenges that affect people with disabilities' social wellbeing and functioning in the wider social context. While other factors are considered in the employment processes, such as academic qualifications and relevant experience related to the post, Mohamed's account indicates a negative attitude and cultural mindset. In essence, according to this observation, a stigma breeds discriminatory attitudes that affect people socially, hampering their dreams of personal progress.

Mohamed further indicated other aspects of the challenges that people with disabilities experience daily at the society level, which affect their practical living reality and general social wellbeing. Mohamed explained:

“The problem that people with disabilities experience here is the challenge of getting a place to live. Renting a room for a person with a disability is challenging. People with disability experience discrimination. Rent charges are higher. Even when you get a place to rent, you are constantly harassed, belittled, debased, by landlords and fellow tenants living in the same house. When you delay paying the rental payment, you receive a lot of threats, abusive words. Being a disabled person feels isolating, like you are not part of the rest of the community. It is a big problem. For example, I do not have a big job giving higher income; my daily job is mending old shoes and torn shoes.” (Mohamed)

Mohamed's narrative indicates an embedded culture of discrimination, exclusion, and stigma, which exhibits itself in the way that landlords, and people in general, treat people with disabilities regarding renting and housing, among other matters.

Data findings indicate that misconceptions and lack of knowledge about disability in the community create unfavourable conditions which cause a problematic living experience for people with disabilities. James' response reflected this fact:

“The language people use when talking about a person with disability implies as if he or she is less human, or it is his or her fault that is born in that way or involved in an accident.”

“Oooh... there must be a curse in their family, or she or he might have wronged God to be born like this. They are lazy to work.” (James)

James' narrative indicates that misunderstandings and lack of appropriate knowledge concerning disability and the personal influence stigma and social discrimination. The reasoning and type of language employed to understand disability demonstrate that stigma runs deep in the community mindset.

Using public transport is a complicated affair for people with disabilities. This problem featured in the response of Mohamed, who described the situations that people with disabilities face in society:

"Public transports are not friendly towards people with disabilities. In buses, trains you are overlooked, harassed, and criticised by the transport conductors for being slow. As you can see, I cannot walk; I use my hands in movement. Sometimes fellow travellers want you to speed up, push you around, want you to act or move like you have no disability. I thank God very much because one person in the community has seen me struggling a lot and decided to buy me this bicycle. Now I use this bicycle to journey."

(Mohamed)

Public transport should be for everyone; however, Mohamed's account indicates that people with disabilities are unfairly treated. Such attitudinal behaviour by the public seems to confirm that a person with a disability is not welcome in that social sphere, often facing discrimination and harassment. This raises questions about the role of the government in ensuring the application and enforcement of policies to enable and protect people with disabilities.

Another male respondent, Rashid, described how he thinks his community perceives people with disabilities:

"Every human being has the right to be respected, recognised, to feel loved by the community around him. The community around me is not in this way; the community around me does not treat people with disability with respect. People with disabilities almost do not exist as people in the eyes of our society. Though some individuals in the community are nice and do show concern towards us." (Rashid)

This account conveys a problematic picture of the relationship between a person with a disability and their surrounding community. Rashid mentions what appears to him to be the qualities that characterise a good neighbourhood with a positive relationship to people with disabilities—qualities such as respect, acknowledgement, and love. He suggested that these fundamental human rights should be experienced by a person with a disability

too. However, the reality is the opposite. There is a sense that he feels sadness and a desire to be socially accepted as an equal member of society. However, he acknowledges that some people in his community demonstrate more caring attitudes and actions.

8.4.2 Addressing of Problems of People with Disabilities by SMGEO

Data findings indicate that the organisation does attend to their client's immediate needs.

Rashid, when asked about the help that he has received from the organisation, replied:

"This organisation has only helped me once. They have given me a laundry soap. It has been a long time since I saw them. Today they again invited me to meet you." (Rashid)

Rashid's reflection of service concerning his problems indicates the provision of a material item but suggests that such provision does not occur regularly. There also seems to be no regular contact with the organisation, aside from his invitation to attend this study.

In answering the question about how the organisation addresses the needs of its clients, James explained,

"When we can, we provide soap, sugar for those struggling. Mostly, we provide advice and encourage people to get involved in some form of work." (James)

This response indicates that the organisation provides some direct support to people with disabilities. However, this sort of help is only available to clients when the organisation has the resources to do so.

A point worth highlighting here is that the organisation's effort to respond and directly bring solutions to support clients reaffirms the maintenance approach to solving problems within Dominelli's social work practice model. Using this process, social workers always strive to help individuals regain social normality and control of their life situations. However, the immediate problems and needs do not always receive sufficient attention and response from the organisation. This reality may result from having the limited resources available to tackle such issues and out of the organisation's original remit, which involves focusing more on factors that seem to underlie social problems, the structural defects. Hence, broader social circumstances underlie stigma, social discrimination, misunderstanding regarding disability and the life of a disabled person.

A male respondent, Matthias, at the managerial level, described the action they take:

"We tell the community to value people with disabilities, regard them as part of a community, and that people with disability have the right to live, be heard, and have the same basic needs as anyone else in the community. People with disabilities have the intellectual capacity, knowledge, and effort to make progress. Many people in the community believe that the disabled person cannot even participate in economic activities. This view is incorrect, and it results in a breakdown." (Matthias)

The responses reveal that SMGEO focuses very much on the emancipatory approach to problem-solving concerning issues affecting people with disabilities. The Key is the education of the wider community and creating an awareness of problems faced by people with disabilities.

8.4.3 Impact of SMGEO's Activities: From a Perspective of Service Users – People with Disabilities

This section considers the impact of SMGEO's responses and service to the issues at hand and their clients' (people with disabilities) situations. The discussion is based on understanding the impact of service provision from the users' perspectives. The data findings portray a contradictory picture concerning the service provision and effects of the service. For example, a male respondent, Mohamed, said:

"Support, like things, I have never received. Sometimes they only give you advice on how to make progress, how to improve your life." (Mohamed)

This reflection on the service provided suggests that he has not received any tangible support from the organisation. However, he did receive some help in the form of counselling. This type of support fits within Dominelli's 'therapeutic' category of response, which involves working with the individual by listening to a person's concerns, understanding their story, and giving advice to help individuals solve their problems.

He went on to suggest what he wished to see happening concerning the organisation's service provision:

"I pray that this organisation also would care about us, gives us the services as it declares. Visit us regularly at our homes, and at our places where we work. If possible, give us money or enable us to live our lives in other ways. My biggest request for the organisation is to help me find a

transportation tool, like, Bicycle. This tool will be a great help to me in life." (Mohamed).

Mohamed's account about the service and his experience indicates a mixed picture. He expresses dissatisfaction about the service due to not receiving tangible things, materials that could help his immediate needs to help his living condition. Mohamed would most value the types of service by visiting staff members and money, tangible and material support fitting Dominelli's maintenance response category. In addition, he would like to get a bicycle which would reflect Dominelli's therapeutic approach as it would improve his position through professional intervention.

Mohamed's account reveals another aspect worth noting here. In his reflection, he uses the phrase 'support like things I have never received'. Here the respondent appears to feel that his pressing needs to change his immediate circumstance are not addressed.

This perception that respondents do not see rapid changes in their circumstances is apparent because the organisation focus on broader structural issues.

Another respondent, Fatima gave her reflection on the service provision:

"The organisation shows interest in helping, but only in words. I have never seen any material support from them. The only thing they do is sending people around to register names of people like us, who need help, but help is nowhere to be seen." (Fatima)

She then went further to say:

"I have never been helped anything and they never visited me. But yesterday there was someone giving me one kilogram of sugar." (Fatima)

Fatima's narrative also indicates a sense of dissatisfaction. Fatima points out that the organisation has expressed interest in helping but that this has remained only in the form of words and has not been translated into direct support for her immediate needs in the form of material items.

Another respondent, Rashid, expressed what he wishes to see the organisation doing for him:

"I would advise the organisation to remember us, to help us regularly, for example, flour, soap, even a little money to be able to relieve the difficulty of life." (Rashid)

All respondents' reflections of the service provision they have received indicate one aspect: the association of 'help' with receiving or being given something tangible or of material nature to address their immediate needs. Both women and people with

disabilities, clients to SMGEO, indicate consistent reflections on the service experience and the impact of the organisation's work on their situations and broader society.

SMGEO has positioned itself in the public sphere and has taken upon itself a vital responsibility to intervene in people's social situations and address social needs. When an organisation puts its vision and mission into practice and meets its clients' needs, changes, in reality, become visible. In the case of SMGEO, addressing issues affecting its clients' social wellbeing has not been straightforward. The participants acknowledge the impact of SMGEO at the societal and structural level, but at the individual level, its effect appears to be not very noticeable.

The clients who took part in this investigation are facing immediate problems. The organisation's limited impact on its clients' immediate problems stems from its limited financial capacity and limited personnel. This fact is featured in the response of Matthias, a representative of the managerial level. In reflecting on the organisation's performance, he refers to the shortage of resources and finance, saying:

"Due to the limited capacity, challenges we have, we are reaching out to a few people. Indeed, we have no money, a great resource to have. In general, we do not have anything other than what we are using our performance individual's capacity."

Indeed, the shortage of funds and other necessary resources could potentially affect the organisation's overall performance and specific decisions. For example, recruiting qualified full-time workers might be difficult, and adequately reaching clients and meeting their needs may not be possible.

In general, the data revealed that the organisation focuses much more on advocacy work than addressing its clients' immediate needs. This discrepancy could be rooted in a mismatch of expectations. SMGEO set out to challenge society on the matter of inequality. But when engaging with clients, they would like to see their immediate issues addressed. So, as an organisation, SMGEO must think about the communication and collaboration with their direct clients to ensure a fruitful interaction with and satisfaction of their clients.

Data findings indicated that participants/clients linked to this organisation considered issues that have immediate impacts essential and wish to see them addressed. However, the organisation's responses seem to be directed at the societal and structural levels. Considering both problems that directly impact clients and those emanating from

within societal and structural levels appears to be a challenging undertaking for the organisation.

The following chapter indicates what I have learned from the data and demonstrates how the data provided evidence for the thesis' findings. It concludes by specifying some implications of the research and suggesting future research and recommendations.

9 Conclusion

This study wanted to understand the role that local non-governmental welfare organisations play in addressing the social problems that impact people's wellbeing in Tanzania, using three case studies/organisations that happen to operate in three different country regions. Based on the organisations' focus, this research was conducted in rural and urban settings. The study focussed on what issues the organisations address, what they do to address those issues, and their impact on clients' situations and their respective broader communities.

The discussion in this section comprises aspects from (i) the history of the country regarding social welfare development; (ii) findings that emerged from the data and the usage of Dominelli's model; (iii) Intersectionality understanding of problems-lesson organisations may learn. (iv) Perspectives on social work's role in problem-solving from within Africa; (v) a re-thinking of the use of Dominelli's model in light of the gathered data findings; (vi) The demand and necessity of social protection policy measures to protect vulnerable populations groups; and (vii) criticism of the study including limitations of its contribution and issues worthy of further investigation.

9.1 Lessons Learnt from the History of Social Welfare Development

It seemed essential to have a historical chapter in this work to provide insights about the social welfare development in Tanzania because through looking at the past, we can understand why certain things are done in a certain way in the present. This historical examination has shed light on some efforts and development of social welfare in Tanzania, especially non-governmental welfare organisations, including the three organisations in this study.

Chapter Five looked at the history of social welfare development and indicated how Tanzanian society, like most ancient traditional societies in Sub-Saharan Africa, has for a long time dealt with people's social welfare issues and needs. The effort to solve social problems and support people whose wellbeing is affected by social problems was historically confined within family settings, extended family, and communities. There was no independent private organisation or state provision system to look after the welfare of those in need. Essentially, the social welfare provision for those facing problems was handled by family and the community. However, despite a functioning safety network created through family and community, certain groups within society continued to experience problems due to held traditional attitudes, e.g., towards women by the

patriarchal system as well as the perceptions of people with disabilities. However, history also indicated that traditional ways of life and cultural practice of problem-solving affected when social forces from outside—mainly colonial invasion—interfered with African societies' way of life.

The country of Tanzania went through different stages of colonial occupation. The historical examination indicated that the Tanzanian territory was first invaded and occupied by Germany's colonial government from 1884 to 1919. The colonial invasion and occupation meant that native societies were no longer free to conduct their lives and economic activities, as the humanity and social welfare of the native people was irrelevant to the colonial regime. They became slaves and subjects of the colonial master, who demanded that these people work for the economic interests of the colonial 'home' country. The regime's focus was to exploit raw materials. In the regime's eyes, local people were cheap labour and could be exploited to benefit German society's economic and social development back in Europe.

History also revealed that German missionaries carried out Christian mission work when the German colonial power occupied Tanganyika. Missionary work focused on the social welfare development of indigenous people; however, the main aim was to convert them to the Christian faith. Unlike the ruthless attitude that marked the German colonial regime's involvement with the indigenous population, German missionaries seemed to be more engaging, at least on the surface, though, as indicated by literature, this, in turn, was used by the colonial administration to fulfil its agenda. Missionaries carried out activities, including literacy-education programmes and the provision of health-related services. However, it should be noted that these activities were not geared to liberate native people and to enhance their development, but those were rather a means to convert Africans.

The presence of the Lutheran Christian denomination in Tanzania today represents the German missionary work. The German missionaries, and later on the British missionaries, introduced and formalised the voluntary sector approach to addressing people's welfare issues in Tanzania. Though there may have been other voluntary organisations and international non-governmental welfare organisations working in Tanzania, the work of Western mission organisations laid the foundation for the subsequent emergence of the voluntary sector. The German administration was forced out of Tanzania after losing World War I in 1918. German missionary activities across Tanzania were also forced out of the country during this period.

From the year 1919 to 1961, Tanzanian society once again was occupied by another colonial regime: this time, the British. Like the German administration, the British colonial's move to Tanzania was motivated by acquiring raw materials and increasing African economies' output to compensate for Britain's economic weakness. Upon taking over the Tanzanian colony, the British regime chased out all German military and mission organisations.

Even though this was a challenging time for the native Tanzanian people, a more formalised social welfare system developed. Non-governmental welfare organisations were involved with native people's social concerns while the colonial regime reigned over people. British missionaries and voluntary mission organisations operated, and the British colonial Government acknowledged their work. Thus, non-governmental welfare organisations from the United Kingdom, whose work focused more on tackling the problems that affected native people's social wellbeing, provided medical and health-related services, education in the form of schools, and spiritual services through established churches for the native people. While the voluntary sector was focused on tackling the issues affecting local communities' social wellbeing, the British colonial regime continued with its subjugating agenda. There were efforts by the Government to address a limited number of social concerns, for example, they attempted to set up social welfare centres for returning ex-native military servicemen who were fighting abroad. It was hoped that through educational activities in these social welfare centres, native people would be enlightened and prepared to enter the 21st century, characterised by a civilised modern lifestyle and leadership; however, such attempts were not successful. The colonial regime struggled with implementing a social welfare system sponsored by the state for the Tanzanian people. There was no mutual, respectful, working relationship between the colonial regime and indigenous people; the administration made no effort to determine how native communities thought and felt about addressing social issues. In the end, the British regime decided not to implement a general social welfare system for indigenous people.

In 1961, the British colonial Government relinquished Tanganyika (which became the United Republic of Tanzania in 1964 after unity with Zanzibar) and allowed native people to form a national government. At that time, the social and economic situation of the country was not at all good. High levels of poverty, illiteracy, poor social living conditions, and health-related issues affected many native people. Provisions to deal with these issues were not readily in place for the new Government as they began their job.

The newly appointed Government under the premiership of Julius Nyerere decided that one of its main priorities would be to address the social problems affecting its citizens. During Nyerere's era, many Tanzanians benefited from free social welfare provision. These services relied on international hand-outs rather than the country's own capabilities, which rendered these provisions unsustainable in the long-run. Additionally, as indicated in the historical chapter, the national regime guided by its socialist agenda barred the operation and contribution of the private and voluntary sectors. The Government's attitude and approach, primarily influenced by the negative impact of the colonial legacy, was to present itself as the only body able to deal with the social and economic problems affecting its people. However, as the historical chapter has made apparent, such a position and approach were not appropriate. The Government's efforts in addressing social issues and social welfare-service provision met numerous challenges. Factors such as corruption, a low level of economic production in agriculture, a low level of industries' performance, and a lack of adequate finance hampered the Government's efforts in providing free social welfare services to all Tanzanians. In the 1980s, it became clear that the social and economic contributions of the private and voluntary sectors were indeed needed. The appointed governments that followed after Nyerere recognised the importance of the private and voluntary sectors' contribution to people's economic and social welfare. In contrast to the Nyerere era, the leadership of president Mwinyi from 1985 to 1995 enabled the country to collaborate with outside economic institutions and allowed both local and international NGOs to operate and address social welfare needs. Consequently, after opening up, the voluntary sector, especially non-governmental welfare organisations, began to address actively and support those affected by social problems in the country. Indeed, the emergence and the operation of the three organisations selected for this research could not have been possible if the Government had not allowed NGOs to take an active role in the social welfare concerns of its citizens.

Today Tanzania is an evolving nation; however, it is still relatively weak in providing a full, formalised social welfare service to its citizens. Thus, in the 21st century, Tanzania must continue to grapple with social welfare provision questions, especially helping disadvantaged people. Social problems still affect most people, and those from socially deprived areas and backgrounds who lack support are most affected, and their wellbeing and social functioning are impaired. In this context, the work of the voluntary sector is significant.

The Tanzanian government is currently focusing more on improving infrastructures, with expensive, extensive projects happening across the country constructing roads, bridges, new hospitals, and healthcare centres. A new, large water dam that will have the capacity to generate and supply a huge amount of electricity across the country is underway, as well as a new oil pipeline project shared between Tanzania and Uganda. The government is also reviving industries and the manufacturing sector across the country. It is hoped that by restoring old sectors and setting up new ones in various regions according to each region's agricultural products, livestock, and natural resources, a large population in these regions will benefit from increased job opportunities in the private and public sectors. Some literature emphasises that industrialisation plays a critical role in economic development (Martorano et al., 2017; Mufuruki et al., 2018). Similarly, commenting on this development in Tanzania, Kweka (2018: 2) wrote, "as Tanzania gears towards its vision of becoming a middle-income economy by 2025, the National Five-Year Development Plan 2016/17–2020/21 (FYDP II), published in 2016, identifies industrialisation as the main policy objective and key driver of economic transformation. Indeed, the 5th Phase Government is relentlessly pursuing industrialisation as an overriding priority in the implementation of FYDP II." Despite the importance and priority attached to industrialisation, Kweka (2018) noted that progress on the ground has been slow, especially hampered by the overwhelmingly large amount of finance needed to push progress in many of the FYDP II flagship projects. However, this focus has meant that the social issues critical to citizens' everyday social living are being overlooked, and welfare concerns, especially the concerns of those from disadvantaged backgrounds and areas, are not being addressed by the government.

To a certain extent, the voluntary sector can bridge this gap in service provision. NGOs can act more rapidly as they are typically more flexible and less bureaucratic than government bodies. They can challenge the government in advocating the people's needs as not everybody will benefit from the government's economic initiatives. NGOs should also support initiatives in the deprived areas of the country.

One point worth noting is that the presence and the impact of missionaries' activities in Tanganyika during the colonial era left an indelible mark. Though changes in the voluntary sector have occurred over time, this sector continues to grow in Tanzania. There are different types of organisations: faith-based and secular, involved in tackling people's social welfare concerns. An example of this continuity is the Dogodogo Street Children Trust, formed in 1992 by Sister Maryknoll Jean Pruitt. The Maryknoll Sisters

are a group of Roman Catholic religious women, initially based in New York, involved in missionary work. Though today, this is an entirely secular, locally registered non-governmental organisation.

This investigation and the subsequent data findings indicate that certain social groups in Tanzania are more affected by social issues, including older people in rural settings, street children, women, and people with disabilities. Local non-governmental welfare organisations focus on these social groups; however, what they do and their contribution to improving people's welfare has been under-researched. The current research sought to learn more about these organisations' role and impact on individuals and society.

9.2 Summary of Data Findings Based on Dominelli's Model

I conducted this research in Tanzania with the three selected social welfare organisations, MAPERECE, Dogodogo Street Children Trust, and the SMGEO. As the data findings have shown, each of the organisations that took part in this study has taken upon themselves the responsibility to intervene and address issues affecting some of the most disadvantaged social groups in Tanzania.

Each of the organisations participating in this study is involved with critical social problems that the Government has not sufficiently tackled. Though the Government has put in place various policies, its involvement and implementation at a practical level towards different vulnerable social groups remain weak. As indicated in this study, the Government enacted the 'National Ageing Policy' in 2003. This policy expresses the importance of intervening to help older people realise their essential welfare needs and protect their fundamental human rights. However, the Government fails to adhere to this policy and provide tangible support to older people; thus, this social group in rural areas remains vulnerable.

Additionally, the Government has enacted the 'Persons With Disabilities Act No. 9 of 2010' at the policy level. This Act aims to make provision for the health and social wellbeing of people with disabilities in the country. However, the Government's involvement in supporting people with disabilities remains weak. People with disabilities continue to face problems that affect their wellbeing and personal progress, both economically and socially.

Regarding gender inequality and discrimination against women, the country has gender policies and legislation. The constitution of Tanzania promulgated in 1977 the

amendments that followed both forbid biases based on gender. Additionally, Tanzania formulated the Women and Gender Development Policy (WGDP) in 2000 and the National Gender Development Strategy (NGDS) in 2005 to implement the WGDP. These policies aimed to mainstream gender perspective into policies, programs, and strategies and create opportunities for women to participate in poverty reduction and development. The Government of Tanzania also committed to supporting the increased involvement of women in governmental decision-making by re-enforcing the quota system for female representatives at the national parliamentary and local council levels. Despite having these policies in place, women and girls in Tanzanian society continue to experience abuse, mistreatment, and the deprivation of their fundamental rights. As indicated in this study, the acceptance of customary laws (Customary Law Declaration Order: CLDO of 1963) based on the traditions and customs of communities, and the practice of African traditional religion, hampers the efforts of eliminating gender inequality. Additionally, religion-based laws (such as Islamic Law) often prevail over statutory laws. Consequently, the rights stipulated in statutory laws often go unprotected (Tanzania Women Lawyers Association-TAWLA, 2014).

This social contextual reality in which these vulnerable social groups and others that appear in this study live makes the work and contribution of non-governmental welfare organisations towards improving the wellbeing of the disadvantaged people in Tanzania very significant.

The study's empirical process involved interviewing people connected to the three selected local non-governmental welfare organisations. People who participated in the interviews included those involved in addressing and providing social support. This category comprised individuals at the managerial level and employees/social workers. The other participants were those who received the social service associated with the respective organisations. Interviewing the people who receive and experience services across the three organisations allowed the researcher to obtain information showing the local non-governmental welfare organisations' involvement and activities in response to social problems. More importantly, this study revealed knowledge concerning the contribution of the voluntary sector—local non-governmental welfare organisations—in social problem-solving in the context of Tanzania.

The data findings from the sampled population indicate problems affecting people's wellbeing and their social functioning. Issues that have an immediate effect on

the wellbeing of individuals stem from broader circumstances as source-foundation of difficulties.

Within the three organisations that I worked with during this investigation, all respondents shared issues in common, as follows:

- Respondents-service users experience Health-related challenges across the three organisations. For example, whilst spending time in an unhealthy environment, street children contract physical injuries and illness. Due to cost and distance, older people living with illnesses cannot access treatment.
- Respondents lack a reliable means of income and the knowledge to facilitate the understanding and ability to engage in income-generating business.
- The respondents indicated that they face deficiencies in accessing immediate daily basic needs, such as food, water, a safe living environment, a safe place to sleep, and medical-related services.
- Respondents across the three case studies indicated that they experience stigma, discrimination, and mistreatment.

For example, the data showed that street children are neglected and shunned by the community. In this environment, they experience harassment and endure beatings. The negative and uncaring attitudes of government and society have condemned these children to live in a hazardous environment, lacking all basic needs, leaving them susceptible to harmful situations that impact their physical, mental, and social wellbeing.

The data also indicated that older people, especially older women in rural communities, experienced victimisation, stigmatisation, and social discrimination due to allegations of witchcraft. As a result, older women have faced beatings, and some have lost their lives. On top of that, older people in rural areas lack the necessities to sustain their general wellbeing. Older people also face a problem of self-management and the inability to take care of their living surroundings.

- The respondents indicated that they experience the deprivation of their human rights and the social and economic opportunities they are entitled to.

Data revealed that women participants experience discrimination and abuse in domestic /family settings; they have been deprived of their human rights to freedom of expression, making choices, and pursuing their career goals.

- The data findings have also revealed that people with disabilities are stigmatised, socially discriminated against, and lack social support.

Society's condescending and discriminative attitudes create an unhealthy social living environment for people with disabilities. They feel socially unwanted. The mistreatment and uncaring attitudes of the community stem from misconceptions about disability and people with disabilities.

In understanding why these problems occur, it is essential to note that they have underlying causes within society, at a structural level and in the general cultural attitude. For example, when the government lacks any authentic interventional system at the central and local government levels to support its citizens, especially socially disadvantaged groups, it creates more problems at an individual level. Additionally, the general cultural perceptions and attitudes characterised by misconceptions towards disability and street children, ageing, as indicated in this study, contribute further to the problematic living experience facing these individuals. Addressing these issues is vital, as it would bring about positive perceptions attitudes and create positive changes in enhancing vulnerable individuals' social and physical health well-being.

The reviewed literature for this study revealed social science scholars' perspectives on the above problems shared across the case studies. For example, in Chapter Two's literature review, Lerisse et al. (2007) examined people affected by problems and classified them into a category they named "extremely vulnerable groups". Those placed in this category include individuals who have high exposure to risk and a low capacity to cope. Street children, older people in rural areas, people with disabilities and many women represent vulnerable groups in the Tanzanian society. Mesaki (2016) pointed out that the population in disadvantaged areas are vulnerable and are at risk of a diverse set of outcomes such as impoverishment, ill health, and social exclusion.

The vulnerable populations in Tanzania refer to but are not limited to street children, older people in rural areas, people with disabilities, and many women representing vulnerable groups in Tanzanian society. I used 'the phrase "many women" and not just 'women' to emphasise that there are exceptions to women whose experience of life is affected by discrimination and the prevalence of the culture of inequality in Tanzania (Mtambalike, 2013; Refworld-Canada, 2015).

Because of space, time, and size, the current study has concentrated on finding out the lived experience of older people, street children, women, and people with disabilities concerning problems and service receipt in Tanzania. However, the researcher is aware that many other vulnerable population groups in Tanzania are disadvantaged and equally need social services and protective interventions in society. For example, People

with albinism; People living with a long term illness, such as HIV/AIDS, sexual minorities, homeless people, children, drug addicts, and alcoholics (Hamisi, 2019).

One aspect that surfaces in the literature are how gender is related to vulnerability. When one looks at gender concerning social problems, welfare services, and people in vulnerable life situations, women are defined as being more vulnerable than men within communities in Africa. The vulnerability of female members of societies is related to women's weaker and less protected economic circumstances in certain life situations and lack of support for their needs (Lombe and Sherraden, 2008; Hamisi, 2019). However, one cannot generalise that all women are vulnerable. Hamisi (2019) observed that in Tanzania, widows and many women who cannot support themselves but depend on husbands' provision and yet experience abuse at the hands of abusive partners are vulnerable. Hence, according to Hamisi's observation, vulnerable women include widows who experience marginalisation and women unable to support themselves due to various economic and social processes (Hamisi, 2019). This observation means that not every woman in Tanzania fits to be considered a vulnerable woman, but many are.

Significant progress has been noticeable at political and leadership levels, as many women are currently in leadership positions in Tanzania. There is apparent positive evidence of progress concerning gender inequality in society, as the current president of Tanzania is a female. Indeed, on the one hand, having a female president is an indication that one cannot generalise that all women are vulnerable or treated discriminatorily. However, on the other hand, having a female president and some females in different prominent leadership positions does not mean that there are no gender and inequality issues within the broader society of Tanzania. Still, many women in rural areas and urban areas face particular hardship and are disadvantaged in many vital areas of their lives (Zambelli et al., 2017; Idris, 2018).

Literature concerning vulnerability recognises that social groups are a mix of social variables. Thus, placing people in one group leads to generalised conclusions or, even worse, stigmatisation (Kuran et al., 2020). Tierney (2019) explained that the degree of vulnerability does not depend on any one-dimensional attribute (e.g., to a demographic group, such as the elderly or children) but results from the complex relationship between different factors, like social class, race, sex, and age (Tierney 2019, quoted in Kuran et al. 2020:2). Furthermore, Tierney (2019:127) emphasised that:

"People are not born vulnerable, they are made vulnerable... different axes of inequality combine and interact to form systems of oppression – systems

that relate directly to differential levels of social vulnerability, both in normal times and in the context of disaster. This perspective on vulnerability calls attention to the need to avoid statements like "women are vulnerable" in favour of a more nuanced view."

This view compels us to have a broader assessment of how individuals might be experiencing problems. Hence, considering elements of a person's identity in understanding an individual's vulnerability is vital in engaging and effectively helping individuals.

However, it is also essential to consider the role social structures and institutions play in causing the vulnerability of individuals and social groups, as indicated by some literature (Koch, 2015; Hamisi, 2019). It is essential to be mindful of the structural and social processes and institutions that initially created and sustained this very vulnerability (Koch, 2015). This insight marks out the difference between vulnerability and inherent vulnerability. Someone is made vulnerable by the structure around them. In this case, it is right to argue that women are not necessarily inherently vulnerable, but they tend to be marginalised by the social structure in society (MacIntyre et al., 2019). Indeed, the current study has proven this reality of being the case in Tanzanian society. Problems that, for example, older people and street children face do not result from being a child or an older person but from structural defects. The structure's defects underpin the situations facing these groups.

This study revealed that people with disabilities, street children, and the elderly experience stigma. Stigma against people with disabilities in the Tanzanian context arises from a misunderstanding about impairment and its causes (AbleChildAfrica, 2013). However, the consequences of experiencing stigma on a person's life are highly damaging. According to Mostert and Weich (2017), stigma profoundly affects the people who experience it. It can result in a lowering of status within the community. Stigma and discrimination by society against people with disabilities can create a barrier to people with disabilities exercising their right to full participation in society (Mostert and Weich, 2017).

This study also found that gender inequality and discrimination against women in society are caused by tradition and customs at work in the community, particularly the pervasiveness of patriarchal culture. The physical and psychological abuse many women experience in domestic settings is primarily caused by a culture of male control (Olatunji, 2013). Society must critically examine and challenge the traditions and customs that

create a negative living experience for female community members and potentially affect their personal and social development.

Dominelli's social work model was used as a framework in considering how the organisations respond to the identified problems. The model offers three possible approaches that social workers or an organisation might use in social problem-solving and helping people with problems: the maintenance, therapeutic, and emancipatory approaches. These three are different approaches with different purposes that aim to achieve different outcomes for a client's situation. Depending on the understanding of the nature of the problem, the effort to solve it can be directed at individual cases or the social or societal levels.

Briefly, let me recap what the three approaches in this model entail. According to Dominelli (2009), social workers who utilise the maintenance approach see the primary purpose of social work as maintaining society's social order and social fabric. Maintenance responses seek to provide the necessary support that is appropriate for an individual to function again. Social workers that take a maintenance approach are also more likely to focus simply on an individual (and family relationships) without noticing that many individuals with similar problems expose broader social issues. This approach and response do not ask a practitioner to consider the impact of policies on resource availability for certain needs or the appropriateness of eligibility criteria for groups of people who might be routinely excluded (Dominelli, 2009:12).

The second approach to social work practice is the therapeutic approach. Dominelli (2002c) explained that in therapeutic interventions, the primary, although not only, focal point is interpersonal relations. This approach focuses primarily on what individuals can do to improve their position through targeted professional interventions. A principal aim is to enhance psychological and emotional functioning so that a person can handle their affairs (Dominelli, 2002c:12). Counselling is part of the therapeutic approach. Through listening and counselling, a social worker can explore a client's difficulty, distress they may be experiencing, or perhaps their dissatisfaction with life or loss of a sense of direction and purpose (Dominelli, 2002c). The therapeutic response is interested in understanding the individual's situation by listening to a person while considering the social interactional factors and understanding a wide picture of the social environment surrounding the individual.

The third approach is the emancipatory approach. The emancipatory approach covers a broader spectrum of practice than either the maintenance or therapeutic

procedures (Adams et al., 2009). This approach is associated with radical social work and questions the balance of power in society and resource distribution. It identifies the oppressive nature of social relations and argues that social workers are responsible for doing something about these while helping people as individuals (Dominelli, 2002c). Additionally, Dominelli (2002c:85) clarified that: "Practitioners who follow emancipatory approaches seek to achieve anti-oppressive practice by focusing on the specifics of a situation in a holistic manner and mediating between its personal and structural components."

Dominelli's emancipatory approach features clearly in the three organisations' work as they attempt to address issues affecting their clients' social wellbeing. For example, SMGEO's efforts to address gender inequality and discrimination against women in the community indicate an awareness that problems that affect women's personal and social wellbeing emanate from within society. Their awareness programme helps primary and secondary schools think about issues related to gender inequality, prompting recognition of the underlying cause of discrimination and mistreatment women experience in domestic and social settings. They aim to explain unhelpful cultural notions and attitudes that are influenced by patriarchal culture and carry the notion that men occupy a special social status and are entitled to all privileges. A respondent, James, a manager at SMGEO, said:

"We felt that without engaging with both primary and secondary schools, the realisation of a society characterised by gender equality would be a distant dream in our community... Suppose they are well-educated on these issues. In that case, they may avoid and challenge the wrongly held traditions about the place of men and women in society and the roles woman and man potentially fulfil and create a culture that equally values both men and women." (James)

The study revealed that the social wellbeing of people with disabilities is affected by stigma and discriminatory attitudes in society, damaging their experiencing of life, particularly as some traditional African beliefs about disability are construed on the wrong premises. These misconceptions are, for example, that having a disability is the result of a curse, 'ancestors' punishment, or an indication that a person has wronged God, or that disability is a sign of the laziness of a person not wanting to work. All these fallacies concerning disability yield negative social interactions and discriminatory attitudes in the community towards a disabled person. Data findings from respondent

interviews (of people with physical disabilities linked to SMGEO) made similar observations concerning daily social challenges. They pointed out that stigma, discriminatory attitudes in society and social structure, dislike, and abuse prevent them from living like any other person in their community and progressing socially and economically. Misunderstanding disability plays a large part in creating these unwarranted social, attitudinal barriers in communities. Emancipatory efforts by SMGEO in addressing the problems involves raising awareness of the rights of a person with a disability and challenges any entrenched harmful misunderstanding and attitudes associated with disability and person with a disability at the community and structural level.

A lack of education is a problem that most street children face. Data shows that Dogodogo assesses the person and arranges for the individual to access formal education such as primary education, reflecting an emancipatory approach to solving this issue. What Dogodogo Street Children Trust does is emancipatory, including campaigning to tackle stigma, advocating for street children to attend school, challenging negative perceptions and attitudes concerning who street children are at the society's level.

Also, the Dogodogo Street Children Trust, in their efforts to help, consider situations with an immediate impact on a street child. For example, children and youth living and working in the streets face physical and health problems. Data shows that Dogodogo responds to these issues by sending staff members to assess the children's health conditions and offer first-aid services. If a street child/youth has a serious health condition, the organisation responds by taking the individual to the hospital for further medical treatment. This sort of response reflects the maintenance approach to problem-solving of Dominelli's model. The maintenance response focuses on addressing an individual's immediate situation to recover and continue life.

The data findings suggest a mismatch between the problems faced by service users and their views on how these can best be addressed and the focus of the three organisations who seem to take a longer-term perspective, a structural picture of social problems. Indeed, respondents described their experience of problems that immediately impacted their lives. For example, a male respondent with a physical disability explained how difficult it is to undertake simple yet necessary tasks such as fetching water. Thus, he relied entirely upon other people's mercy around him to support him, but often no one was available or willing to assist him. Findings indicate no actions or suggestions from SMGEO on how to help a person in this situation. Likewise, female respondents (older

people) living alone, linked to MAPERECE, expressed daily difficulties due to a lack of assistance with practical tasks. They stressed the need to have a person or care worker who can be with them daily and help with heavy tasks such as fetching water, cleaning the house, and cooking. However, MAPERECE's managerial staff do not say how they help older people in this situation. Only one female respondent, a social worker, indicated that she does help with maintaining the house and living environment of an older person when she pays a visit to clients. This observation raises important questions about how local NGOs fulfil their role in problem-solving in Tanzania. Particularly how they understand issues affecting clients' functioning and well-being and organisations' capacity to sufficiently cover their needs.

9.3 An Intersectionality Perspective on Understanding Problems

Intersectionality is a fundamental theoretical perspective acknowledged in social science research as a useful conceptual tool to understand the impact of problems. This concept stresses the intersectionality nature of social identities and how multiple social identities of a person potentially contribute to an individual's experiencing disadvantages. Lessons from this theoretical perspective could benefit individuals and organisations in addressing social problems in Tanzania.

The term intersectionality traces its origin to the work of Crenshaw (1989). A female black law professor in the USA, Crenshaw introduced and developed the intersectionality theory. Her research examined how intersecting social identities, especially those from minority identities, are related to systems and structures of oppression and prejudice in American society (Crenshaw, 1989). Also, Crenshaw's research work focused on intersectional feminism. She applied the intersectionality concept within her legal studies discipline to address Black women's experiences. Crenshaw examined the overlapping systems of discrimination that women face because of their ethnicity, sexuality and economic background (Crenshaw 1989; Crenshaw 2011). Many other discussions and research on social issues by contemporary scholars have utilised and built on Crenshaw's intersectionality theory (Emmett and Alant, 2006; Adewunmi, 2014; Wisner, 2016; Miller 2017; MacIntyre et al., 2019; Hamisi, 2019; Hafford-Letchfield and Cocker, 2022; to mention but a few).

Other studies have construed the concept of intersectionality to describe how different elements of a person's identity can be discriminated against, resulting in negative outcomes (MacIntyre et al., 2019; Emmett and Alant, 2006). Depending on the number

of elements of a person's identity, an individual can experience multiple disadvantages or vulnerabilities. This concept intrinsically stresses the need to understand different ways individuals might be vulnerable. The notion of vulnerability is complex because it involves many characteristics of people and groups that expose them to harm and limit their ability to anticipate, cope with, and recover from harm (Wisner, 2016, quoted by Hamisi, 2019:609).

Indeed, the intersectionality model is helpful. It may inform academicians, social work practitioners, or organisations involved in addressing issues about how the different aspects of someone's identity can result in poorly treated in society or increase their chances of being disadvantaged. It is natural for any organisation involved in social problem-solving to have a fixed gaze on a particular kind of need or focus their attention on a specific aspect, the thing it is going to address. An established focus on organisational aims can be perceived as a strength because it gives an organisation a straightforward something to focus on. However, having a fixed focus can also be a weakness because it encourages organisations to abstract some difficulties from broader problems and leaves other issues out of their focus.

From an intersectionality perspective, we briefly examine the multi-dimensional nature of the impact of problems on people's wellbeing examined in this study.

The study revealed that some individuals (clients) are doubly disadvantaged regarding the impact of problems because of the multiple aspects of identities that characterise their lives. The intersectionality perspective believes that experiences can be exacerbated depending on the different characteristics of an individual (MacIntyre et al., 2019).

For example, if you look at the population sample that I have worked with, you will find that there are older people who are also women who also have disabilities. These multiple layers of disadvantage based on different aspects of an individual's identity intersect to result in an even more significant burden for particular groups. To elaborate further, in this case, what happens is that by being a woman, an individual already experiences social discrimination and is often denied such fundamental rights as the right to self-expression and access to social and economic opportunities in society. However, her life is further complicated by being disabled or having disabilities. The stigma attached to disability puts her in a more disadvantaged position that impacts the social aspect of her existence and personal wellbeing. Women with disabilities face more significant levels of poverty. Women in this culture are not being listened to and

constantly struggle to be heard and respected. Emmett and Alant (2006) revealed insights into the social living situation of women with disabilities in African communities, especially from the point of view of the interface of multiple disadvantages. They observed that "women with disabilities are at greater risk of physical, mental, and sexual abuse, and because of stigmatisation, have lower marriage prospects. There are more barriers to access and participation for women than for men" (Emmett and Alant, 2006:445). Individuals or organisations committed to social service provision helping women or older women must be aware of different ways in which the clients experience disadvantageous situations.

Another standout example that illustrates the intersectionality nature of problems is the victimisation, persecution, and killing of older women because they are alleged to be witches in rural communities. MAPERECE's view on this problem is that they see the persecution and killing of older women as primarily a problem of old age and misunderstandings about the physical signs of ageing. However, from an intersectionality perspective, more factors underpin these disadvantageous situations and harmful conditions older women face. MAPERECE must do more to consider the different ways in which older women (clients) are disadvantaged in their social settings.

For example, one characteristic of this group is that they are women, and already women in the community experience unequal treatment and discrimination emanating from held traditional prejudices against them. Women are likely to be significantly disadvantaged because of their gender. An additional characteristic is that these are older women and, by virtue of old age, older women have an added disadvantageous situation, as they are vulnerable and an easy target. The intersectionality concept teaches us that old age is only one social aspect of identity that marks out the older population; one cannot focus on only one part of the person's identity. For example, it is not just old age affecting this group. Older women suffer disadvantages; this reality is reflected in the imbalances in witchcraft-related murders. This situation is happening not simply because there are more women in the elderly population but because women in these communities are disproportionately disadvantaged and severely affected by issues.

Concerning this study, the whole idea of intersectionality acknowledges commonly lived experiences shared across groups. Although the three organisations appear to be geographically distant from each other, each of these populations seems to exhibit the same lived experience of issues. Hence, this study focused on experiencing common problems across the groups, older people, street children, women, and people

with disabilities: stigma, discrimination, marginalisation, poverty, neglect, and lack of social protection.

The intersectionality perspective on understanding the impact of problems can help us understand the diverse ways people might experience difficulties influenced by the multiple characteristics of their identity. Indeed, there are various lessons the organisations may learn from this study; one of them may be to understand further how different sources of disadvantages intersect and interact, and therefore impact individuals. Various contemporary literature emphasises the importance and relevance of intersectionality in studying vulnerabilities. For example, Kuran et al. (2020:1) wrote:

"We promote the application of intersectionality...as a guiding principle in risk and crisis management to provide a better and more nuanced picture of vulnerabilities and vulnerable groups. This can help national and local authorities and agencies formulate specific guides, hire staff with the skills necessary to meet particular needs, and inform vulnerable groups in a particular way, taking into account the differences that may coexist within the same group. Intersectionality allows us to read vulnerability, not as the characteristic of some socio-demographic groups. It is rather the result of different and interdependent societal stratification processes that result in multiple dimensions of marginalisation."

Indeed, organisations involved in helping clients address their living situations must, in their deliberation and actions, consider closely different ways clients might be experiencing social problems due to the multiple dimensions of their identities.

9.4 The Role of Social Work and NGOs in Problem-Solving: African Perspectives

There are several different ways in which social work can be undertaken, and within the context of Africa, there has been a particular focus on the developmental social work approach to resolving social problems. Chapter Four has explained this matter in detail.

This debate, centred on the question of finding the right approach to social work practice in East Africa and Tanzania, led to the emergence of the social developmental approach. Embracing the social developmental model was partly a reaction against the idea of taking on Western, personal-centred social work approaches, such as "maintenance, therapeutic, remedial, casework", and applying them in an African context.

This stance and the decision to use the social developmental approach, and the rejection of individual-oriented methods considered to be 'non-African', influenced the thinking and social work practice of non-governmental welfare organisations, including the three organisations that took part in this investigation.

Consequently, the emphasis placed on using the social developmental approach and undertaking social work that concentrates only on structural problems could result in a gap in service provision through the rejection of individual-focused approaches to problem-solving. Many service users - respondents reported that their immediate needs were not being addressed, as the NGOs focus on the emancipatory approach attempting to tackle broader structural issues, though there is some evidence of using maintenance and therapeutic approaches alongside this. One possible explanation for the emancipatory focus of the organisations with its emphasis on structural issues rather than immediate needs lies in the organisations' initial formulation of services and social problems outlined in their mission and vision statements. Since their formation, it is also likely that they have encountered the necessity to tackle issues of an immediate nature, but this has proven difficult due to resource limitations. The current study has demonstrated the existence of issues with immediate impact and at a broader structural level, therefore emphasising the need to reconsider traditional approaches to understanding social work. Thus, this study utilised Dominelli's model, which represents different ways of thinking and undertaking social work that focuses on immediate and structural issues through the maintenance, therapeutic, and emancipatory approaches.

This is not to undermine the importance of using the social developmental approach in problem-solving. It is a method that significantly impacts issues stemming from within a broader social-cultural structure. Nevertheless, when I consider how this social developmental approach works in practice on the ground, it is important to look at people's immediate needs that are not being addressed. This method almost entirely focuses on social structural, and cultural changes, thus creating a disconnect between clients' immediate needs and their perception of services and service providers' perceptions.

Organisations providing social services in Tanzania must focus on individuals' problems and immediate needs. However, in understanding the importance of focusing on individual needs, I am also aware that social structures and cultural factors underpin the disadvantages these groups face and need urgent attention. These social structural factors include stigma, discrimination, domestic abuse, victimisation, and cultural

attitudes that contribute to the suppression of disadvantaged groups rights in society, for example, through the dominance of patriarchal culture. Among others, these issues indicate how important it is for organisations to address problems at the structural level in Tanzanian society.

9.5 Rethinking of Dominelli's Model in Light of Gathered Data

This section tries to make sense of the model in a real-life situation, focusing on how the model fits into service users' experience, as exhibited by the experience of both the service providers and service users.

Dominelli's model, from a practical point of view, is a helpful framework. However, the boundaries between the different types of activity are not always clear-cut. The way in which the service provider conceptualises the social work task at hand appears to be crucial. A social worker can utilise one or more of the approaches outlined in the model depending on the outcome of an assessment of the situation or problem. The three approaches might overlap at times.

The data indicates that the maintenance and therapeutic approaches are not enough on their own. Simultaneously, the same case studies have shown that using only an emancipatory method in social problem solving is not sufficient to meet the immediate needs of clients in their respective contexts in Tanzania. Therefore, these findings do seem to bring out an implication worth noting. The organisations need to find the right balance between all three approaches to solve problems and support clients in the contexts in which they operate. Applying these methods in a balanced manner is essential, as often clients need immediate help which could enable them to deal with their urgent, pressing situations. Still, clients also need to recognise that the root-causes of their problems are embedded in society and social structures, and that these need to change as well. In contexts like Tanzania where the social structures meant to support citizens' social wellbeing remain weak, merely focussing on individual issues while ignoring the structural causes of the problems may provide short-lived results. However, the question of ability remains. With the current limited resources and financial structure of the organisations, it may not be possible for them to tackle everything as this is a huge task.

One observable point shared by respondents in all three organisations worth discussing is that: respondents share the same understanding of the concept of 'help'. There are respondents (service users) in all three cases that claim to have not been directly helped by their respective organisations. How to make sense of these statements is a

question worth answering. The phrase "I have not received help", could mean that in this culture the idea of 'help' is associated with 'receiving' something or being given something directly, preferably material things. This phrase, "have not received help", is not, in my view, a phrase that should be interpreted as reflecting a negative attitude of service users towards the organisations' service. Moreover, it does not mean that service users do not appreciate what has been done at the social structural and societal level by the organisations. I believe the right interpretation of this phrase lies in understanding the immediate reality of the respondent's living situations. They experience problems at a personal level that limit their social wellbeing and experience of life.

Furthermore, this understanding of the concept of 'help' may indicate another aspect of reality: that is, which matters occupy the respondents' minds and are a priority to them with concern to their needs. Hence, it is about the immediacy of needs and how these can be met. Another implication of such a position is that a person who thinks of 'help' in terms of being given something may not necessarily see an organisation's meaningful work in the broader community, as what is essential for that individual is to know the impact of the organisation's work and service on their situation.

Nevertheless, there is another explanation of why some respondents (service users) may say, 'I have not received help' when asked about the social support of the three organisations. The service users' reflections may indicate a mismatch of understanding between their expectation of the organisation and what the organisation has initially planned and set out to do. For example, the initial understanding of the organisation's role and focus may be advocating and raising awareness on social issues at the structural and broader community level. If clients lack this information or are not adequately informed about what the organisation can and cannot do concerning service provision dissatisfaction and misunderstandings may arise. In such cases, clients can be left with incorrect assumptions and unrealistic expectations regarding the organisation.

For example, MAPERECE's mission is to mobilise and sensitise the public to discard harmful beliefs and values that contribute to the killing of older people in society:

"We do this through creating awareness and education among the community, the establishment of older people forums, lobbying and advocacy of leaders and policymakers on a variety of issues that affect older people" (Magu guide, 2002:4).

The organisation's long-term vision is:

"Striving to create a conducive environment where older people over 60 years live in peace, harmony and are valued by their community" (Magu guide, 2002:4).

As these quotes indicate, the organisations appear to be focusing on tackling structural issues, but the people they work with have immediate support needs. This may also suggest that a dual strategy is required to tackle issues at an individual and structural level.

The SMGEO also targets community and structure with its services. This orientation is reflected in the organisation's vision: "to create a society that upholds gender equality, dignity, respect, and fairness for all to meet socio-economic development." (SMGEO Profile, 2015:5.1vision)

SMGEO's mission is:

"to promote gender equality and freedom effectively and efficiently from discrimination and segregation of all persons (male and female) in the society in general." (SMGEO Profile, 2015:5.2 mission)

The organisation sets out to accomplish the stated mission by providing teachings and information that promote the equal integration of both male and female and disadvantaged groups including people with impaired vision, physical disability, albinism, and deaf people in the whole process of development (SMGEO Profile, 2015). The above statements indicate work that is focused on advocacy as opposed to directly giving material support to change the immediate situation and needs of clients.

However, when the organisations' representatives go to people, they encounter individuals who naturally expect improvement in their individual situations. The findings indicate that different clients have their own immediate needs and their expectations regarding the organisation often seem to correspond with the maintenance and therapeutic types of response. Hence, in this situation, it is not surprising to learn that the clients linked to the three local institutions are not necessarily pleased with the services provided. This means that the involved local agencies and clients are not on the same page in terms of what to expect from their working relationship.

In considering the social services delivered by local non-governmental organisations, this research found two common problems facing all three organisations in their endeavour to fulfil their role. One challenge facing the NGOs in addressing specific social issues in contemporary Tanzania is their lack of resources and limited financial capacity, affecting the organisations' ability to have enough dedicated employees as full-

time workers rather than relying on volunteers who only work when they have free time. The second issue is the lack of strong collaboration and relationship with the government, including government funds. Data indicate small levels of engagement with local authorities, i.e., Dogodogo's efforts in seeking accessibility of public schools for street children. However, there seems to be no evidence of engagement with government bodies that should be able to promote change in society at large. During the course of this investigation, it was made clear by the representatives of these organisations that receiving support from government and the community would boost their work significantly. Still, up to now, the receiving of any support (material or finance) from either the Government or the community remains weak. This picture tells us that the working reality of the local non-governmental organisations operating in Tanzania remains a challenging endeavour.

The three organisations are dealing with complex social issues and to some extent their work is making a difference in the lives of individual clients and communities. As the data findings indicated, street children are provided with a safe place to sleep, access to public education, a vocationally oriented education providing professional skills to start a career, and counselling services through Dogodogo. SMGEO assists female victims of domestic abuse with counselling and helps them to access legal support to receive justice. Additionally, SMGEO is challenging the community at large to abandon the discriminatory attitudes that affect the social wellbeing of both women and people with disabilities. MAPERECE is supporting older people in rural areas, a social group primarily ignored by the government. Older people receive counselling, are educated on their human rights and legal rights, receive material support where possible, and are assisted with their housing issues in the case of abandonment by relatives.

As the data has shown, these local organisations play a significant role in their respective communities. Through their work, MAPERECE, Dogodogo Street children Trust, and the SMGEO help to create a more socially just and fair society for older people, street children, people with disabilities, and women, who are victims of stigma, abuse, social discrimination, and social and gender inequality. The work of these organisations facilitates and enhances individuals' social development, enabling their respective clients to function as members in their respective communities. By focusing their efforts at the societal and structural levels, the organisations address the specifics of situations holistically and mediate between individual and structural components. For example, tackling patriarchal culture, the underlying factor behind domestic abuse, and the physical

and mental mistreatments of women and the lack of justice they often face could potentially have a far-reaching impact. Educating society (boys and girls in schools, male groups, male and female meetings, the police force, and the legal system) about human rights and the impact of gender inequality on women's wellbeing and functioning in society could affect individuals. The emancipatory perspective argues that we must transform communities to benefit the most impoverished and most oppressed (Dominelli, 2009).

As demonstrated in the literature review, we know a reasonable amount about social problems in Tanzania, and we learned about the emergence and history of the voluntary sector and the ways they are involved in addressing those social problems. However, the contributions made by locally initiated non-governmental welfare organisations to tackling social problem on the ground and how they impact the lives of people is not widely known or researched academically. Therefore, this research contributes to closing that knowledge gap by obtaining empirical data on the aims and role of the NGOs and the experiences of those who have been served by those organisations. The research drew on Dominelli's model with its three approaches to social work namely maintenance, therapeutic and emancipatory as a lens to help to understand the way the organisations work and their impact in terms of social welfare provision. The usage of this model also assisted us to understand the strength and weakness of the chosen local organisations in their endeavour to social problem solving as well as contributing to our understanding of the benefits and weaknesses of the model. Two of the three organisations taking part in this research focus on advocacy work pre-dominantly. MAPERECE and SMGEO in particular, set out to challenge specific deficiencies within social structures that underpin social problems affecting people's wellbeing and functioning. For example, MAPERECE was quite successful in tackling the issue of witchcraft in their area of operation as the data have revealed. This is very much in line with the emancipatory approach. However, data also showed that clients felt their immediate needs are not addressed. Thus, both organisations had less focus on maintenance or therapeutic social work tasks. The Dogodogo Street Children Trust does focus more on the maintenance and therapeutic approaches by providing a safe place to sleep, medical care, counselling, and education to street children, although evidence of the emancipatory approach was also found.

Looking at the Tanzanian context, one realizes that issues are immense and diverse, e.g., ranging from individuals suffering from poor health and being unable to

maintain their livelihood to structural issues such as a patriarchal system denying women their rights. Therefore, using a balanced model to social work is important. If you look at Dominelli's model holistically, it provides that balanced model as it covers a broad range of approaches to solving social problems that are of diverse nature which is certainly an advantage in the studied context. However, if only certain components are used, gaps are left, and one may lose sight of issues that could be tackled by another approach.

In the following section, I reflect critically on the study itself, highlighting lessons, limitations, and some aspects of knowledge that the current study has not covered relevant and significant for the ongoing research on social welfare provision in Tanzania.

9.6 Social Protection Policy Measures for the Vulnerable: A Long-term Solution

A long-term solution for addressing critical social issues in Tanzania would be to introduce social protection measures for vulnerable populations. This solution seems to receive more attention in the current debate on how to resolve problems affecting older people and other social groups in Africa and Tanzania.

One critical issue that underpins problems facing disadvantaged social groups is the lack of social protection provision, primarily statutory policy related to social protection. There is a limitation of existing social security for particular groups. For example, few older people in public employment are covered by statutory social protection provision. In Tanzania, the social insurance system is essentially a system of protection for current urban workers, and older people living in the countryside are left out. Lack of statutory social protection coverage leaves many people unprotected and vulnerable to diverse situations, meaning they struggle to recover.

The question and demand for general statutory social protection provided for all older people regardless of one's economic status have been at the centre of academic discussion and advocated by social work practitioners for almost twenty years now. Initially, during the 2000s, international NGOs, the ILO, and some international donors promoted the idea of a non-contributory old-age pension. Only later did the Ministry of Labour in Tanzania also seriously look into the matter. However, in the end, the Ministry of Finance promised to introduce a social pension for older people. Nevertheless, it is still unclear whether this promise will turn into actual delivery (see also, Ulriksen, 2016), as the government still has not taken any significant step to resolve this critical issue.

Now more than ever, the contemporary living reality of many older people in rural communities is challenging. A much needed practical and long-term solution would be for the Tanzanian government to provide equal social protection to all older people and not exclude marginalised older people in rural agricultural-based communities. According to one study in the early 2000s, the elderly people are the least supported, with the International NGO, HelpAge, drawing attention to the impoverishing forces facing the elderly (Lerisse, Mmari & Baruani, 2003:69). Also, there are local non-governmental welfare organizations, included MAPERECE in the Mwanza region and REPSSI (Regional Psychosocial Support Initiative), founders of the KwaWazee pension fund in the Nshamba villages in the Muleba District, north-western Tanzania, to mention but a few, that are dedicated to addressing social welfare needs of older people.

Discussions amongst academics and social work practitioners have highlighted the observation that in the absence of a statutory social protection system and other essential interventional provisions by the government, most older people in Tanzania and across sub-Saharan countries look for support within the family and communities to address their problems. In their research on the availability of social protection mechanisms, especially the absence of statutory social security in Tanzania, Mallya and Mwankanye (1987:227) found that:

"social protection to a large extent embraces mutual assistance mechanisms which are traditionally embodied in the extended family and kinship systems. These mechanisms are based on in-built values of mutual aid and protection with characteristic emphases on interdependence between the family, clan, and village members. In this view, support to older people is given essentially in recognition of their past contribution to society during their active years, and it is bound by a moral rather than a legal force."

However, twenty-four years later, Spitzer and Mabeyo's study (2011) raised the same issue again of the need to have comprehensive statutory social protection coverage for all older people in Tanzania. Their observation attributed the decline in the traditional family network support system for older adults in present-day Tanzania to the erosion of *social structures* and a weakening of cultural norms and obligations (Spitzer and Mabeyo, 2011). They wrote:

"one of our key intentions was to find out to which extent these support mechanisms and structures are in place and how they translate into social

protection in old age. A general observation in both study sites [urban Dar es Salaam and rural communities in Lindi District] was that these structures are in a process of being eroded and apparently affected by different factors such as the effects of liberalized and free market economies as well as the impact of HIV/AIDS. Although the supporting power of families and relatives is obviously still a strong force in social protection for older people...it can also be stated that its scope seems to be in a process of being weakened day by day" (Spitzer and Mabeyo, 2011:106).

The above observation re-enforces a key point worth emphasising. A realisation that reliance on the traditional family network support as a social protection mechanism for people in old age is not guaranteed in the long future. Therefore, this reality necessitates statutory social protection measures as an alternative solution to ensure older people's welfare needs. Likewise, Morisset (2013a) observed that most Tanzanians have no access to social protection provisions and rely instead only on informal support systems. When confronted with financial distress or some other difficulty, over 80 per cent of Tanzanian families say they count on relatives and friends for the support needed (Morisset, 2013a).

Equally, Ulriksen (2016:3) observed that social protection for poor and vulnerable groups in Tanzania was woefully inadequate, with few programmes existing. There were, for instance, programmes that targeted vulnerable children through advocating children's rights, improving their access to essential services and providing assistance to orphans. There were also credit schemes and some counselling and assistance for needy women and people with disabilities (Lerisse, Mmari & Baruani, 2003). Emergency food aid programmes were also in place to provide temporary help for particularly vulnerable groups (poor households in periods of food shortage and refugees) (World Bank, 2011). Nevertheless, a common observation was that most programmes were small scale, covering only specific geographical areas or moments (e.g., in times of poor harvest), and were primarily externally funded (Ulriksen, 2016).

Literature has cited a general lack of financial resources and capacity within government as factors that hinder the full social protection provision to its citizens. However, others have highlighted a lack of political will as an underlying explanation for the state's failure to provide adequate social protection to the poor (Mchomvu et al., 2002; Lerisse, Mmari & Baruani, 2003). Efforts to find solutions to social problems and

improve the living conditions of most Tanzanians have a history in the country. For example, the Development Vision 2025 started under President Mkapa in 1995 and was unveiled in 2000. The Vision was developed through discussions with domestic stakeholders including "Honourable Members of Parliament, all political parties, leaders of various religious denominations, women and youth organizations, chambers of commerce and industry, farmers, professional associations, renowned personalities in our nation's history and ordinary Tanzanians" (President Mkapa in Foreword to the 2025 Vision-United Republic of Tanzania, 2000, in Ulriksen,2016:8). Hence, the Vision is a truly Tanzanian document, although it probably reflects more the views of the political-economic elite than the broad Tanzanian population. The 2025 Vision highlights various impediments to development where; the first is "Donor-Dependence Syndrome and a Dependent and Defeatist Development Mindset" (Ulriksen,2016:8). It further elaborated that "the mindset of the people of Tanzania and their leaders has succumbed to donor dependency and resulting in an erosion of initiative and lack of ownership of the development agenda.... the mindset ... has neither been supportive of hard work, ingenuity, and creativity." (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2000:8). In suggesting solutions to this state of affairs, the Vision states:

"The effective transformation of the mindset and culture to promote attitudes of self-development, community development, confidence and commitment to face development challenges and exploit every opportunity to improve the quality of livelihood is of prime importance. The effective ownership of the development agenda coupled with the spirit of self-reliance at all societal levels is the major driving force for the realisation of the Vision." (United Republic of Tanzania, 2000: 17, quoted by Ulriksen, 2016:9).

Voluntary organisations such as MAPERECE and SMGEO have a limitation on what they can achieve. MAPERECE is not in a position to solve the economic disadvantages that lie at the heart of the problems of older people in rural settings. These local non-governmental organisations can only raise public awareness of these critical issues, including the need for social protection coverage for older people, to try to achieve further government action. Social protection is essential as it is concerned with preventing, managing, and overcoming situations that adversely affect people's well-being—the absence of social protection impacts drivers of poverty and vulnerability (Babajanian, 2013).

To improve the well-being of clients-older people, who are at the heart of MAPERECE's concerns, the organisation must do more to strengthen its involvement, especially establishing a stronger direct connection with individual clients in their living circumstances. At the same time, the organisation must strongly continue pushing the government to provide social protection for all older people, especially those in rural areas left out in the current social protection policy scheme.

9.7 Limitation of the Study and Issues Worthy Investigating Further

In closing the thesis, it should be noted that there are certain limits to its contribution. The presented research focussed on three organisations, their respective clients, and their respective regions of operation. Although contextually based in Tanzania, other organisations in other areas may function and approach social problems differently. Another important aspect worth mentioning is that Tanzania is one country within the global community. Other countries are different and are highly likely to require different social problem-solving approaches due to their history and cultural development.

As a lesson learnt from this research and as an outlook for the potential improvement of services provided by local social welfare organisations in the Tanzanian context, a few points need to be highlighted. Firstly, when undertaking the endeavour to address social issues, it is paramount to consider expectations. The organisations must consider whether they would like to undertake advocacy work mainly or whether they would like to work with individuals in the community to improve their lives. Then, this needs to be communicated clearly to the clients to avoid misunderstandings and potential disappointments. Objective iii) of the study was to "understand whether a client plays a part in assessing and deciding the service needed in their individual situation, or whether it is only the organisation that makes that decision". The data do not reveal an active communication between the service users and the organisation about the service type to deliver and use. Data findings particularly do not indicate the users of services-clients linked to the organisations playing an active role in deciding what service suits their individuals' circumstances. This observation also resonated with the initial purpose that the organisations, MAPERECE and SMGEO, had set out to accomplish. The initial intention was more advocacy work and awareness of social issues. This observation also goes in the direction of a mismatch of expectations between the two parts involved. Greater involvement of people who use services at the development or design stages of a

project might help overcome some of these difficulties around expectations and understanding of social problems. This attitude could result in more meaningful partnership working or co-production, bringing a range of beneficial outcomes for service users and organisations.

Another important aspect is the multi-layered relationship between the NGOs and the government. In this relationship, it is vital to consider the level of collaboration, including the government's level of interference and support. An aspect that is also significant in this relationship is the aspect of finance. The research demonstrated that all organisations lack funding or are dependent on the financial provision that international donors or well-wishers from within the country often provide.

Some of the issues mentioned above could warrant further investigation if opportunities permit.

The data revealed that there is often an issue surrounding the expectations of the organisations and clients. Although this research revealed this issue, it did not dive into how inadequate information about expectations may affect the working relationship between the organisation and its clients. Further research could investigate the communication between service providers and clients. As the work of these local NGOs is not formalised or standardised, it would be interesting to understand how they communicate their approaches, if at all. This aspect could provide a significant impact on the improvement of the services.

This thesis does not fully explore the relationship between the organisations and the Government. This aspect is not only about expectations but also about the actual performance of the Government: it is necessary and warrants further questioning. Such data could help us understand how the Tanzanian Government thinks about and involves non-governmental welfare organisations in solving social problems. Is there a set of expectations in place that both parties are required to meet? What is the Government's responsibility towards local-governmental welfare organisations? What does the Government actually expect from these organisations? It would also be important to include the aspect of standardised procedures in any study of this relationship to ensure the same quality of work across organisations.

Certainly, the Tanzanian government is aware of the work of these local organisations as these organisations are all formally registered.

The organisations do a lot of advocacy work, calling for social policies and practices to enhance clients' social wellbeing, following Dominelli's emancipatory

approach. However, the question of government involvement needs to be raised. The government should listen to the points raised by the local welfare organisations, develop policies accordingly, and ensure that already existing and new policies are implemented successfully on the ground. NGOs need to think about funding mechanisms, and the Government must also consider ways to fund local-NGOs work.

Aside from the relationship between the organisations and the Government, and the Government's actual work and expectations, the data also revealed examples of issues that require structural changes that the government should address. I want to elaborate on two things of particular concern that can profoundly impact older people's wellbeing and social functioning as indicated by the respondents in this study.

The first issue is that older people in rural areas cannot access water due to distance. A lack of access to water brings about hosts of other problems that can jeopardise a person's social functioning and physical and mental wellbeing. This issue is indicative of social structural, and infrastructural deficiencies in rural communities.

The proper intervention and solution to this issue would be for the government to lead the way and work with the local community. An adequate governmental response to the problem of older people's access to water could be to set up a water distribution system that ensures each house can have a tap with running water. This type of solution would have a far more long-term impact on older people's practical living reality and well-being and reduce other stressful issues that potentially affect their safety and physical wellbeing. For example, data findings indicated that older women fear falling down and being physically hurt while carrying water during a long-distance walk. Additionally, there are questions concerning their safety associated with the idea of walking alone.

An interim interventional mechanism that could provide a short-term solution to this issue I believe would be for the local community to have a vehicle. A plan could be put in place to designate a rural community vehicle to bring water and other essential services to older people.

The second issue of concern to older people in rural areas, as indicated by the respondents in this study, is that older people who have health problems cannot attend the hospital because of distance and a lack of proper transport. The availability of health service facilities (health service provision) in a society is vital in ensuring people's wellbeing when threatened by diseases. As indicated in this study, older people with health problems do not receive medical care and treatment because they cannot get to hospitals due to the travel distance.

One may ask, what is the solution to these issues? It seems to me that the responsibility to change the situation lies with the national government. The practical solution is to find transport, a vehicle, that can serve as a local ambulance and be dedicated to helping older people by taking them to hospitals. The government administration should facilitate the funding for such transport. The local community should organise the running of the service and make sure that older people get to hospitals in time for treatment. An alternative solution to this problem would be for the government health welfare ministry to create what I may call a 'mobile healthcare service unit' associated with governmental hospitals in each region and district. This healthcare service unit could have doctors and nurses whose task is to take medical and health-related services to older people in rural communities.

Turning the focus to the problems related to the welfare of street children in Dar es Salaam, let me express some general thoughts concerning intervention.

One general issue concerning the welfare of street children in Dar es Salaam is that street children are without parental guidance. One may argue that this lack of parental guidance and involvement with children is a natural result of them moving away from the home settings. However, in knowing the importance and benefits of street children maintaining a social connection with people and the community around Dar es Salaam and other cities, it was evident that more could be done to foster social interaction and support toward street children.

One way this could be addressed would be to involve the Government in establishing a formal guardianship programme in cities where street children are present. This solution could be in some form of foster care. Families or adults could take children under their wing and support them until they can stand on their own feet.

Such a plan could increase understanding and accepting attitudes toward street children. It could also encourage families from within city communities to become more involved and possibly take a guardianship role to support vulnerable children living in these hazardous environments.

Additionally, the respondents, in this case the street children, indicated that Tanzanian police officers are contributing to the problems they face daily in Dar es Salaam. Therefore, the attitudes, responses, and interactions of police officers with street children are one area that may require further research, as the current study is devoid of the perspectives from the police on street children's welfare. It is recommended that

further training for police officers on the issues faced by street children and the role that the police might play in helping to tackle some of these issues is recommended.

These suggested ideas need to be substantiated by further research-based evidence focusing on the perspective that governmental bodies have on these situations. Of course, the financing of any such measures needs to be considered. If the Government has the will to act, then they must find ways of financing these programmes.

The lack of vital information concerning these issues is a limitation of the current research, as the angle of governmental involvement and their perspective was not explored.

Finally, as explored in this study, it can be said that local non-governmental social welfare organisations contribute significantly to helping and tackling the problems experienced by disadvantaged groups in Tanzania. However, there is undoubtedly room to improve further the situation of those who provide social welfare and those who receive it. This research could inform these organisations about other ways and frameworks to consider problems and practice solving issues. Mainly, Dominelli's social work practice model could be a valuable tool to re-think and maybe reshape the organisations' practice and approach to social problem-solving to help individuals and communities address issues. Social work interventions by local non-governmental welfare organisations can work well and impact situations from Dominelli's framework. Applying this model in their practice could enhance their service provision, promoting vulnerable groups' health and wellbeing, including older people, street children, women, and people with disabilities in the Tanzanian society.

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11 Appendices

Appendix 1: Participant information sheets

Appendix 2: Consent form

Appendix 3: Interview guide

Appendix 4: Participants' profiles

11.1 Appendix 1: Participant Information Sheets

Case study 1: Magu Poverty Focus on Older People Rehabilitation Centre (MAPERECE)

- **Information Sheet for individuals at Managerial level—Magu Poverty Focus on Older People Rehabilitation Centre (MAPERECE)**

Title of the research	An exploration and analysis of the role which local non-governmental welfare agencies play in social services provision and their impact on service-users in Tanzania
Name of department	University of Strathclyde, School of Social Work and Social Policy
Researcher	David Kanyumi, PhD Student
Chief Investigator	Prof. Bernard Harris

Introduction

You are being invited to participate in above research study. Before you decide whether to take part or not to take part it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and why you are involved. Please read through this information sheet carefully and take ample time to consider taking part in this research. You are free to talk to others like family or friends about the research study. The researcher will answer any questions you may have. You are free to withdraw at any time, without giving a reason. This would not affect you in any way.

The researcher conducting this research study is David Kanyumi, a Tanzanian citizen who is currently undertaking a PhD programme in Social Work at the University of Strathclyde in Scotland, United Kingdom.

What is the purpose of this investigation?

The PhD study programme at the University of Strathclyde encourages students to undertake social science-based research investigations on various social issues. Therefore, this research aims to understand the which local non-governmental welfare organisations play in solving social problems, how they mitigate and intervene to provide solutions or support to those faced with social issues in the contemporary Tanzania society. It is hoped that this research might contribute contextual-based knowledge to the understanding of the role local non-governmental organisations play and their impact on those situations that face people in Tanzania.

Why have you been invited to take part?

Through this research, we want to explore social problems of people in Tanzania and how non-governmental organisations are addressing those issues. In order to do so, we would like to interview representatives on the managerial level of your organisation. Your taking part in this investigation will give us valuable information about the type and nature of problems and the organisation's effort and impact on those problems. You have received this information sheet as you were identified as eligible to take part in the study.

Do you have to take part?

Participating in the research and interviews is voluntary. You are free to withdraw at

any time, without giving a reason. This would not affect or impact you in any way. The researcher will not consciously or unconsciously exert any pressure on anyone to take part in this research.

What will you do in the project?

If you are interested in taking part in this study, please tell the staff member from MAPERECE who gave you this sheet. They will then pass your contact details to the researcher. They will contact you by telephone or email or meet you at the office of the organisation to discuss the study further. After signing the Consent Form, the researcher will arrange a convenient time to come and interview you at the organisation's office or any other neutral convenient meeting point. The interview will take about an hour to complete. You will be asked your opinion on social problems and how your organisation is involved in addressing those problems.

You do not have to respond to all questions. You can stop or leave at any time without giving a reason. The interview will be audio-recorded. You will be asked for your permission and you can refuse to be audio-recorded if you wish without providing a reason for this.

Otherwise, you are free to refuse or speak to the researcher about any issues you think may need clarification.

What are the potential benefits to you in taking part?

If you participate in the interview, there may be no direct benefit. However, the information you provide would help us to understand the social situation and the contribution of non-governmental organisations in solving and supporting those affected by those issues.

What are the potential risks to you in taking part?

There are no identified risks of taking part. However, if you decide to take part in this research, you must be aware that you are agreeing to take part in interviews. And your participation may take you away from your normal responsibilities for a short time. The researcher will make every effort to ensure the time you commit to this study is minimised without compromising the quality of the research.

What happens to the information I provide?

The information you provide will be used to analyse the extent and the impact of social problems on people and the role non-governmental organisations play in addressing the issues and their impact on the situations in Tanzania.

Your data may or may not be kept strictly confidential depending on your choice indicated in the Consent Form. In case you opt for confidentiality, this means your personal data like your name will be pseudo-anonymised. Pseudo-anonymisation means your data will be documented in coded form (without using your name but alias name). If you agree that your name can be revealed, this will be used in the research documents.

The Researcher will transcribe all audio-recorded data. Data will be stored by the Researcher in password protected and encrypted files on the University's server and stored for five years following completion of the study. Any printed copies of transcripts will be kept in a secure locker and will be destroyed after completion of the project. Audio-recordings will be destroyed when transcription is complete.

The University of Strathclyde is registered with the Information Commissioner's Office who implements the UK Data Protection Act 1998. All personal data on participants will be processed following the provisions of the Data Protection Act 1998.

Thank you for reading this information – please ask any questions if you are unsure about what is written here.

What happens next?

If after reading this Information Sheet and giving careful consideration, you still wish to take part in this research study, you are asked to sign the Consent Form.

In case you do not wish to take part in this research study, I thank you very much for your time and attention.

After the completion of the research study and the doctoral thesis, the researcher will provide a short general summary of the outcome of the study to MAPERECE. In case you are interested in the outcome of the research, you can contact MAPERECE.

Researcher's contact details:

David Kanyumi

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Chief Investigator details:

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Telephone: +44 (0)141 444 8646

Email: bernard.harris@strath.ac.uk

This investigation was granted ethical approval by the University of Strathclyde Ethics Committee.

If you have any questions/concerns, during or after the investigation, or wish to contact an independent person to whom any questions may be directed, or further information may be sought from, please contact:

Secretary to the University Ethics Committee
Research & Knowledge Exchange Services
University of Strathclyde
Graham Hills Building
50 George Street
Glasgow
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Email: ethics@strath.ac.uk

- **Participant Information Sheet for Employees—Magu Poverty Focus on Older People Rehabilitation Centre (MAPERECE)**

Title of the research	An exploration and analysis of the role which local non-governmental welfare agencies play in social services provision and their impact on service-users in Tanzania
Name of department	University of Strathclyde, School of Social Work and Social Policy
Researcher	David Kanyumi, PhD Student
Chief Investigator	Prof. Bernard Harris

Introduction

You are being invited to participate in the above research study. Before you decide whether to take part or not to take part it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and why you are involved. Please read through this information sheet carefully and take ample time to consider taking part in this research. You are free to talk to others like family or friends about the research study. The researcher will answer any questions you may have. You are free to withdraw at any time, without giving a reason. This would not affect you in any way.

The researcher conducting this research study is David Kanyumi, a Tanzanian citizen who is currently undertaking a PhD programme in Social Work at the University of Strathclyde in Scotland, United Kingdom.

What is the purpose of this investigation?

The PhD study programme at the University of Strathclyde encourages students to undertake social science-based research investigations on various social issues. Therefore, this research aims to understand the role which local non-governmental welfare organisations play in solving social problems, how they mitigate and intervene to provide solutions or support to those faced with social issues in the contemporary Tanzania society. It is hoped that this research might contribute contextual-based knowledge to the understanding of the role local non-governmental organisations play and their impact on those situations that face people in Tanzania.

Why have you been invited to take part?

Through this research, we want to explore social problems of people in Tanzania and how non-governmental organisations are addressing those issues and their impact on service users. In order to do so, we would like to interview employees such as social service workers within this organisation, who are involved directly with service users.

Your participation will give us valuable information about the type and nature of social problems and the role you fulfil in supporting those who face social issues. You have received this information sheet because you were identified as eligible to take part in the study.

Do you have to take part?

Participating in the research and interviews is voluntary. You are free to withdraw at any time, without giving a reason. This would not affect or impact you in any way. The researcher will not consciously or unconsciously exert any pressure on anyone to take part in this research.

What will you do in the project?

If you are interested in taking part in this study, please tell the staff member from MAPERECE who gave you this sheet. They will then pass your contact details to the researcher. They will contact you by telephone or email or meet you at the organisation's office to discuss the study further. After signing the Consent Form, the researcher will arrange a convenient time to come and interview you at the organisation's office or any other neutral convenient meeting point. The interview will take about an hour to complete. You will be asked about your involvement and responsibilities working with people who have social problems.

You do not have to respond to all questions. You can stop or leave at any time without giving a reason. The interview will be audio-recorded. You will be asked for your permission, and you can refuse to be audio-recorded if you wish without providing a reason for this.

Otherwise, you are free to refuse or speak to the researcher about any issues you think may need clarification.

What are the potential benefits to you in taking part?

If you participate in the interview, there may be no direct benefit. However, the information you provide would help us to understand the social situation in Tanzania and existing efforts undertaken by your organisation to address those issues.

What are the potential risks to you in taking part?

There are no identified risks of taking part. However, if you decide to take part in this research, you must be aware that you are agreeing to take part in interviews. And your participation may take you away from your normal responsibilities for a short time. The researcher will make every effort to ensure the time you commit to this study is minimised without compromising the quality of the research.

What happens to the information I provide?

The information you provide will be used to analyse the type and nature of social problems affecting people and how the involvement of the organisation is impacting those situations facing social issues in Tanzania.

Your personal data may or may not be kept strictly confidential depending on your choice indicated in the Consent Form. In case you opt for confidentiality, this means your personal data like your name will be pseudo-anonymised. Pseudo-anonymisation means your personal data will be documented in coded form (without using your name but alias name). If you agree that your name can be revealed, this will be used in the research documents.

All audio-recorded data will be transcribed by the Researcher. Data will be stored by the Researcher in password protected and encrypted files on the University's server and stored for 5 years following completion of the study. Any printed copies of transcripts will be kept in a secure locker and will be destroyed after completion of the project. Audio-recordings will be destroyed when transcription is complete.

The University of Strathclyde is registered with the Information Commissioner's Office who implements the Data Protection Act 1998. All personal data on participants will be processed in accordance with the provisions of the Data Protection Act 1998.

Thank you for reading this information – please ask any questions if you are unsure about what is written here.

What happens next?

If after reading this Information Sheet and giving careful consideration you still wish to take part in this research study, you are asked to sign the Consent Form.

In case you do not wish to take part in this research study, I thank you very much for your time and attention.

After the completion of the research study and the doctoral thesis, the researcher will provide a short general summary of the outcome of the study to MAPERECE. In case you are interested in the outcome of the research, you can contact MAPERECE.

Researcher's contact details:

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Telephone: +44 (0)141 444 8646

Email: bernard.harris@strath.ac.uk

This investigation was granted ethical approval by the University of Strathclyde Ethics Committee.

If you have any questions/concerns, during or after the investigation, or wish to contact an independent person to whom any questions may be directed, or further information may be sought from, please contact:

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- **Information Sheet for Service Users (older people)—Magu Poverty Focus on Older People Rehabilitation Centre (MAPERECE)**

Title of the research	An exploration and analysis of the role which local non-governmental welfare agencies play in social services provision and their impact on service-users in Tanzania
Name of department	University of Strathclyde, School of Social Work and Social Policy
Researcher	David Kanyumi, PhD Student
Chief Investigator	Prof. Bernard Harris

Introduction

You are being invited to participate in the above research study. Before you decide whether to take part or not to take part, you need to understand why the research is being done and why you are involved. Please read through this information sheet carefully and take ample time to consider taking part in this research. You are free to talk to others like family or friends about the research study. The researcher will answer any questions you may have. You are free to withdraw at any time, without giving a reason. This decision would not affect you in any way.

The researcher conducting this research study is David Kanyumi, a Tanzanian citizen who is currently undertaking a PhD programme in Social Work at the University of Strathclyde in Scotland, United Kingdom.

What is the purpose of this investigation?

The PhD study programme at the University of Strathclyde encourages students to undertake social science-based research investigations on various social issues. Therefore, this research aims to understand the role which local non-governmental welfare organisations play in solving social problems, how they mitigate and intervene to provide solutions or support to those faced with social issues in the contemporary Tanzania society. It is hoped that this research might contribute contextual-based knowledge to the understanding of the role local non-governmental organisations play and their impact on those situations that face people in Tanzania.

Why have you been invited to take part?

We want to explore social problems of people in Tanzania and the impact of the efforts by the local non-governmental organisation on those problems. And we want to learn how the organisation addresses social problems and support those who are faced by those situations. In order to do so, we would like to interview people who receive support from this organisation (social service users).

Your taking part in this study will give us valuable information about the type and nature of problems and the support available and help us to understand how important the role local non-governmental organisation play or could play in social problem-solving in Tanzania. You have received this information sheet as you were identified as eligible to take part in the study.

Do you have to take part?

Participating in the research and interviews is voluntary. You are free to withdraw at any time, without giving a reason. This would not affect or impact you in any way. The

researcher will not consciously or unconsciously exert any pressure on anyone to take part in this research.

What will you do in the project?

If you are interested in taking part in this study, please tell the staff member from MAPERECE who gave you this sheet. They will then pass your contact details to the researcher. They will contact you by telephone or email or meet you at the organisation's office to discuss the study further. After signing the Consent Form, the researcher will arrange a convenient time to come and interview you at the organisation's office or any other neutral convenient meeting point. The interview will take about an hour to complete. You will be asked of your experiencing social problems and what kind of support and service you are receiving from MAPERECE and how you see the support is impacting your life.

You do not have to feel you must respond to all questions. You can stop or leave at any time without giving a reason. The interview will be audio-recorded. You will be asked for your permission, and you can refuse to be audio-recorded if you wish without providing a reason for this.

Otherwise, you are free to refuse or speak to the researcher about any issues you think may need clarification.

What are the potential benefits to you in taking part?

If you participate in the interview, there may be no direct benefit. However, the information you provide would help us to understand the social situation and existing efforts by a non-governmental organisation in social problem-solving Tanzania.

What are the potential risks to you in taking part?

There are no identified risks of taking part. However, if you decide to take part in this research, you must be aware that you are agreeing to take part in interviews. And your participation may take you away from your normal responsibilities for a short time. The researcher will make every effort to ensure the time you commit to this study is minimised without compromising the quality of the research.

What happens to the information I provide?

The information you provide will be used to analyse the impact of the efforts of the non-governmental organisations on social problems on people in Tanzania

Your personal data may or may not be kept strictly confidential depending on your choice indicated in the Consent Form. In case you opt for confidentiality, this means your personal data like your name will be pseudo-anonymised. Pseudo-anonymisation means your personal data will be documented in coded form (without using your name but alias name). If you agree that your name can be revealed, this will be used in the research documents.

All audio-recorded data will be transcribed by the Researcher. Data will be stored by the Researcher in password protected and encrypted files on the University's server and stored for 5 years following completion of the study. Any printed copies of transcripts will be kept in a secure locker and will be destroyed after completion of the project. Audio-recordings will be destroyed when transcription is complete.

The University of Strathclyde is registered with the Information Commissioner's Office who implements the Data Protection Act 1998. All personal data on participants will be processed in accordance with the provisions of the Data Protection Act 1998.

Thank you for reading this information – please ask any questions if you are unsure about what is written here.

What happens next?

If after reading this Information Sheet and giving careful consideration you still wish to take part in this research study, you are asked to sign the Consent Form.

In case you do not wish to take part in this research study, I thank you very much for your time and attention.

After the completion of the research study and the doctoral thesis, the researcher will provide a short general summary of the outcome of the study to MAPERECE. In case you are interested in the outcome of the research, you can contact MAPERECE.

Researcher's contact details:

David Kanyumi

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Email: david.kanyumi@strath.ac.uk

Chief Investigator details:

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University of Strathclyde, School of Social Work and Social Policy

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This investigation was granted ethical approval by the University of Strathclyde Ethics Committee.

If you have any questions/concerns, during or after the investigation, or wish to contact an independent person to whom any questions may be directed or further information may be sought from, please contact:

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Email: ethics@strath.ac.uk

Case study 2: Participant Information Sheet for Dogodogo Street Children Trust

- **Information Sheet for individuals at Managerial level—Dogodogo Street Children Trust**

Title of the research	An exploration and analysis of the role which local non-governmental welfare agencies play in social services provision and their impact on service-users in Tanzania
Name of department	University of Strathclyde, School of Social Work and Social Policy
Researcher	David Kanyumi, PhD Student
Chief Investigator	Prof. Bernard Harris

Introduction

You are being invited to participate in above research study. Before you decide whether to take part or not to take part it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and why you are involved. Please read through this information sheet carefully and take ample time to consider taking part in this research. You are free to talk to others like family or friends about the research study. The researcher will answer any questions you may have. You are free to withdraw at any time, without giving a reason. This would not affect you in any way.

The researcher conducting this research study is David Kanyumi, a Tanzanian citizen who is currently undertaking a PhD programme in Social Work at the University of Strathclyde in Scotland, United Kingdom.

What is the purpose of this investigation?

The PhD study programme at the University of Strathclyde encourages students to undertake social science-based research investigations on various social issues. Therefore, this research aims to understand the role which local non-governmental welfare organisations play in solving social problems, how they mitigate and intervene to provide solutions or support to those faced with social issues in the contemporary Tanzania society. One problem area the research wants to investigate is issues affecting the welfare of street children in Tanzania and the support available to them. It is hoped that this research might contribute contextual-based knowledge to the understanding of the role local non-governmental organisations play and their impact on those situations that face people in Tanzania.

Why have you been invited to take part?

We want to explore social problems of street children in Tanzania and how your organisation is addressing those issues. In order to do so, we would like to interview representatives of the organisation.

Your participation will give us valuable information about the type and nature of problems affecting the social wellbeing of street children and help us understand the impact the organisation is having on those situations. You have received this information sheet as you were identified as eligible to take part in the study.

Do you have to take part?

Participating in the research and interviews is voluntary. You are free to withdraw at

any time, without giving a reason. This would not affect or impact you in any way. The researcher will not consciously or unconsciously exert any pressure on anyone to take part in this research.

What will you do in the project?

If you are interested in taking part in this study, please tell the staff member from the Dogodogo Street Children Trust who gave you this sheet. They will then pass your contact details to the researcher. They will contact you by telephone or email or meet you at the organisation's office to discuss the study further. After signing the Consent Form, the researcher will arrange a convenient time to come and interview you at the organisation's office or any other neutral convenient meeting point. The interview will take about an hour to complete. You will be asked your opinion on social problems and how your organisation is involved in addressing those problems.

You do not have to respond to all questions, and you can stop or leave at any time without giving a reason. The interview will be audio-recorded. You will be asked for your permission, and you can refuse to be audio-recorded if you wish without providing a reason for this. Otherwise, you are free to refuse or speak to the researcher about any issues you think may need clarification.

What are the potential benefits to you in taking part?

If you participate in the interview, there may be no direct benefit. However, the information you provide would help us to understand the social situations facing street children and the existing efforts and think how best to deal with social problems.

What are the potential risks to you in taking part?

There are no identified risks of taking part. However, if you decide to take part in this research, you must be aware that you are agreeing to take part in interviews. And your participation may take you away from your normal responsibilities for a short time. The researcher will make every effort to ensure the time you commit to this study is minimised without compromising the quality of the research.

What happens to the information I provide?

The information you provide will be used to analyse the social issues and extent and the impact of the organisation's efforts in supporting street children.

Your personal data may or may not be kept strictly confidential depending on your choice indicated in the Consent Form. In case you opt for confidentiality, this means your personal data like your name will be pseudo-anonymised. Pseudo-anonymisation means that your personal data will be documented in coded form (without using your name but alias name). If you agree that your name can be revealed, this will be used in the research documents.

The Researcher will transcribe all audio-recorded data. Data will be stored by the Researcher in password protected and encrypted files on the University's server and stored for five years following completion of the study. Any printed copies of transcripts will be kept in a secure locker and will be destroyed after completion of the project. Audio-recordings will be destroyed when transcription is complete.

The University of Strathclyde is registered with the Information Commissioner's Office who implements the UK Data Protection Act 1998. All personal data on participants will be processed in accordance with the provisions of the Data Protection Act 1998.

Thank you for reading this information – please ask any questions if you are unsure about what is written here.

What happens next?

If after reading this Information Sheet and giving careful consideration you still wish to take part in this research study, you are asked to sign the Consent Form.

In case you do not wish to take part in this research study, I thank you very much for your time and attention.

After the completion of the research study and the doctoral thesis, the researcher will provide a short general summary of the outcome of the study to Dogodogo Street Children Trust. In case you are interested in the outcome of the research, you can contact Dogodogo Street Children Trust.

Researcher's contact details:

David Kanyumi

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University of Strathclyde, School of Social Work and Social Policy

Glasgow G4 0LT

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Chief Investigator details:

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This investigation was granted ethical approval by the University of Strathclyde Ethics Committee.

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Email: ethics@strath.ac.uk

- **Information Sheet for Employees level—Dogodogo Street Children Trust**

Title of the research	An exploration and analysis of the role which local non-governmental welfare agencies play in social services provision and their impact on service-users in Tanzania
Name of department	University of Strathclyde, School of Social Work and Social Policy
Researcher	David Kanyumi, PhD Student
Chief Investigator	Prof. Bernard Harris

Introduction

You are being invited to participate in the above research study. Before you decide whether to take part or not to take part it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and why you are involved. Please read through this information sheet carefully and take ample time to consider taking part in this research. You are free to talk to others like family or friends about the research study. The researcher will answer any questions you may have. You are free to withdraw at any time, without giving a reason. This would not affect you in any way.

The researcher conducting this research study is David Kanyumi, a Tanzanian citizen who is currently undertaking a PhD programme in Social Work at the University of Strathclyde in Scotland, United Kingdom.

What is the purpose of this investigation?

The PhD study programme at the University of Strathclyde encourages students to undertake social science-based research investigations on various social issues. Therefore, this research aims to understand the role which local non-governmental welfare organisations play in solving social problems, how they mitigate and intervene to provide solutions or support those faced with social issues in the contemporary Tanzania society. One problem area the research wants to investigate is issues affecting the social wellbeing of street children and the support available to them. It is hoped that this research might contribute contextual-based knowledge to the understanding of the role local non-governmental organisations play and their impact on those situations that face people in Tanzania.

Why have you been invited to take part?

We want to explore social problems affecting social wellbeing of street children, and the role Dogodogo street children Trust fulfils in addressing the welfare needs and its impact on the life of street children. In order to do so, we would like to interview employees such as social service workers within this organisation who work directly with street children-service users.

Your participation in this study will give us valuable information about the type and nature of problems and help us to understand the role and impact the organisation is having on the situations face street children. You have received this information sheet as you were identified as eligible to take part in the study because you are directly involved with street children.

Do you have to take part?

Participating in the research and interviews is voluntary. You are free to withdraw at

any time, without giving a reason. This would not affect or impact you in any way. The researcher will not consciously or unconsciously exert any pressure on anyone to take part in this research.

What will you do in the project?

If you are interested in taking part in this study, please tell the staff member from the Dogodogo Street Children Trust who gave you this sheet. They will then pass your contact details to the researcher. They will contact you by telephone or email or meet you at the organisation's office to discuss the study further. After signing the Consent Form, the researcher will arrange a convenient time to come and interview you at the office of the organisation or any other neutral convenient meeting point. The interview will take about an hour to complete. You will be asked about your involvement and responsibilities working with street children affected with social problems.

You do not have to respond to all questions, and you can stop or leave at any time without giving a reason. The interview will be audio-recorded. You will be asked for your permission, and you can refuse to be audio-recorded if you wish without providing a reason for this.

Otherwise, you are free to refuse or speak to the researcher about any issues you think may need clarification.

What are the potential benefits to you in taking part?

If you participate in the interview, there may be no direct benefit. However, the information you provide would help us to understand social issues affecting social wellbeing of street children and the organisation's effort in tackling and supporting street children and the impact the organisation might have on those situations.

What are the potential risks to you in taking part?

There are no identified risks of taking part. However, if you decide to take part in this research, you must be aware that you are agreeing to take part in interviews. And your participation may take you away from your normal responsibilities for a short time. The researcher will make every effort to ensure the time you commit to this study is minimised without compromising the quality of the research.

What happens to the information I provide?

The information you provide will be used to analyse the type and nature of social problems facing street children and how the organisation addresses these issues.

Your personal data may or may not be kept strictly confidential depending on your choice indicated in the Consent Form. In case you opt for confidentiality, this means your personal data like your name will be pseudo-anonymised. Pseudo-anonymisation means your data will be documented in coded form (without using your name but alias name). If you agree that your name can be revealed, this will be used in the research documents.

The Researcher will transcribe all audio-recorded data. Data will be stored by the Researcher in password protected and encrypted files on the University's server and stored for five years following completion of the study. Any printed copies of transcripts will be kept in a secure locker and will be destroyed after completion of the project. Audio-recordings will be destroyed when transcription is complete.

The University of Strathclyde is registered with the Information Commissioner's Office who implements the Data Protection Act 1998. All personal data on participants will be processed in accordance with the provisions of the Data Protection Act 1998.

Thank you for reading this information – please ask any questions if you are unsure about what is written here.

What happens next?

If after reading this Information Sheet and giving careful consideration you still wish to take part in this research study, you are asked to sign the Consent Form.

In case you do not wish to take part in this research study, I thank you very much for your time and attention.

After the completion of the research study and the doctoral thesis, the researcher will provide a short general summary of the outcome of the study to Dogodogo Street Children Trust. In case you are interested in the outcome of the research, you can contact Dogodogo Street Children Trust.

Researcher's contact details:

David Kanyumi

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Chief Investigator details:

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Email: bernard.harris@strath.ac.uk

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Research & Knowledge Exchange Services

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Email: ethics@strath.ac.uk

- **Information Sheet for Service Users (street children)—Dogodogo Street Children Trust**

Title of the research	An exploration and analysis of the role which local non-governmental welfare agencies play in social services provision and their impact on service-users in Tanzania
Name of department	University of Strathclyde, School of Social Work and Social Policy
Researcher	David Kanyumi, PhD Student
Chief Investigator	Prof. Bernard Harris

Introduction

You are being invited to participate in the above research study. Before you decide whether to take part or not to take part it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and why you are involved. Please read through this information sheet carefully and take ample time to consider taking part in this research. You are free to talk to others like family or friends about the research study. The researcher will answer any questions you may have. You are free to withdraw at any time, without giving a reason. This would not affect you in any way.

The researcher conducting this research study is David Kanyumi, a Tanzanian citizen who is currently undertaking a PhD programme in Social Work at the University of Strathclyde in Scotland, United Kingdom.

What is the purpose of this investigation?

The PhD study programme at the University of Strathclyde encourages students to undertake social science-based research investigations on various social issues. Therefore, this research aims to understand the role which local non-governmental welfare organisations play in solving social problems affecting street children, how they mitigate and intervene to provide solutions or support to those issues in the contemporary Tanzania society. It is hoped that this research might contribute contextual-based knowledge to the understanding of the role local non-governmental organisations play and their impact on those situations that face street children.

Why have you been invited to take part?

We want to explore and understand social problems and how Dogodogo street children trust addresses these issues and its significant impact on those issues. In order to do so, we would like to interview people who have experienced these issues and receive social support services from this organisation (social service users).

This will give us valuable information about the type and nature of problems and the support available and help us determine the capacity and level of effectiveness of professional support by particular social work organisations in Tanzania. You have received this information sheet as you were identified as eligible to take part in the study.

Do you have to take part?

Participating in the research and interviews is voluntary. You are free to withdraw at

any time, without giving a reason. This would not affect or impact you in any way. The researcher will not consciously or unconsciously exert any pressure on anyone to take part in this research.

What will you do in the project?

If you are interested in taking part in this study, please tell the staff member from the Dogodogo Street Children Trust who gave you this sheet. They will then pass your contact details to the researcher. They will contact you by telephone or email or meet you at the organisation's office to discuss the study further. After signing the Consent Form, the researcher will arrange a convenient time to come and interview you at the organisation's office or any other neutral convenient meeting point. The interview will take about an hour to complete. You will be asked of your experiencing social problems and what kind of support and service you are receiving from Dogodogo Street Children Trust and how it helps you.

You do not have to respond to all questions. You can stop or leave at any time without giving a reason. The interview will be audio-recorded. You will be asked for your permission, and you can refuse to be audio-recorded if you wish without providing a reason for this.

Otherwise, you are free to refuse or speak to the researcher about any issues you think may need clarification.

What are the potential benefits to you in taking part?

If you participate in the interview, there may be no direct benefit. However, the information you provide would help us to understand the social problems affecting the wellbeing of street children, and how does the organisation intervene in the situation. Also, learn possible ways to improve conditions.

What are the potential risks to you in taking part?

There are no identified risks of taking part. However, if you decide to take part in this research, you must be aware that you are agreeing to take part in interviews. And your participation may take you away from your normal responsibilities for a short time. The researcher will make every effort to ensure the time you commit to this study is minimised without compromising the quality of the research.

What happens to the information I provide?

The information you provide will be used to analyse the extent and the impact of social problems on people in Tanzania and how particular social work organisations approach those and provide support.

Your personal data may or may not be kept strictly confidential depending on your choice indicated in the Consent Form. In case you opt for confidentiality, this means your personal data like your name will be pseudo-anonymised. Pseudo-anonymisation means your personal data will be documented in coded form (without using your name but alias name). If you agree that your name can be revealed, this will be used in the research documents.

All audio-recorded data will be transcribed by the Researcher. Data will be stored by the Researcher in password protected and encrypted files on the University's server and stored for 5 years following completion of the study. Any printed copies of transcripts will be kept in a secure locker and will be destroyed after completion of the project. Audio-recordings will be destroyed when transcription is complete.

The University of Strathclyde is registered with the Information Commissioner's Office who implements the Data Protection Act 1998. All personal data on participants will be processed in accordance with the provisions of the Data Protection Act 1998.

Thank you for reading this information – please ask any questions if you are unsure about what is written here.

What happens next?

If after reading this Information Sheet and giving careful consideration you still wish to take part in this research study, you are asked to sign the Consent Form.

In case you do not wish to take part in this research study, I thank you very much for your time and attention.

After the completion of the research study and the doctoral thesis, the researcher will provide a short general summary of the outcome of the study to Dogodogo Street Children Trust. In case you are interested in the outcome of the research, you can contact Dogodogo Street Children Trust.

Researcher's contact details:

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Case study 3: Participant Information for Social Mainstreaming for Gender Equality Organisation (SMGEO)

- Information Sheet for individuals at Managerial Level—Social Mainstreaming for Gender Equality Organisation (SMGEO)**

Title of the research	An exploration and analysis of the role which local non-governmental welfare agencies play in social services provision and their impact on service-users in Tanzania
Name of department	University of Strathclyde, School of Social Work and Social Policy
Researcher	David Kanyumi, PhD Student
Chief Investigator	Prof. Bernard Harris

Introduction

You are being invited to participate in above research study. Before you decide whether to take part or not to take part it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and why you are involved. Please read through this information sheet carefully and take ample time to consider taking part in this research. You are free to talk to others like family or friends about the research study. The researcher will answer any questions you may have. You are free to withdraw at any time, without giving a reason. This would not affect you in any way.

The researcher conducting this research study is David Kanyumi, a Tanzanian citizen who is currently undertaking a PhD programme in Social Work at the University of Strathclyde in Scotland, United Kingdom.

What is the purpose of this investigation?

The PhD study programme at the University of Strathclyde encourages students to undertake social science-based research investigations on various social issues. Therefore, this research aims to understand the role which local non-governmental organisations play in solving social problems, how they mitigate and intervene to provide solutions or support to those faced with social issues in the contemporary Tanzania society. One problem area the research wants to investigate is issues affecting the social wellbeing of women and people with disabilities and the support available to them. This research would give us contextual-based knowledge to the understanding of the social problems caused by inequality and discrimination to women and people with disabilities and understand the role and impact of Social Mainstreaming for Gender Equality Organisation (SMGEO) on those issues.

Why have you been invited to take part?

We want to explore how inequality and discrimination affect the living experience of women and people with disabilities and learn how SMGEO is tackling these issues and what are the impacts of their service provision on people who face those situations.

In order to do so, we would like to interview representatives of your organisation. Your participation in this study will give us valuable information about the problems that women and people with disabilities face because of the existence of inequality and

discrimination in society and understand the role and impact SMGEO has on those situations. Hence, you have received this information sheet as you were identified as eligible to take part in the study.

Do you have to take part?

Participating in the research and interviews is voluntary. You are free to withdraw at any time, without giving a reason. This would not affect or impact you in any way. The researcher will not consciously or unconsciously exert any pressure on anyone to take part in this research.

What will you do in the project?

If you are interested in taking part in this study, please tell the staff member from the Social Mainstreaming for Gender Equality Organisation (SMGEO) who gave you this sheet. They will then pass your contact details to the researcher. They will contact you by telephone or email or meet you at the organisation's office to discuss the study further. After signing the Consent Form, the researcher will arrange a convenient time to come and interview you at the organisation's office or any other neutral convenient meeting point. The interview will take about an hour to complete. You will be asked your opinion on social problems and how your organisation is involved in addressing those problems.

You do not have to respond to all questions during the interview, and you can stop or leave at any time without giving a reason. The interview will be audio-recorded. You will be asked for your permission, and you can refuse to be audio-recorded if you wish without providing a reason for this.

Otherwise, you are free to refuse or speak to the researcher about any issues you think may need clarification.

What are the potential benefits to you in taking part?

If you participate in the interview, there may be no direct benefit. However, the information you provide will help us to understand the social situation affecting women and people with disabilities in Tanzania and how best to deal with it.

What are the potential risks to you in taking part?

There are no identified risks of taking part. However, if you decide to take part in this research, you must be aware that you are agreeing to take part in interviews. And your participation may take you away from your normal responsibilities for a short time. The researcher will make every effort to ensure the time you commit to this study is minimised without compromising the quality of the research.

What happens to the information I provide?

The information you provide will be used to analyse the extent and the impact of social problems on people in Tanzania and how particular social work organisations approach those and provide support.

Your personal data may or may not be kept strictly confidential depending on your choice indicated in the Consent Form. In case you opt for confidentiality, this means your personal data like your name will be pseudo-anonymised. Pseudo-anonymisation means your personal data will be documented in coded form (without using your name but alias name). If you agree that your name can be revealed, this will be used in the research documents.

The Researcher will transcribe all audio-recorded data. Data will be stored by the Researcher in password protected and encrypted files on the University's server and held for five years following completion of the study. Any printed copies of transcripts will be kept in a secure locker and will be destroyed after completion of the project. Audio-recordings will be destroyed when transcription is complete.

The University of Strathclyde is registered with the Information Commissioner's Office who implements the UK Data Protection Act 1998. All personal data on participants will be processed following the provisions of the Data Protection Act 1998.

Thank you for reading this information – please ask any questions if you are unsure about what is written here.

What happens next?

If after reading this Information Sheet and giving careful consideration, you still wish to take part in this research study, you are asked to sign the Consent Form.

In case you do not wish to take part in this research study, I thank you very much for your time and attention.

After the completion of the research study and the doctoral thesis, the researcher will provide a short general summary of the outcome of the study to SMGEO. In case you are interested in the outcome of the research, you can contact SMGEO.

Researcher's contact details:

David Kanyumi
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University of Strathclyde, School of Social Work and Social Policy
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Telephone: +44 79 5178 5398
Email: david.kanyumi@strath.ac.uk

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This investigation was granted ethical approval by the University of Strathclyde Ethics Committee.

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Glasgow
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Telephone: 0141 548 3707
Email: ethics@strath.ac.uk

- **Information Sheet for Employees—Social Mainstreaming for Gender Equality Organisation (SMGEO)**

Title of the research	An exploration and analysis of the role which local non-governmental welfare agencies play in social services provision and their impact on service-users in Tanzania
Name of department	University of Strathclyde, School of Social Work and Social Policy
Researcher	David Kanyumi, PhD Student
Chief Investigator	Prof. Bernard Harris

Introduction

You are being invited to participate in the above research study. Before you decide whether to take part or not to take part it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and why you are involved. Please read through this information sheet carefully and take ample time to consider taking part in this research. You are free to talk to others like family or friends about the research study. The researcher will answer any questions you may have. You are free to withdraw at any time, without giving a reason. This would not affect you in any way.

The researcher conducting this research study is David Kanyumi, a Tanzanian citizen who is currently undertaking a PhD programme in Social Work at the University of Strathclyde in Scotland, United Kingdom.

What is the purpose of this investigation?

The PhD study programme at the University of Strathclyde encourages students to undertake social science-based research investigations on various social issues. Therefore, this research aims to understand the role which local non-governmental organisations play in solving social problems, how they mitigate and intervene to provide solutions or support to those faced with social issues in the contemporary Tanzania society. One problem area the research wants to investigate is issues affecting the social wellbeing of women and people with disabilities and the support available to them. This research would give us contextual-based knowledge to the understanding of the social problems caused by inequality and discrimination to women and people with disabilities and understand the role and impact of Social Mainstreaming for Gender Equality Organisation (SMGEO) on those issues.

Why have you been invited to take part?

We want to explore social problems of gender inequality and discrimination and their impact on women and people with disabilities and learn about the social service you provide to the affected by these issues. In order to do so, we would like to interview employees such as social service workers within this organisation, who are directly involved with clients.

Your participation in this study will give us valuable information about the problems and the support available and help us determine the capacity and how your role impact change in the life of your clients. Therefore, you have received this information sheet as you were identified as eligible to take part in the study because you are directly involved with clients.

Do you have to take part?

Participating in the research and interviews is voluntary. You are free to withdraw at any time, without giving a reason. This would not affect or impact you in any way. The researcher will not consciously or unconsciously exert any pressure on anyone to take part in this research.

What will you do in the project?

If you are interested in taking part in this study, please tell the staff member from the Social Mainstreaming for Gender Equality Organisation (SMGEO) who gave you this sheet. They will then pass your contact details to the researcher. They will contact you by telephone or email or meet you at the organisation's office to discuss the study further. After signing the Consent Form, the researcher will arrange a convenient time to come and interview you at the organisation's office or any other neutral convenient meeting point. The interview will take about an hour to complete. You will be asked about your involvement and responsibilities by working with people having social problems.

You do not have to respond to all questions, and you can stop or leave at any time without giving a reason. The interview will be audio-recorded. You will be asked for your permission, and you can refuse to be audio-recorded if you wish without providing a reason for this.

Otherwise, you are free to refuse or speak to the researcher about any issues you think may need clarification.

What are the potential benefits to you in taking part?

If you participate in the interview, there may be no direct benefit. However, the information you provide would help us to understand the social situation in Tanzania and how best to deal with it.

What are the potential risks to you in taking part?

There are no identified risks of taking part. However, if you decide to take part in this research, you must be aware that you are agreeing to take part in interviews. And your participation may take you away from your normal responsibilities for a short time. The researcher will make every effort to ensure the time you commit to this study is minimised without compromising the quality of the research.

What happens to the information I provide?

The information you provide will be used to analyse the extent and the impact of social problems on people in Tanzania and how particular social work organisations approach those and provide support.

Your personal data may or may not be kept strictly confidential depending on your choice indicated in the Consent Form. In case you opt for confidentiality, this means your personal data like your name will be pseudo-anonymised. Pseudo-anonymisation means your personal data will be documented in coded form (without using your name but alias name). If you agree that your name can be revealed, this will be used in the research documents.

The Researcher will transcribe all audio-recorded data. Data will be stored by the Researcher in password protected and encrypted files on the University's server and held for five years following completion of the study. Any printed copies of transcripts

will be kept in a secure locker and will be destroyed after completion of the project. Audio-recordings will be destroyed when transcription is complete.

The University of Strathclyde is registered with the Information Commissioner's Office who implements the Data Protection Act 1998. All personal data on participants will be processed in accordance with the provisions of the Data Protection Act 1998.

Thank you for reading this information – please ask any questions if you are unsure about what is written here.

What happens next?

If after reading this Information Sheet and giving careful consideration you still wish to take part in this research study, you are asked to sign the Consent Form.

In case you do not wish to take part in this research study, I thank you very much for your time and attention.

After the completion of the research study and the doctoral thesis, the researcher will provide a short general summary of the outcome of the study to SMGEO. In case you are interested in the outcome of the research, you can contact SMGEO.

Researcher's contact details:

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- **Information Sheet for Service Users (women and people with disabilities)—Social Mainstreaming for Gender Equality Organisation (SMGEO)**

Title of the research	An exploration and analysis of the role which local non-governmental welfare agencies play in social services provision and their impact on service-users in Tanzania
Name of department	University of Strathclyde, School of Social Work and Social Policy
Researcher	David Kanyumi, PhD Student
Chief Investigator	Prof. Bernard Harris

Introduction

You are being invited to participate in above research study. Before you decide whether to take part or not to take part it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and why you are involved. Please read through this information sheet carefully and take ample time to consider taking part in this research. You are free to talk to others like family or friends about the research study. The researcher will answer any questions you may have. You are free to withdraw at any time, without giving a reason. This would not affect you in any way.

The researcher conducting this research study is David Kanyumi, a Tanzanian citizen who is currently undertaking a PhD programme in Social Work at the University of Strathclyde in Scotland, United Kingdom.

What is the purpose of this investigation?

The PhD study programme at the University of Strathclyde encourages students to undertake social science-based research investigations on various social issues. Therefore, this research aims to understand the role which local non-governmental welfare organisations play in solving social problems, how they mitigate and intervene to provide solutions or support those faced with social issues in the contemporary Tanzania society. One problem area the research wants to investigate is the problem of inequality and discrimination and their impact on the social wellbeing of women and people with disabilities in Tanzania and the support available to them. It is hoped that this research will contribute contextual-based knowledge to the understanding of the role and impact of Social Mainstreaming for Gender Equality Organisation (SMGEO) on those issues.

Why have you been invited to take part?

We want to explore the experiencing of social problems and service that SMGEO provides to those who face social issues. In order to do so, we would like to interview people who receive support from this organisation (social service users).

Your participation in this study will give us valuable information about the type and nature of problems and the support available and help us determine the capacity and significant impact of the organisation on the social situation. Therefore, you have received this information sheet as you were identified as eligible to take part in the study.

Do you have to take part?

Participating in the research and interviews is voluntary. You are free to withdraw at

any time, without giving a reason. This would not affect or impact you in any way. The researcher will not consciously or unconsciously exert any pressure on anyone to take part in this research.

What will you do in the project?

If you are interested in taking part in this study, please tell the staff member from the Social Mainstreaming for Gender Equality Organisation (SMGEO) who gave you this sheet. They will then pass your contact details to the researcher. They will contact you by telephone or email or meet you at the organisation's office to discuss the study further. After signing the Consent Form, the researcher will arrange a convenient time to come and interview you at the organisation's office or any other neutral convenient meeting point. The interview will take about an hour to complete. You will be asked of your experiencing social problems and what kind of support and service you are receiving by SMGEO and how it helps you.

You do not have to respond to all questions, and you can stop or leave at any time without giving a reason. The interview will be audio-recorded. You will be asked for your permission, and you can refuse to be audio-recorded if you wish without providing a reason for this.

Otherwise, you are free to refuse or speak to the researcher about any issues you think may need clarification.

What are the potential benefits to you in taking part?

If you participate in the interview, there may be no direct benefit. However, the information you provide would help us to understand the social situation in Tanzania and how best to deal with it.

What are the potential risks to you in taking part?

There are no identified risks of taking part. However, if you decide to take part in this research, you must be aware that you are agreeing to take part in interviews. And your participation may take you away from your normal responsibilities for a short time. The researcher will make every effort to ensure the time you commit to this study is minimised without compromising the quality of the research.

What happens to the information I provide?

The information you provide will be used to analyse the extent and the impact of social problems on people in Tanzania and how particular social work organisations approach those and provide support.

Your personal data may or may not be kept strictly confidential depending on your choice indicated in the Consent Form. In case you opt for confidentiality, this means your personal data like your name will be pseudo-anonymised. Pseudo-anonymisation means your personal data will be documented in coded form (without using your name but alias name). If you agree that your name can be revealed, this will be used in the research documents.

The Researcher will transcribe all audio-recorded data. Data will be stored by the Researcher in password protected and encrypted files on the University's server and stored for five years following completion of the study. Any printed copies of transcripts will be kept in a secure locker and will be destroyed after completion of the project. Audio-recordings will be destroyed when transcription is complete.

The University of Strathclyde is registered with the Information Commissioner's Office who implements the Data Protection Act 1998. All personal data on participants will be processed in accordance with the provisions of the Data Protection Act 1998.

Thank you for reading this information – please ask any questions if you are unsure about what is written here.

What happens next?

If after reading this Information Sheet and giving careful consideration you still wish to take part in this research study, you are asked to sign the Consent Form.

In case you do not wish to take part in this research study, I thank you very much for your time and attention.

After the completion of the research study and the doctoral thesis, the researcher will provide a short general summary of the outcome of the study to SMGEO. In case you are interested in the outcome of the research, you can contact SMGEO.

Researcher's contact details:

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11.2 Appendix 2: Consent Form

Title of the research	An exploration and analysis of the role which local non-governmental welfare agencies play in social services provision and their impact on service-users in Tanzania
Name of department	University of Strathclyde, School of Social Work and Social Policy
Researcher	David Kanyumi, PhD Student
Chief Investigator	Prof. Bernard Harris

- I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet for the above project and the researcher has answered any queries to my satisfaction.
- I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw from the project at any time, up to the point of completion, without having to give a reason, and without any consequences. If I exercise my right to withdraw, and I do not want my data to be used, any data which have been collected from me will be destroyed.
- I understand that I can withdraw from the study any personal data (i.e. data which identify me personally) at any time.
- I understand that pseudo-anonymised data (i.e. data which do not identify me personally) cannot be withdrawn once they have been included in the study.
- I choose that
 - any information recorded in the investigation will remain confidential, and no information that identifies me will be made publicly available.
 - any information that can identify me can be made publicly available.
- I consent to be a participant in the project.
- I consent to be audio recorded as part of the project.

(PRINT NAME)

Signature of Participant:

Date:

11.3 Appendix 3: Interview Guides

Interview guide for one-to-one (semi-structured interviews)

Participants were individuals at a managerial level within the organisations, individual social workers within selected organisations. Also, individual social service users linked to the chosen organisations were asked varying questions concerning social issues and support depending on the position a person holds.

Case study 1: Magu Poverty Focus on Older People Rehabilitation Centre (MAPERECE)

Managerial level

- What is your position within MAPERECE?
- Why is this issue of the social welfare of older persons in rural areas of interest/concern to you personally?
- What do you see as being the critical problems facing older people in rural areas?
- Why do you personally think those problems exist?
- Can you please tell me why MAPERECE was founded?
- Why is the issue of the social welfare of older persons in rural areas of concern to MAPERECE?
- What is the involvement of MAPERECE in addressing the problems you have just mentioned?
- How does MAPERECE identify its clients?
- Whom does MAPERECE target with its services and support? Is it every older person in the villages or only some older persons?
- How does MAPERECE establish its clients' needs?
- What sort of training on social issues and service delivery does MAPERECE provide to its social service workers?
- Does MAPERECE engage at an individual level, family level, or even community level in addressing social problems and providing support to your clients?
- What resources does MAPERECE have or rely on that enable it to provide services to its clients?
- Does MAPERECE use established social systems such as the local council welfare support system?
- What differences do you see in the lives of your clients and wider society as a result of MAPERECE's work?
- What does the term 'social work' mean, in your opinion?
- Would you categorise MAPERECE as a social work organisation?

- What could be the challenges for your organisation in the long-term in fulfilling its assumed role?

Employees—social service workers

- What problems does an older person face here?
- How do you identify your clients' needs?
- Do you consider the client only, or does your consideration involve wider assessments such as the situation in the family and the community and social support structure by local council/government?
- What is your role within the organisation?
- What does your daily work involve?
- What duties do you fulfil while with your client?
- How are you trained to fulfil your role?
- What challenges do you face in your daily endeavour to help and support older people?
- What skills and knowledge do you possess that helps you in this endeavour?
- In providing services to your client, do you involve only the client or also family members or the whole community?
- How significant is your involvement and service provision to older persons?
- Do you see your work impacting the community in which your clients live?
- What do you think can be improved in your way of providing services to older people?
- What does the term 'social work' mean to you?
- Do you think that what you are involved in is social work?

Service users (older people)

- What kind of difficulties have you faced in your old age?
- What fears or anxiety do you have about growing old?
- How did you come into contact with the organisation?
- What kind of support do you receive from the organisation?
- In what ways has the support that you have received been helpful to you?
- Do you receive any support from other sources apart from the organisation? If yes, what kind of support and from whom?
- What is good about the service you receive, and what could be improved?

Case study 2: Dogodogo Street Children Trust, Dar es Salaam

Managerial level

- What is your position within the Dogodogo Street Children Trust?
- Why is this issue of the social welfare of street children of interest/concern to you personally?
- What do you think are the critical problems faced by children/young people living in the streets in the areas you work?
- Why do you personally think that these problems exist?
- Can you please tell me why the Dogodogo Street Children Trust was founded?
- Why is this issue of the social welfare of street children of concern to Dogodogo?
- What is the involvement of the Dogodogo Street Children Trust in addressing the problems you have mentioned?
- How does the Dogodogo Street Children Trust identify its clients?
- Whom does the Dogodogo Street Children Trust target with its services and support? Is it every child on the streets or particular children?
- How does the Dogodogo Street Children Trust establish its clients' needs?
- What sort of training does the Dogodogo Street Children Trust provide to its social service workers?
- Does the Dogodogo Street Children Trust engage at an individual level, family level, or even community level in addressing social problems and providing support to your clients?
- What resources does the Dogodogo Street Children Trust have or rely on that enable it to provide services to its clients?
- Does the Dogodogo Street Children Trust use established social systems such as local council welfare support systems?
- What differences do you see in the lives of your clients and wider society as a result of the Dogodogo Street Children Trust's work?
- What does the term 'social work' mean, in your opinion?
- Do you think that what Dogodogo is involved in is social work?
- What could be the challenges for your organisation in the long-term in fulfilling its assumed role?

Employees—social service workers

- What problems and challenges does a child/person on the street face?
- How do you identify your clients' needs?

- Do you consider the client only, or does your consideration involve wider assessments such as the situation in the family and the community and social support structure by local council/government?
- What is your role within the organisation?
- What does your daily work involve?
- What duties do you fulfil while with your client?
- How are you trained to fulfil your role?
- What challenges do you face in your daily endeavour to help and support children/young people in the streets?
- What skills and knowledge do you possess that helps you in this endeavour?
- In providing services to your client, do you involve only the client or also family members or the whole community?
- How significant is your involvement and service provision to your clients?
- Do you see any impact of your work in the community in which your clients live in?
- What do you think can be improved by providing service to street children?
- What does the term 'social work' mean to you?
- Do you think that what you are involved in is social work?

Service users (street children)

- What difficult situations have you faced living in the streets?
- How did you come into contact with the organisation?
- What kind of support services do you receive and who provides that support?
- In what ways has the support that you have received been helpful to you?
- Do you receive any support from other sources apart from the organisation? If yes, what kind of support and by whom?
- What is good about the service you receive, and what could be improved?

Case study 3: Social Mainstreaming for Gender Equality Organisation (SMGEO) in, Morogoro, Tanzania

Managerial level

- What is your position in SMGEO?
- Why is the issue of gender equality of interest/concern to you personally?
- What is your personal opinion of the underlying cause of gender inequality?
- Why do you personally think that this inequality exists?
- Can you please tell me why SMGEO was founded?
- Why is the issue of gender equality in society of concern to SMGEO?
- What is the involvement of SMGEO in addressing the problems you have mentioned?
- In what ways has gender inequality affected the clients whom SMGEO supports?
- How does SMGEO identify its clients?
- Whom does SMGEO target with its services and support?
- How does SMGEO establish its clients' needs?
- What sort of training does SMGEO provide to its social service workers?
- Does SMGEO engage at an individual level, family level, or even community level in addressing social problems and providing support to its clients?
- What resources does SMGEO have or rely on that enables it to provide services to its clients?
- Does SMGEO use established social systems such as the local council welfare support system?
- What noticeable changes in the society do you see as a result of the efforts and social work by SMGEO?
- What does the term 'social work' mean, in your opinion?
- Do you think that what SMGEO is involved in is social work?
- What could be the challenges for SMGEO in the long-term in fulfilling its mission?

Employees—social service workers

- In what ways have the clients you work with experienced discrimination?
- How do you identify your clients' needs?
- Do you consider the client only, or does your consideration involve wider assessments such as the situation in the family and the community and social support structure by local council/government?

- What is your role within the organisation?
- What does your daily work involve?
- What duties do you fulfil while with your client?
- How are you trained to fulfil your role?
- What challenges do you face in your daily endeavour to help and support discriminated people?
- What skills and knowledge do you possess that help you in this endeavour?
- In providing services to your client, do you involve only the client or also family members or the whole community?
- How significant is your involvement and service provision to your clients?
- How do you see your work impacting the community in which your clients live?
- What areas do you think need improvement concerning providing service to people facing inequality?
- What does the term 'social work' mean to you?
- Do you think that what you are involved in is social work?

Service users (women, people with disabilities)

- Have you ever been in a situation where you have felt discriminated against?
- In cases where you experienced discrimination, in what way did the event affect the way you see yourself and the way you think of the society around you?
- How did you come into contact with the organisation?
- What kind of support do you receive from the organisation?
- In what ways has the support you have received been helpful to you?
- Do you receive any support from other sources apart from the organisation? If yes, what kind of support and by whom?
- What is good about the service you receive, and what could be improved?

11.4 Appendix 4: Participants' Profiles

#	Organisation	Role	Pseudonyms	Gender	Age	Characteristics	Date interviewed	Place
1	MAPERECE	Managerial	Paul	Male		Programm coordinator	18-Sep-18	Magu district
2	MAPERECE	Managerial	Peter	Male		Director	18-Sep-18	Magu district
3	MAPERECE	Managerial	Joel	Male		Finance officer	20-Sep-18	Magu district
4	MAPERECE	Managerial	Msuya	Male		Transport officer	25-Sep-18	Magu district
5	MAPERECE	Social Worker	Emmakulata	Female		Social worker	18-Sep-18	Magu district
6	MAPERECE	Social Worker	Mark	Male		Older People Forum Leader	18-Sep-18	Magu district
7	MAPERECE	Social Worker	Maria	Female		Social worker	19-Sep-18	Magu district
8	MAPERECE	Social Worker	Joanna	Female		Social worker	20-Sep-19	Magu district
9	MAPERECE	Service User	Thomas	Male	72	Retired teacher and farmer	20-Sep-18	Magu-Lugeye Village
10	MAPERECE	Service User	Michael	Male	68	Small farming	20-Sep-18	Magu-Lugeye Village
11	MAPERECE	Service User	Joyce	Female	70	Used to do small farming, no children	20-Sep-18	Magu-Lugeye Village
12	MAPERECE	Service User	Margret	Female	68	Living alone w/o children	20-Sep-18	Magu-Lugeye Village
13	MAPERECE	Service User	Esther	Female	80	Poor health; living alone	21-Sep-18	Magu-Ibongoya 'A' Village
14	MAPERECE	Service User	Mageni	Female	78	Lives alone w/o children; poor health	21-Sep-18	Magu-Ibongoya 'A' Village
15	MAPERECE	Service User	Nelson	Male	58	Voluntary leader of older people's forum	21-Sep-18	Magu-Ibongoya 'A' Village
16	MAPERECE	Service User	Maganiko	Male	70	Living with his wife	21-Sep-18	Magu-Ibongoya 'A' Village
17	MAPERECE	Service User	Henry	Male	70	Retired teacher; small business	21-Sep-18	Magu-Ibongoya 'A' Village
18	MAPERECE	Service User	Lukas	Male	55	Local council officer; interested in changing welfare structure	21-Sep-18	Magu-Bugomba Village
19	MAPERECE	Service User	Buyegi	Female	75	Survived attached, lost fingers, sustained physical injuries; living alone	21-Sep-18	Magu-Bugomba Village
20	MAPERECE	Service User	Jonathan	Male	70	Some support by relatives	21-Sep-18	Magu-Bugomba Village
21	MAPERECE	Service User	Samuel	Male	65	Farmer	21-Sep-18	Magu-Bugomba Village
22	MAPERECE	Service User	Masanja	Male	60	Village chairman; farming	21-Sep-18	Magu-Bugomba Village
23	Dogodogo	Managerial	Shija	Male		Director	12-Oct-18	City of Dar es Salaam
24	Dogodogo	Managerial	Kulwa	Male		Team Leader	13-Oct-18	City of Dar es Salaam
25	Dogodogo	Managerial	Alfred	Male		Head Vocational Centre	15-Oct-18	City of Dar es Salaam
26	Dogodogo	Social Worker	Mayunga	Male		Social Worker	17-Oct-18	City of Dar es Salaam
27	Dogodogo	Social Worker	Timothy	Male		Social Worker-Sport	17-Oct-18	City of Dar es Salaam
28	Dogodogo	Social Worker	Josephine	Female		Social Worker	17-Oct-18	City of Dar es Salaam
29	Dogodogo	Social Worker	Aisha	Female		Social Worker	18-Oct-18	City of Dar es Salaam
30	Dogodogo	Social Worker	Leonard	Male		Social Worker-sport	18-Oct-18	City of Dar es Salaam
31	Dogodogo	Service User	Lydia	Female	20	Used to be street child, but works as a tailor now	15-Oct-18	City of Dar es Salaam
32	Dogodogo	Service User	Suzan	Female	19	Used to be street child, but works as a tailor now (originally from Dar es Salaam)	15-Oct-18	City of Dar es Salaam
33	Dogodogo	Service User	Seba	Male	22	Used to be street child, but works as a carpenter now (originally from Dar es Salaam)	15-Oct-18	City of Dar es Salaam
34	Dogodogo	Service User	Nicolas	Male	16	From Mwanza; from troubled background	17-Oct-18	City of Dar es Salaam
35	Dogodogo	Service User	Andrea	Male	18	From Mwanza; poverty led him to Dar es Salaam	17-Oct-18	City of Dar es Salaam
36	Dogodogo	Service User	Kevin	Male	19	From Tabora region; loss of a parent and lack of care by relatives	17-Oct-18	City of Dar es Salaam
37	Dogodogo	Service User	Kishishi	Male	17	From Kigoma; poverty led him to Dar es Salaam	17-Oct-18	City of Dar es Salaam
38	SMGEO	Managerial	Matthias	Male		Chairperson	13-Nov-18	Morogoro-Chamwino Area
39	SMGEO	Managerial	James	Male		Programm Coordinator	13-Nov-18	Morogoro-Chamwino Area
40	SMGEO	Managerial	Martha	Female		Volunteer social worker	13-Nov-18	Morogoro-Chamwino Area
41	SMGEO	Managerial	Richard	Male		Board member	13-Nov-18	Morogoro-Chamwino Area
42	SMGEO	Managerial	Benjamin	Male		Board member	13-Nov-18	Morogoro-Chamwino Area
43	SMGEO	Social Worker	Janet	Female		Social worker	13-Nov-18	Morogoro-Chamwino Area
44	SMGEO	Social Worker	Moses	Male		Finance officer	13-Nov-18	Morogoro-Chamwino Area
45	SMGEO	Social Worker	Mapela	Male		Information Officer	13-Nov-18	Morogoro-Chamwino Area
46	SMGEO	Service User	Rahel	Female	unk	Small business; abusive control by husband	14-Nov-18	Morogoro-Chamwino Area
47	SMGEO	Service User	Aliya	Female	unk	Widow, sells donuts	14-Nov-18	Morogoro-Chamwino Area
48	SMGEO	Service User	Dilek	Female	unk	Experienced discrimination	14-Nov-18	Morogoro-Chamwino Area
49	SMGEO	Service User	Neema	Female	unk	No direct experience of harassment; small business	14-Nov-18	Morogoro-Chamwino Area
50	SMGEO	Service User	Eriety	Female	unk	Chairperson of women's forum; abused domestically	14-Nov-18	Morogoro-Chamwino Area
51	SMGEO	Service User	Mohamed	Male	unk	Not able to walk w/o aids; lives with wife and 3 children; shoe repair and cleaning	15-Nov-18	Morogoro-Chamwino Area
52	SMGEO	Service User	Rashid	Male	unk	Not able to walk, using aids; fixing shoes for a living	15-Nov-18	Morogoro-Chamwino Area
53	SMGEO	Service User	Fatima	Female	unk	Living alone as all 7 children died; disfigured hands and feet; begging for a living	15-Nov-18	Morogoro-Chamwino Area

Organisation	Participant role	Number of participants	Number of participants	Total
MAPERECE	Managerial	4	22	53
	Social Worker	4		
	Service User	14		
Dogodogo	Managerial	3	15	
	Social Worker	5		
	Service User	7		
SMGEO	Managerial	5	16	
	Social Worker	3		
	Service User	8		

Interviews with individuals of Magu Poverty Focus on Older People Rehabilitation Centre (MAPERECE)

Managerial level:

(1). Interview with **Paul**—male

Place: Magu office, Mwanza

Role: Program coordinator

Interview took place on 18th Oct 2018

What is your position within MAPERECE?

Answer: A member of the organisation, an employee (employer), specifically I am a coordinator, responsible for carrying out service programs to clients.

Why is this issue of social welfare of the older persons in rural areas of interest and concern to you personally?

Older people are valid members of our society and have contributed significantly to the ongoing life of this society, nation, and development of the young generation, economically, socially, and politically. The social welfare and development of older people in rural areas are of concern to me, because we owe our existence to the older generation. Neglecting them or treating them in an undignified manner as has been the case in some parts of rural areas is appalling. The threat and killing of older people in rural areas are of extreme concern to me and something needed to be done to create a social and economic environment that is favourable to their personal growth and social development. When I look at an older person, I see myself being that age, and I cannot sit back and do nothing while older people are being killed and neglected in rural areas.

Can you please tell me some of the responsibilities associated with your position in the organisation?

The responsibilities attached to my role are as follows:

To monitor and coordinate all MAPERECE's agreed activities taking place with various clients and around the community nearby and far away, outside the Magu district. Also, representing the organisation at multiple levels such as at Government level (local and district meetings organised by the ministry of health, children, community, and older people). Also, to attend seminars and a conference organised by NGOs on international and intersectoral discussion about social issues. Organisations such as UNICEF, do conduct a variety type of seminars, workshops. Specifically, I am involved in addressing the rights of older women. There is a great need for older people, especially older women,

to know that they have specific rights on various issues. I do provide education in the community related to rights and law-related issues concerning older people in the community and how the community could meaningfully contribute towards enabling older people to live in peace and meet their social and economic needs within their community. I sensitise the surrounding communities within which older people are residing towards the realised fact that community needs to be upfront in creating a conducive environment in which older people feel safe. Older people deserve respect, not intimidation or threats, and their social and economic needs can be realised.

What challenges or difficulties do you see facing older people in rural areas?

I think older people in communities are facing challenges and not problems.

How do you differentiate these terms 'challenges' and 'problems'? A challenge can be discussed and can be resolved. For example, a wound on a leg can be treated and healed. But 'problems' cannot necessarily be solved. For example, if someone has their hand cut off entirely as a result of a severe accident, they then will have to remain with one hand for the rest of their life, and this in my view is a problem, something that remains unresolved. So, the challenges facing the elderly in rural communities may be divided into three groups: these are social-related challenges, rights and law-related challenges, and economy-related challenges.

Could you please clarify each challenge you have mentioned and how each challenge relates to an older persons' life experiences?

In general principle, anyone in the community can face the above challenges. Still, when it comes to older people, the situation is very acute and unique, and it draws particular attention.

I mentioned first what I see as socially caused challenges. Social-related challenges are apparent when a community has negative views and attitudes towards older people. In this setting, because a person is old, society tends to turn a blind eye, ignore and not acknowledge the existence of an elderly person. Consequently, an elderly person feels unwanted, a burden, is seen as nobody, is not consulted for anything, and is not seen as a valid active member of the society. MAPERECE involves educating the community about the social welfare-related challenges facing older people. We believe that by giving education to the wider community, we can help bring a positive perspective and attitude towards older people.

A second set of challenges that confront an elderly person is what I call 'rights and law-related' challenges. Some of the held traditions and customs in some communities tend

to undermine and endanger the life of older people. Some of these traditions and customs serve as obstacles to the life experience and social development of old people, especially old women in some communities in Tanzania. For example, in some of the ethnic groups, still, a woman is not seen a person with certain rights, who is not allowed to own land or inherit property. So, through tackling various cases brought to our attention, MAPERECE has classified this as an issue of great concern and therefore is involved in educating the community about it and emphasising that a woman be given a chance to own or inherit a land or property, as much chance as a male. In the past, women and older women in our case seemed to accept these wrong norms and practices, and MAPERECE sees that there is a great need for older people, especially older women, to know that they have specific rights on various issues. Part of my role as coordinator involves addressing the rights of older women and sensitising women and older women towards an understanding of their rights, the law, and justice. The fact is that landlessness or a lack of ownership of property or means of livelihood for older people, especially older women and widows, places life in a perilous environment, a life-threatening environment: life without any social security, land, a house, can be a serious situation for an older woman when compared to a young adult. Though in the constitution of the country, it states that 'everyone is sure to own land', certain members of society still don't enjoy this right.

A third type of challenge that affects older people are economy-related challenges. These are challenges that arise to the individual specifically due to a lack of a reliable means of livelihood, poverty, causing them to not be sure where to get food and having a lack of support and an inability to help themselves. Though this fact may affect anyone in society, I must say that economic-based challenges in Tanzania affect enormously older people, especially older women in rural areas, more so than men.

If the Tanzanian constitution stipulates that everyone has the right to own land and property, why are some women denied this?

I think Tanzania as a country has three types of systems that support life and shape the living experience of a Tanzanian: one type is that of the systems of 'traditional and custom norms'. This system guides and shapes the live of some, whose philosophy of life is built on traditions and customs. Another type is 'social, institutional systems', that seem to guide and shape the lives of some, whose philosophy of life is built on modern social institutions, rights, law, and social institutions that recognise the rights of the individuals. Also, there is what I call the overall government law system. In this system, the Government looks at what the community itself prefers. People organise their lives

centred on or around the three systems, the tradition and customs system, the institutional social system, and the Government law system.

What is your opinion about the idea that there are three types of systems, is this not confusing for people?

I think when a person decides to conduct their life based on traditions and customs, they must also be aware that there is social institution and governmental law that has a legitimate place and authority over people. The government is the main protector of its citizens within its designated institutions and law. MAPERECE endeavours to help the community and older people, in particular, to see the differences and discern the best system, especially that approved by the government.

Please tell me when was MAPERECE started and what motivated its emergence?

The organisation was started in 1993. The founders were troubled by the fact that countless numbers of older people, especially older women, were losing their lives and that the majority of them were living in poor conditions in rural communities. Older people face security threats; older women are in the majority of those who have lost their lives to vicious attacks and killings due to the prevalence of superstitious beliefs and practice in rural communities. The majority of elderly people live in very poor conditions, unsupported and isolated. Our initial idea was to build an elderly centre, a facility with the purpose of collecting and caring for older people who are facing challenges and are in difficult situations in the community. So, we thought we would be gathering elderly people out of their challenging environments and bringing them to a designated area/established facility and providing social support to them. However, after much consideration, the idea of taking the elderly people out of their normal community and relocating them somewhere else to the private facility was deemed to be culturally inappropriate and impractical. It was understood that by taking older people out of their family circle and familiar communities it would make the situation worse, as the general community might think that they are not responsible for taking care of their older members of the society. Also, the decision to place older people in the private facility was seen as unfitting as it could have given a wrong idea to children, grandchildren, and the community that they are no longer responsible for taking care of their parents or grandparents. Children, grandchildren, and the community could withdraw from their duty of care. Based on this, we decided to provide social support to older people right where they are. By keeping and providing social services to older people right where they

are living, in the community, an opportunity is provided to us to challenge, motivate, and sensitise the whole community towards the need to care for the elderly people.

In your opinion, what do you see are the key social services needed by older people in rural areas?

Older people in rural communities have the right to be given social services, such as food, shelter, health care, protection, and safety. It is important that the community around the elderly take note and address these basic needs.

What is the involvement of MAPERECE in addressing the problems you have just mentioned?

MAPERECE is involved practically in providing tangible social support according to the needs of a client, for example, building a house, counselling, building a friendship with older people—clients—and also, we are involved in advocacy work, making the concerns of older people known to various stakeholders, including key institutions at the Government level, police institution, and local and regional social welfare offices. Also, MAPERECE is involved in educating various communities in rural areas about ageing, old people, and the need to take care of older people.

Whom does MAPERECE target with its service and support? Is it every older person in the villages or only some older persons?

MAPERECE's services target an older person in rural communities; the only factors we consider is that this person must be over sixty years of age and must be in need of support. Certain services provisions focus on a particular older person living in a difficult condition, such as, living without any means for livelihood, an older person with a physical disability, an older person who is without a cooking stove, kitchen structure, a homeless older person, those living in a dilapidated shelter and those living alone without any family relative to help. MAPERECE advocates for all older people to receive social and financial services from the Tanzania government. Regardless of the location and economic status, MAPERECE calls for the Government to provide pensions to all older people in Tanzania. Also, in other health-related projects, MAPERECE advocates that the Government should provide free health care services to every older person of sixty years and over.

How does MAPERECE identify its clients?

When we want to go to the community to identify an elder who needs services, we involve the government—the district office, the district council—the director. Through their government work, they understand that in the area, or in some villages, we have seen the

elderly face challenges. Therefore, through government offices, districts, councils, villages, wards, and community development offices, we find records of older persons requiring help. Also, government leaders in villages give us names and refer us to places where older people are faced with challenges/problems. So, the Government enables us to identify the villages that need help from us/our project. When we get to the village, we meet older people who need help, and we talk to them. MAPERECE is talking and listening to the elder, or the elderly. In conversation with the elderly, for example, we can ask how many adults need a house. We cannot find all the older people in that village community in need of housing, but we may find three or four older people in the village who should be provided with a house/have houses built for them. What guides us is the project design itself. Our initial encounter with clients is often characterised by listening, talking, and establishing a history of the individual, family, and the surrounding community. Then, MAPERECE at its managerial level considers the information gathered.

Does MAPERECE use other systems, such as local councils or social welfare offices, in assisting its clients?

MAPERECE cannot go to the community without using the proper channels, local systems, or government structures that are in place. First, we start at the district level, sometimes we start at the regional government office, from there we go to the district office, then our intention is made known to the leadership of the ward, village, or the community where the target audience is. Then MAPERECE is in the position to talk directly with the older people. There is a council of elderly people (composed of both men and women—older people, at village/community level). This council is made in accordance with the policies of protecting the elderly from the Government of Tanzania. Also, the formation of older councils is a command and is supervised by the ministry of development and community development. The leadership of the council of the village level is under government because the direction comes from the government. It is a system that we cannot create, but it is public. Therefore, it is in this council, at the village level, that MAPERECE speaks for its purpose, and through dialogue with the council of elders, it recognises older people who need help, notes who these people are, and the type of environment they live in. We use the village government, village chairmen, and others who are in the village leadership; we use ward leadership, the councillors who can help us if say we wanted to go to a certain village, but it turns out another village is better or more demanding, so we go to this village. It is recommended through the leadership of

the people. Through the councils of older people, the village leadership level, the community is reached.

How do the leadership of the village, the local council, and the community contribute towards MAPERECE's work apart from identifying potential clients (older people) who may need social support from you?

The willingness of government officials to accept now that the meeting between the elderly people and MAPERECE should be done here is the most important contribution for our part. Also, the local government and community accepting the implementation of the project in their area is a significant contribution. Also, another contribution that makes it easier for us to get to the community is telling us of an elderly person who could benefit from our service, which we are looking for in a certain area, to get a real picture of the life of older people in that area. Perhaps an older person in that area needs a house to be built and resources are needed for this building such as trees, bricks, sand—because MAPERECE doesn't arrive on site with trees, sand, but those materials are available in the village and villagers to know where to find these materials, this is a good contribution. Also, the community together can make bricks, as their way to contribute towards helping to build a house for the older person. MAPERECE brings bags of cement and iron sheets. In this way, communities in the area and MAPERECE cooperate to complete the construction of a house for an older person, it is a partnership process. When the community is involved in building a house for an older person, it can never turn against the older person and neglect, despise, or abuse this person again, because this is a friend and is considered a part of the society.

What type of skills and knowledge must a social worker who works directly with older people (clients) have?

The MAPERECE employee should understand who helps him. What kind of problem does this old man face? Which way can this client be helped? What sort of social services should be given to this client? For example, when it comes to health-related issues or once it is identified that a client has health-related issues, we MAPERECE are not medical specialists. For example, if the client seems to be experiencing health problems such as stomach pain, diabetes, hypertension, arthritis, or dementia, they should be seen by health professionals. Employee's duty in this circumstance includes close observation, listening intently to a client, and discerning the right course of action. If an older person is faced by a health-related problem, MAPERECE's employee knows the health facilities/hospital available in the area or outside that village to send older clients for health treatment.

MAPERECE's employee, the social worker, is expected to be able to understand the nature of the problem facing older clients in rural areas and where the correct support may be found. When a MAPERECE employee goes to the rural community, they meet clients and are expected to make an inquiry into the living reality of an older person. MAPERECE so often runs internal seminars, training for its staff, matters related to how the organisation operates and what principles are reflected. These include discussion on how the current situation is, what is happening in the wider community, and what attention should be given to specific project and client. Also, we do bring in experts to give training and education on matters such as the law, health experts on ageing and older persons, and for security-related matters the police, as well experts on government policy stance on certain matters, e.g., pensions and social protection for older people.

When we consider which type of staff to get within the organisation, we take the following into account: every person in the organisation must be aware of what services are required to be given at that time.

MAPERECE runs various projects. It depends on what projects are currently available to be undertaken by employees within MAPERECE, especially special people like heads of units (coordinators) and various units. For example, when there is a project we want to set up in the organisation, we look within the organisation to decide which person should be responsible for it, who should manage it. It may be that a big project is established between MAPERECE and certain organisations from outside the organisation. For example, I am a coordinator of the law and the rights of the elderly: not every employee will coordinate the law and rights for older people in projects, although one may monitor the provision of that service. So, within MAPERECE, there is a division of responsibilities, and each area has its own (supervisor) facilitator of the activity. The supervisor should know the needs of the project, e.g., what kinds of education, certain things in the community. In order to provide this service, he/she may say we need some specialists after he/she has made the assessment, so that we can implement the project and see the change that we desire.

For example, I as a professional (head of the unit) in MAPERECE understand that some older people have been abused or exposed to a particular situation or have been threatened: older persons have been physically and emotionally injured, had limbs cut off, or murdered. But I understand that MAPERECE has no authority to go to the village and arrest or interrogate the alleged perpetrator, a person said to have committed that awful act directly. However, also, I understand that in the government, there are

institutions that are responsible for maintaining security and order, arresting criminals, and bringing them to face justice. Therefore, it is my responsibility to inform the District Police commissioner about the situation and demand that some action is taken. In this way, MAPERECE is utilising the available means appropriate to the issue and concerns, like in this matter, MAPERECE is collaborating with law enforcement/police institutions to maintain safety for older people. This is an example, to illustrate the point, that because I head the unit that seeks address and protects the rights of older people, I know those in the Government who can help us.

When someone comes to apply for work, what are the criteria you consider?

MAPERECE consists of different types of people. In terms of how they entered; others have joined the MAPERECE organisation because they are members of the MAPERECE organisation. These are members, ordinary people who found the organisation going on with their work; some people in this group do volunteer to fulfil a particular task. But other people in the MAPERECE organisation are attendants, staff workers, they manage and fulfil various responsibilities according to organisational plans. The entry of a person in the organisation is based on education, skills, intentions, and the current project. When a person is asking for a job here, we look at his/her qualification and if we see that we need someone like that, then he/she becomes part of the MAPERECE team. In general, MAPERECE does not demand that a person applying has to join, work in the organisation, or that a person interested in being part of the organisation should have a university degree.

What are the results, or what differences do you see in the lives of older people that you think have been the outcome of MAPERECE's work?

Our work is having a positive impact in the communities we operate in. For example: what we focus on is the older person, the goal is to restore good relations with the surrounding community. These results require time, not one day. Time must pass so that people understand that an older person is good, because in the past, part of the society had the idea that an older person is a bad person, but today we say to the community, that is not correct. Family and society must change in thought and practice, to embrace and support the older person. However, removing the unfavourable concepts and practices may take time and requires a collective effort and patience by the organisation and society. Other results that I have seen happen are seeing an older person who has previously been abused, separated, or received a threat to their life, now being in peace and having peace of mind. They feel happy to mingle and socialise with the rest of the

community. Peace and feeling good for an older person are caused by them sensing that the community and family accept them and count them as part of their lives.

Through our services, we have helped older women who were threatened with their lives. They were excluded, some were beaten, living in hiding, with nobody to care for them, because they were told that they were sorcerers. But through the efforts of MAPERECE, we have reached those people, and we were able to build a bridge between them and the community, the family. Our clients, for example, older women said they do not understand why they are being accused of these things themselves, that they are unaware of and are not part of. When we found them, we brought them back to the community, to their homes, and we joined them with their relatives. MAPERECE's efforts to educate the community about sharia, the rights of older persons, the value of the older man, and why the community should protect them and embrace the elderly, brings positive results, in the lives of older people and the whole community. We take pride in our work and see great pride when we visit older people to find them living in a nice home, and in good conditions. You see their hearts are not burdened; they are smiling. Therefore, I can say our work produces positive results in the lives of older people and the community around them.

What are the resources that MAPERECE has, or is dependent on, especially in providing services to its clients?

First, there are two types of resources that the organisation depends on: (a) human resources, and (b) financial resources. By 'human resources', I mean, we have employees in the MAPERECE organisation who are people going into the community and providing services, this is the resources we already have, and we are proud of the MAPERECE organisation. Human resources are also a society that we serve around us. This community has welcomed and contributes to the success of the organisation's goals, from the start of this organisation's work in 1993, including government officials from the village, local, county, district, regional and national levels. Also, older people themselves support the work we do to improve their lives.

Onto the point of 'financial resources'. MAPERECE does not make its own money nor has its own source of money; instead, it depends on donors and well-wishers within and outside the country. Most of our funding comes from donors abroad. The funds we receive enable us to see and provide the needed social support to our elderly clients. Sometimes, we get a fund that is specifically attached to a specific project, for example, a health-related project, an agricultural project, or an income-generating project.

When you hear the word ‘social work’ what comes to your mind?

A social activity directed toward the community. It is a community-based activity. So, the activities performed by MAPERECE are generally related to the community needs and are for the community. Meaning that not one person can entirely perform social work alone, meaning that no one person is altogether able to target the whole community. The social situation must be tackled collectively. There are also social activities focusing on individual needs, for example, building a house for an older person. But even in this endeavour, society collectively must bear in mind that it is part of the solution and the problem too.

Is there a particular timeframe within which the organisation provides and stops social services to a targeted older client?

Firstly, services provided by MAPERECE in the community for older people are designed to be implemented within a project structure. We have various projects; for example, this project is two, four, or five years. So, we collaborate with other organisations or our donors; they are the ones who enable us as we have said the resources we receive from donors. However, if they give us five years, we will go up to five years. But, more than that, we, as the organisation continue to monitor the community, and how the village community continues to relate to, interact with, and help the older person in its midst.

(2). Interview with **Peter**—male

Place: Magu office, Mwanza

Role: Director

Interview took place on 18th Oct 2018

What are the problems facing older people in rural areas?

There are difficulties, but the problems that existed when we started the organisation are different now. But if you look at the reasons for setting up MAPERECE, the most challenging issue was the killing of the older people because of superstitious beliefs. Afterwards MAPERECE did research and found out what causes older people to find social isolation, a lack of living space, discrimination, harassment, torture, and death. These things have led to research, and we found that what causes the elderly to suffer and to be killed is superstitious beliefs—for example, land issues and inheritance. Today, the number of people is growing, but the land is not growing, and now when there is land belonging to a father, grandfather, it is happening that everyone is looking at that land as

a resource for livelihood, and this is causing tension among relations. You find the young adult and grandchildren wanting the land, a quarrel arises, and a young person forces his grandparents or widowed mother, his grandmother to give up the land ownership and hand it to him, and usually the young adult use force. If the parent or grandparent does not hand over that piece of land that the young man wants, then you see intimidations and killings happening. However, the issue of land-boundaries and house boundaries is also another problem. You find that because of greed, the wanting of more land, a person resorts into removing a boundary-mark, a border that separates his land and property and that of his neighbour, so that he might increase the size of his own area. If you complain against that person, the result is that you become enemy, hated, followed during the day and night, and tensions between neighbours arise. But another issue that has contributed to tensions between relations and the killing of older people, is that parents or grandparents die without writing their own will or titles, indicating what belonged to them and who is entitled to inherit, for example, the land or house. The failure to leave a written will by a parent/grandparent has been a source of commotion among family relations, neighbours, and community. But also, on the other side is the inheritance and the absence of a written will. Writing a will is an essential thing because it removes doubt and controversy about to whom you are giving the property or land to, and who is not included and why you decided it to be that way. There are laws in our country of Tanzania, protecting the parent. A parent has the right to deny the child, give him nothing or give him a little inheritance, according to his reasons, the parent is legally entitled to decide. For example, if a child or children did not care for their father, mother, parents, or they did not help them when they were sick and also deprived them of the basic needs that one can give, the parent is obliged to deprive their child or give just as much as they wish. The parent can deny their child and give instead to a neighbour, and if it passes the law, usually these situations bring a lot of tension among family members and in society in general. And some deaths of older people have occurred as a result of these inheritance issues.

Another thing that causes older people to be abused is 'climate change', such as a lack of rain. A late rainy season has resulted in older women accused of being witches, as with ageing some older people develop red eyes. People say these older people are witches, alleged to have caused rain not to come, therefore, if the rain must come these witches must first die so that the rain can come. Consequently, you see older people lose their

lives because of this. This is due to ignorance and misunderstanding the state of change, climate change.

Another situation occurs when people suffer from diseases such as AIDS or cholera, as people did not have any knowledge about disease issues. Now when someone dies, especially in the area of Sukuma-land, people must go to the traditional doctor/healer to seek a reason and solution. Since the so-called traditional healers want money, material wealth, they feed the people who go to see them with wrong information, saying, for example, that the death is caused by your older aunt, grandma, or your own mother, so go and get rid of them. Many young adults are ignorant of other factors and desperate for an answer, and they resort into consulting traditional healers and implement their recommended steps, only to find themselves in a grievous situation and more difficulties befalling them. Another situation happens when a man has a polygamous marriage (more than one wife); he migrates to a younger wife, and now all the property is for a younger wife. When this man has died and left children for both a young second wife and an older first wife, the problems among relations then start. Both wives and all their children begin to claim property, inherit the property left by their father. In our experience, we found many families of this type plunged into more profound tension, fighting among themselves. Still, the source of these problems is a man with two wives leaving without proper stipulated orders of how the inheritance may be distributed among relations. Therefore, such problems made us establish the MAPERECE and we found ourselves forced to have different units according to the issues we saw in the community. We saw that people in these societies have a sense of identity, a knowledge of the character of the country, teaching community knowledge of the nature of their environment, climate, and climate changes.

For example, when it comes to the issue of the elderly women with red eyes, the explanation is that the elderly women in their homes are cooking using bad local firewood 'minyaa', that is producing a strong irritative smoke that eventually affects their eyes. But you find that many in the community do not have accurate knowledge of the weather and the environment they live in. Many have built and run their lives on the basis of wrong beliefs or world views. They say that the grandmother, an older woman, is a witch because of having red eyes, as a result, older women experience and are subjected to abuse, and are excluded from society until they die because of these red eyes. It is feared that she may bewitch more people. But in our quest to understand the environment in which older people live, we have seen a variety of wood-trees that have no smoke, as well as wrong

stoves and cooking environments that contribute to health-related problems, including red eyes. If they get good wood and make a good environment in which they cook, this may not be the case.

What methods do you use to identify the needs of those who need your service?

Almost all older people need care; problems facing all older people are virtually identical. What happens to this older person is what happens to another older person. In the house project to build houses for older people, we set a criterion that we used to determine who requires a house to be built. We conducted public meetings at village levels, with the council of older people, and then the older people who were in that council were able to identify those most in need in their community. We work closely with councils of older people at the village level in providing services. To build a house, MAPERECE stipulates that a house may be built for an older person who has never had a child and so has no one to support him or her. Also, we included those who had children, but their children have either died or abandoned them or migrated to other places. So, when we decide to build a house for an older person, we share the activity with the community involved. In the first phase, we educated the community about the older people who were excluded, the community saw it was the right decision and accepted and brought back those older people into the community. And MAPERECE, together with the community, built the houses for them. This was the first time that a house had been built for an older people who had been counted as nothing, excluded, unwanted, condemned to death, or isolated. So, these clients were not again in fear, worrying about being evicted or killed within the community. And for the older person who does not have a child, it enabled them to feel good because the community was involved in building her a house, and this appreciation indicated to her that she is part of the community. And the older person will have the freedom and authority to give or pass this house to anyone she wanted because all things belong to her. We built a house, made a nice floor, put in a bed, chairs, a table, a good toilet, and the person was now living in a nice house. Also, we involved the local government and its councils. When we want to go to any place to provide services, we start at the office of the district head, the director of the council, and then we go to the county office, the village office. We make public meetings. If it is necessary to choose a monitoring committee, the community decides who should be here who deserves to be there.

What is your purpose and goal in reaching the community at large with matters related to older people?

The intention is to overturn the wrong ideas and the bad experience of living for the elderly, by providing education and creating a new living environment for older people today and tomorrow.

We have gone to all groups, including students (primary school), we have provided education. From the bottom up we want them to understand the problems faced by older people, to avoid the community stigmatizing them, killing them. We have also reached out to young people. We have even taught those in their business activities, we have reached people with different jobs so that they can remember older people, even by providing them with tangible items such as soap, food, cloth, water etc. We have gone to art groups—a group of artists playing the drums, songs, and through their art, singing, they pass on messages about the lives of older people and ageing, reaching a great crowd. Even if MAPERECE is not available, the message has been passed on. For example, you see in a collection where the head of the district speaks, one hears and it is emphasized the issues of older people, they sing, and the community receives messages and understanding.

But we have also gone to adult communities and then to older groups themselves, and with older people we share this message as well as because they are the main characters, they must take care of their rights and understand the implementation of the activities. Today we know the project of MAPERECE is here, but tomorrow may be MAPERECE could not be here, how can older people in these communities manage themselves? They must stand up and advocate for ageing which is an impossible situation.

We have our motto that says, "old age and ageing, who can escape it." But we have another motto, that says, "an old person was once like you, and you will be like this person." Still, we have another motto saying, "old person, was once like you, young, and you'll grow old like him or her."

In the process of finding a solution to support an older person, does MAPERECE focus only on a person who is in need, or does it consider other factors, such as, the family itself, and the neighbouring community too?

We use all levels in the following sense: we are dealing with service providers, such as people responsible for policymaking, such as community decision makers, government levels. We educate the community, providing education to all people and to individuals. In this way you find someone telling you the secret "My child has told me he will kill me, he wrote me a letter, this is here." So, something like this cannot be said in a meeting. So, in our committees we are dealing with home-based care (HBC). Home-based care-social

workers may provide services to individuals, in an old house or older people, who are now clients. The services provided by our staff when visiting clients are different. For example, for an older adult who does not wash, has no drinking water, we help him get water and wash him. Some older people had been unwell for six months; we asked them why this situation? Clients said we could not bathe because water is far away, and because of old age, the weakness of the body, we can't walk out to bring water. Also, we do not have any help around here. The environment in which the older people live is challenging, people in the area are travelling away to seek water from morning to evening. Also, we look at the status of the existing family of the client. We have a committee to investigate the family situation, for example, problems with families that are broken, displaced, and who is vulnerable in the family. We have family counsellors, as well as individual counsellors. When we go to one person, we want to know more.

What other services do you provide to older people, your clients, in rural communities?

In addition to providing services such as visiting, advising, and providing food and water to an adult in their homes, we also focus on economic services. Many older people are faced with economic crisis; poverty is enormous. We have seen many older people in the community who have no power to help them produce. Because of this situation, MAPERECE sets up income-generating projects, activities, for example, farming, small businesses, also giving them goats to raise. In terms of agriculture, we help older people providing them with crop seeds, as well as advice on modern farming, which deals with climate change. In a goat project, we offer two goats for every household with older people who are struggling to earn income. We give them instructions on how to take care of the goats so that they can give birth and re-produce. We expect to see the goats breeding, so that they are growing. So, the older people have goats. We saw that if an older adult with a goat could sell goats and buy clothes, food, and medicine perhaps where the hospital is not available, it has helped them to reduce the problem.

Does MAPERECE use other systems such as local government offices or social welfare offices in its efforts to help older people?

These people we serve are the government's people, and the community is the Government community. You cannot go to the Government community without the Government itself permitting you. So, in all we do we must have a social welfare office agreed. We cannot do anything without social welfare; we can do nothing without local government involvement. We are involved because they are preparing for meetings and

opening meetings. All of our things must go through them. For example, children who abuse their parents, or those who conspire to kill the elderly, are known to the community and the parents themselves will be the people affected. Those who cut the swords, the community today is ready to give evidence in court about those who commit horrible acts, saying that: it is certain, this is the one who killed the old person. But in order to do so, we must educate them about the laws, the rights of older people, and the responsibility of the whole community. In this way we increase the strength and inspiration for our efforts. Those who commit these bad acts they are caught by the police and lives are secured. But in the past the incidents of murder occurred, and older people were abused, but no one helped them, and you found everyone taking their own responsibility.

Are there any services you do not directly provide for older people?

Services we do not provide are medical services. This is provided in government hospitals, too, not pension. In this regard, we urge the Government to provide free medical care to all the elderly, as well, that every elder should be given a monthly pension so that they can be self-supporting. Through the education we offer about ageing and the rights of older people, we encourage and build capacity for the participants and the whole community. But there are other things that we do, for example, we provide seeds to the farming community, to encourage agriculture and nutrition for older people, nutrition for the elderly.

What kind of professional training or skills does the organisation provide to its employees who are involved directly with older adult (clients) in rural areas?

We have coordinators in different units within the organisation; they can't go to follow-up activities if they have no education. Also, for our staff to continue to develop an awareness of work and improve performance, the organisation has the teaching tools, and staff and volunteers should be trained, and these tools are used to teach. We do send the teaching materials tools we have prepared to the community development office so that the head of the social development office knows what we are teaching. Also, the district commissioner gets to know the material we use to educate. We have a training menu for the school club, to teach young people out of school. Also, we have councils of elders. Within the teaching materials, there are elements about knowing the rights of older people and the law. We have legal advisors; we use a different menu to teach family counsellors. We have a menu of an oversight committee who manage all activities. The monitoring committee is collecting all the information and then organising a report. Then they go to represent this to the council of elders, with the older people in the village saying what

work needs to be done or what has been done, then the chairman will sign and then take it to the village executive, they will take it to the ward, and we get a copy.

When a person comes to MAPERECE to work, what kind of education and skill must they have?

For example, even if we make an offer to a person to come to work with MAPERECE, it is possible that there are things about older people that this person does not know, but he has a mind to learn. He may be aware of other things that will help the organisation. We will educate him about what the organisation is doing, how to care for older people. He will be educated, he will be empowered, he will get a package, and he will go to work. For example, when a person comes out of university, it is difficult for them to know about social issues in a realistic way until we give them a training. Without doing that, the work will not work as required.

What are the resources that MAPERECE has, or is dependent on, in its operations, especially in providing services to its clients?

We get funding from various institutions. When we write projects and applications, we agree funding with various institutions. This happens also when others write to us, for example, Help Age International has supported us for so long that we have been dealing with Help Age International, Tandabui, Africare, AMREFU. So, we get subsidies. There are also individuals in the community and the country that see the work we do, they read about it on the internet, in the media, and they come to work with us. Also, religious organisations provide food, clothing, and transport to older people in rural areas. Sometimes people wanting to help older people take them to the village to see the elderly and they go to help the older people. So, we do not create projects to produce wealth, but we rely on the grants that we receive.

Is there a specific time frame or period of time in which you provide and then stop social services to your clients?

Because our activities depend on projects, and projects depend on the availability of funds, the project has its time when it is over. But what we have done for the society has no limit, it will continue. When we finish a project, the activities of older people continue. I am a boy; we focus on building older people, a community around the capacity of the older people, knowing that the project today is for the benefit of tomorrow. Our activities and all the projects we make are interdependent, depending on the availability of funds. In going to see older people in rural areas we need money. Social problems continue to

exist and will require the efforts of organisations like MAPERECE and community readiness to change and address issues.

What does the term 'social work' mean to you, personally?

The word 'social work' has a broad meaning. This word carries the meaning of the social life of people. Services can focus on one person or a group of people, their similarities, or older people and their needs. Other services focus on the entire community in a particular area; for example, when you educate the community about better farming, the benefits are visible in the whole community. When I go to the farm, the food I will reap will be eaten by the community. My cultivation involves the community as a whole. Caring for the environment and keeping cleanliness involves the whole community.

Additionally, would you say that the activities that MAPERECE involved in should be described as social work?

MAPERECE is involved in helping those faced with severe problems, not for MAPERECE'S gain, but for the sake of the individuals and the community. Through MAPERECE's service provision, older people who previously experienced threats, isolation, abuse, with some losing their lives, are now experiencing some level of peace, security, and stability. They are experiencing good social relationships in their community, as people around them treat them with dignity and love and embrace them as part of society. Our work is empowering to the individual as well as the community.

(3). Interview with Joel—male

Place: Magu Office, Mwanza

Role: Finance Officer

Interview took place on 20th Sep 2018

Would you please tell me about your position in this organisation?

I am involved in finance and involved in developing a program related to the welfare of older people—our clients—in rural areas.

Why is this issue of the social welfare of older people in rural areas of interest and concern to you personally?

Older people are valuable members of the human community, and yet, they are a social group that has experienced immense enduring challenges in their daily living. Having my own grandparents compels me to be compassionate and work towards improving the living conditions of older people in our rural communities, where they are largely disadvantaged in comparison to those living in city settings.

What are the problems facing older people in rural areas?

Older people are deprived of their property, especially land and livestock, but also violated of their fundamental rights. It is also possible to see age-related illness, and physical, mental, and emotional challenges. They lack good care. Also, older people themselves do not participate in decision-making at community meetings, and there is a lack of respect for the elderly and with people seeing them as outdated, and unable to make any contributions. Also, older people do not share in small-scale production activities.

Why do you think older people in these areas do not participate in production activities?

The reason is that they feel they cannot do. Also, this is due to the stress older people are facing as the community considers them unable to contribute anything to it. Furthermore, they are excluded and isolated, as other groups in production activities are not their peers. So, they do not mix; there is a gap between the group of people engaged in production and older people. There is a variety of activities that older people can do in terms of age, where they do not need to use too much energy, which helps them to raise income. We have seen some of the older people who can make small incomes and find income-earning a great incentive, because they still feel that they have something to contribute and know that their work as an older person is more valuable than if they were not to work.

...You say because of age, there is a social gap between older people and young people ... Who is responsible for reducing or eliminating the social gap?

We encourage older people to meet through their councils or meeting platforms, because they have the same goal to try to defend themselves and make their voice known to the public. It is easier for older people to reach older people and talk of their challenges than it is for them to meet people of other groups. The second role is that of various stakeholders, including the Government, who are responsible for ensuring the implementation of a program or system that provides older people with their rights. To create awareness on the understanding of older people's concerns, to discuss their challenges together, and know how to solve the challenge.

In the process of providing social services, do you consider the client only or does your consideration involve broader assessments, such as the situation in the family, the community, and the social support structure of the local council?

In assessing the realities of the people of our people, our clients, the first thing is to identify who the older people are. It is people who have reached more than 60 years or

over, but our clients also vary according to needs, life experiences, and the environment they live in. Even in older people, there are several groups such as: i) those recognised as having special needs by the Government, the community. They have identity cards. ii) those in the traditional system (family and clans). The objective of the assessment is to prevent problems from occurring from the impact of the conflict. We want to understand it so that we can help at the earlier steps.

Whom does MAPERECE target with its service and support? Is it every older person in rural communities or only some older persons?

We consider the situation and the environment in which an older person lives. For example, there are different types of older person with special needs: i) there is an older person who does not have a home to live in, a house that has fallen, and it is raining, and this person is in a difficult living condition; ii) an older person that has no guardians, relatives to rely on, and care for him or her. Perhaps this older person has never had children, or their children passed away, and there is no relative nearby. Thus, the MAPERECE approach is to enable older people in need in their community to secure their rights through a sustainable system. The community should be responsible for caring for the elderly and providing special needs including love, protection, and listening. Also, making sure that every family is responsible for taking care of an older person in the family to make older people more independent and feel that they are also part of the community. All groups in the community who are young, children, older persons, must be responsible and accountable because everyone will experience the process of reaching old age.

What challenges do you encounter in the process of fulfilling your duties as an organisation?

Some people in society do not recognise the good intention of the organisation. Also, some local people in communities having a negative attitude towards projects and do not see themselves as part of the solution or part of the project implementation, so they fail to make a positive contribution to the project. If the community lacks a sense of beneficial ownership, even taking more resources will not get more results because you will be using a lot of power in front of the public who already have a negative attitude.

What steps does the organisation take to pull the community closer to the organisation, for partnerships?

First, we involve all groups in the community. We have worked with art groups, government leaders, youth groups, all religious groups, and even traditional healers.

What resources does MAPERECE have or rely on that enables it to provide services to its clients?

MAPERECE comprises a few materials like office equipment, automotive equipment, memory equipment such as computers, the staff building, people (community).

What does the term ‘social work’ mean, in your opinion?

It is the work that touches the community. It is concerned with social development and social welfare. It reveals the challenges of the whole community and seeks solutions; it understands the general community in the sense of character, culture, and real-life in order to help them make positive change.

(4). Interview with **Msuya**—male (transport officer)

Place: Magu, Mwanza

Role: Transport officer

Interview took place on 25th Sep 2018

What is your responsibility in the organisation?

I am in the communication and transport department.

How long have you been working with this organisation?

Since I began working within this organisation, it has been 15 years. So, I can say I know the history of this organisation.

How did this organisation start? Why was it established?

This organisation was established in 1993. The principal founder was Mr Baritazari Shitobel.

What specifically caused the establishment of this organisation?

Mr Shitobel had an idea, a vision that he saw as a great need, and took on this responsibility. The reason for establishing an institution dealing with questions and matters related to the welfare of older persons came to Mr Shitobel after he heard and witnessed many deaths of older people in the Mwanza region, especially the Magu District. The massacre of older people was taking place in the village, county; in the districts where Mr Shitobel's home was. He had lost many of his elderly relatives to attacks, killed by swords. Acts of violence were being committed against older persons. The older person, especially older women, were being accused of being a witch. They were stabbed with swords or strangled at night while sleeping. Therefore, this organisation was established with a view to eradicating violence and the brutal murder of older people.

What steps did he take in the process of creating this organisation?

The state of the massacre of the old people had reached its worst stage, even the elderly relatives of Mr Shitobelo's extended family circle had lost their lives because of alleged superstitions. The majority of older women were being accused of being witches because of having red eyes. They were hunted night and day and were killed mercilessly and inhumanly. So, Mr Shitobelo shared this concern with other Tanzanians, and his vision and idea was to eradicate the killings and bullying of the elderly, especially in the villages. Two more people joined Mr Shitobelo in his concept and process of helping the elderly. They decided to involve the Government of Tanzania. The Tanzanian government was already aware that large numbers of older people in rural areas in the Magu district, Kwimba, were losing their lives. So, Shitobelo and his colleagues, to save older people living in a dangerous environment, shared this concern, asking the government: What should we do to save our elderly relatives? Because the worry was that villages could eventually lose every older person, especially the older woman in villages. Another step the Mr Shitobelo took on was the decision to find a way to get donors from outside Tanzania, such as from the UK.

To implement his vision, what other steps did Mr Shitobelo undertake?

To get a better understanding of the problems facing older people, of the killing of the elderly, and to find a good way to solve this problem, Mr Shitobelo decided to conduct a comprehensive study in the most affected areas, villages where these killings had been happening. In this process, Mr Shitobelo involved and requested cooperation with the police to get records of the number of older people killed. Also, he participated in community development offices, districts, to find records of older people who had lost their lives. They took this step intending to get a broader understanding of this problem. Mr Shitobelo received data from the police service and also from the Office of Welfare and Social Development, Magu district, Misungwi. Police and community development offices gave him a partnership, providing him with the statistics of the killings, and the names of the villages/places where the brutal killings had occurred. After receiving this knowledge, he decided to go to the villages that were suffering from murder to meet people, the elderly. The following villages were involved in the first phase of the investigation as part of the process of creating the MAPERECE organisation and its programs: Lunala Village; Ragi Village; Mwamagigisi Village; and Lumeji Village.

To have a good picture of the state of the situation and to communicate it, he shared with others the question of the murder of older people. He found it necessary and decided to make a thorough study, and the Government of Tanzania participated in his findings.

In your opinion, how can you say MAPERECE helps older people with their needs?

This organisation has visited many villages, mobilising, warning, providing education, and raising older people from poverty. The organisation has even built houses for older people, but the positive change brought by MAPERECE is the removal of fears, threats, and concerns about the lives of people. The organisation has eroded the misconceptions about ageing, and the meaning of being in old age.

Employees/Social workers:

(1). Interview with **Joanna**—female

Place: Magu office, Mwanza

Role: Employee/Social worker

Interview took place on 20th Sep 2018

What is your position in the organisation?

I am a social worker. Since the education I received from the university was about social development, my orientation of work is more on the realisation of social development, both at the individual level and community level. Community development is all activities related to development projects aimed at the community level. For example, to encourage citizens in various development activities such as construction, participation, planning, and decision-making.

In your view, what are the challenges facing older people in these areas?

Wrong superstitious beliefs and practices. Older people in these areas are accused, suspected that they are witches because of their appearance, e.g., red eyes, facial wrinkles, so many have lost their lives by being attacked and killed. Older people are faced with the problem of social exclusion and are not involved in contributing to community development. Many older people are abandoned, abandoned by relatives, children, grandchildren. So, an older person is taking care of himself/herself in difficult living conditions.

Also, another problem is that young adults are busy and tend to leave their own children with grandparents, who struggle to raise the children in the village, while the parent of these children is in the city. So, you find an older person struggling to care for grandchildren without any help from his own children. Another problem happening to

older people is that the young adults aspiring to gain wealth will take possessions or property belonging to older people by force. Older people are troubled, forced to sell property or give up their assets because of the intimidation they receive, and their lives become disturbed. Older people feel powerless, vulnerable.

In the process of determining older people's needs, do you consider only the client or does your consideration involve a broader assessment of the situation, including family, community, and the social support structure of local government?

Older people are often known to us and are given services, for example, free medical treatment. The observations and assessments we make about the life of our clients' (older people) situation are broad. We consider, for example, the circumstances in which they live, their family history, the community around them, all the records, and when we are satisfied, we reach decisions about the way in which we help this older person.

What kind of education and skills do you have that help you to fulfil your daily responsibility of supporting older people?

I received an Advanced Diploma in Community Development from Tengeru College. After that, I undertook and received the Graduate of Arts and Culture and Development certificate from the University of Dar es Salaam. Also, my direct involvement with clients has enhanced and still enhances my knowledge and the way in which I provide support to older people. Also, in-house training and outside refreshing seminars and workshops help me and others.

When you go to see the clients (older people), what do you do with them?

I visit an older person first to find out his/her problems in general. Observing, listening, and talking with the client enables me to identify and make decisions on what may be needed in the situation of our clients. Another job that I am doing is gathering older people for social coming together, this is a good time for some of the people who are here. Other work I do when I am with clients, is teaching them about the laws and rights of older people, human rights, and I also emphasise that older people are still needed in society because they have responsibilities for the community. So, there is the capacity building element, increasing awareness. My tasks include counselling, as the majority of our older people experience emotional and mental stress. Sometimes due to high stress, an older client will not feel comfortable and ready to see me and cooperate with me because of stress.

What challenges do you encounter when dealing with clients in your effort to help?

Changing a person's thoughts, for them to have a different perspective, especially to give up false beliefs about old age and older people. Educating and assuring the community that there is no relationship between a person being old and witchcraft. Also, to know how to get and find many older people in the recording of the situation. Getting cooperation from family members to help an older person in a difficult situation facing him is a challenge. This partnership is sometimes difficult to get, because most people find that the work of helping older people is MAPERECE's work alone. Another challenge in my work is the language barrier; I come from another tribe. You can see that older people see you as a stranger. Although the Swahili language is national, our clients in these areas speak the local vernacular language.

When you hear the word 'social work' what comes to your mind?

It is activities focused on helping society.

So, when you look at what MAPERECE does, would this amount to social work?

Yes, without doubt, MAPERECE's work is social as it aims at helping the individual in the community and helping the community.

(2). Interview with Maria—female

Place: Magu office, Mwanza

Role: Employee/Social worker

Interview took place on 19th Sep 2018

What responsibilities do you fulfil in this organisation?

I am a service coordinator of a health program called "festula." Also, I am responsible for providing counselling services—psychology.

Please explain the meaning of "festula."

"Festula" is an abnormal loop that causes a pregnant mother to have long-term pain or causes an obstacle during childbirth. The hole grows between the bladder and the needle, causing a type of waste from this abnormal condition. To treat this and to recover a mother must be given surgery, often performed by the Bugando referral hospital, and the Dar es Salaam medical centre. Therefore, after mothers have undergone surgery, they have to be allowed for rehabilitation, and then we begin to monitor them as they continue to recover. Mothers with festula conditions are stigmatized and psychologically and socially excluded. In the community, mothers with the problem of "festula", are excluded, abused. Many people, especially men, do not like women facing this condition. This is one of my

tasks to advise and provide support to women with this problem, as well as to provide advice to the family, and the whole community.

What are the problems facing older people in rural areas?

Threat and killings against older people, especially older women. The origins of these brutal acts are in perverted superstitious beliefs. Often these older women have been cooking for a long time using a “minyaa” a firewood that produces a heavy and sharp smoke, leading to red eyes. But many people in this rural community do not see this as a factor when they see an older woman whose eyes are red; they say this is a witch. Also, when there is no rain, older people with red eyes are suspected as being the reason. Moreover, inheritance, heritage is also the origin of the murder of older people in village communities. Children or grandchildren lacking wealth return home, begin to be disruptive and ask for an inheritance. If they are denied property or the inheritance of land, they so often resort to murder, killing their older relatives. Traditional healers through their rulings based on unfounded fact cause conflict and fighting for many families in the village. For example, when a child is sick, a parent goes to a traditional healer and is told to someone in your family, or your parent, or your grandmother has bewitched your child. If you want your child to be well then you must get rid of the person causing misfortunes in your family. The economic problem is another problem in rural areas. Because of age and diminished physical strengths, our older people cannot work in agriculture, so many have no work to do which can bring them income. This makes it so difficult to meet daily needs such as food, and changing clothes is a problem, an older person tends to wear the same clothes for a long time without even washing. Health treatment, even maintaining their own house without help, is a challenge.

What is the involvement of MAPERECE in addressing the problems you have just mentioned?

We make interventions so that we can prevent the abuse of older people and create a conducive living social environment for older people, vulnerable members of society, and address their individual needs, including related economic matters.

The response of MAPERECE carries two items:

First, community awareness to give understanding to people to turn them away from false traditions and teach them not to abuse, kill the older people. We insist that an older person with red eyes is not involved in witchcraft, and she does not deserve to be killed, because older women have red eyes due to cooking with 'minyaa' for a long time.

Second, we are helping them by starting small projects. To elevate and empower older women they are given goats, others choose money to set up and develop a small business.

How does MAPERECE identify its clients?

We work closely with the council that helps us. For example, the local council would tell us of a potential client. We have older people facing problems, people who are in trouble and need support. The local council, in most cases, is in a better position to know where the older people are who are faced by social situations. So, the local council leads us. Perhaps we go to the village's chairman, and the chairman knows his people. He helps us to know and identify which older person in the area needs this service and what this older person needs.

In the process of determining older people's needs, do you consider only the client or does your consideration involve a wider assessment of the family, community, and social support structure of local government?

We reach them all. We are also involved with the community, believing that if you educate the community and help them to see the importance of helping this older man, then an older adult will be in a good social environment. When we have finished examining the community, then we look at the older person.

When an older person is threatened with their life, or you have learned that their life is in danger, what steps do you take to help them?

The older person who is the victim in this situation comes or is brought to the office for discussion. We get into the community; we work together with the community. We go to the chairman of that village, the executive secretary of county, neighbourhood, and we explain. From there, we take the initiative to go to the police. The police help us to investigate and monitor the situation. As a result of the police investigation of the person, legal action is taken against that person. The good thing is that in such serious issues, we work with the police sector. Sometimes when such an event happens, such as an older person being attacked at night, injured by swords, the police do tell us. In a situation where we need the service of the police, and it happens that their car is empty of fuel, then MAPERECE helps to fill in the fuel, in order to facilitate the work and cooperate with the police in the village.

In your work, when you are with your client, what tasks do you fulfil?

You build relationships so that they can trust you, and you can provide a service that is relevant to their situation. Without creating good working relationships, it is difficult for a client to trust you. For example, a client might be wondering if you can be trusted with

a secret, a sensitive situation, can you really handle the situation properly without making the situation worse than it is already is and putting the client in more danger? If a client trusts you and sees that you are reliable, he or she opens up more and cooperates with you in the process of understanding what the issue is and what may be the right way forward. So, we build relationships first, and then, a client opens up and talks about the situation.

In the work you are doing, what training have you received that enables you to fulfil your role in providing services to an older person?

The training I received focused on psychology, counselling, and understanding how situations affect the mind. I sometimes attend training seminars on the caring profession by people from Switzerland. Also, we have our own training here. This helps me with my work.

What challenges do you face in your efforts to help your clients?

Distance is a challenge, especially during the rainy season, as reaching out with the service to those in need residing in remote rural area through transport is difficult. Also, lack of cooperation. Sometimes in this work, we lack cooperation from relatives and people who are close to an older person. When we create a personal profile of an older person, we take pictures. However, this process faces many obstacles from people. When we do the photography, you see people fear the older person. In this case, what we do is we educate first, we discuss why we take pictures and other information. Older people tell us the words of threats from their relatives and other people around them.

When you hear the word 'social work', what comes to mind?

It is a community service, devoted to helping people suffering from problems, as well as services aimed at changing society. It is also a matter of changing behaviour in society.

(3). Interview with Mark—male

Place: Magu office, Mwanza

Role: Employee/Social worker

Interview took place on 18th Sep 2018

What work do you do in this organisation?

My responsibility in this organisation is to carry out the agreed service to our clients.

What are the problems or difficulties facing older people in rural areas?

The following are challenges affecting the living experience of older people. Poverty. Cruel acts (superstitious beliefs) done against older people, especially older women. However, in our research, we have found out that most deaths of older people are not

caused by the suspicion of them being witches but are instead caused young people who want to inherit property, land, and other possessions belong to older people, by force. And when these people are denied their wish, they resort to other means, including threatening parents or grandparents and killing. Usually, they do not do the killing themselves, but they hire a gang and pay a group of people or a person to kill older people. Also, Many older people have a great burden of raising grandchildren. When you visit an older person's home, you find no less than five younger children who are grandchildren. Many parents of these children have gone to seek property, life in cities, and have left young children with their grandparents, without any help. Other parents have died because of HIV/AIDS, leaving helpless children in the hands of grandparents. Also, older people lack good health care services.

What is the origin or source of these problems you mention?

The presence of social gap between family, community, and older people. In the absence of a close relationship between older people and families, the surrounding community has led older people to remain helpless, without support. If you visit the villages, you will find a person of 70 years and 90 years of age living alone. And if you ask him or her to tell you where their young relatives are, the answer is they have gone to work other places, but the irony is that they don't have regular contact and don't even visit him or her to help the situation. The accountability of Government officials helping older people in rural areas is limited, and for some officials this is not an interesting subject. The ward level, the villages, and even the councils are not properly accountable to ensure that these older people are given priority in projects that the Government is doing. The government was required to compel family and community to be responsible for the care of older people, but the Government doesn't do that.

How do you understand these words 'problems' and 'challenges'?

The words 'challenge' and 'problem', carry the same meaning, they mean the same thing.

What is your role in the organisation?

Administration-related tasks. My daily work is to make sure I implement the project due to the agreement, as the project says. I am involved with visits to clients and seeing how projects are getting on. I am also involved with the responsibility to educate the community about the laws and rights of older persons and their human rights, at the village level, ward, and district. My job is trying to build good relations with the Government at various levels to work together to solve the problems facing older people, to raise the lives of older people in villages.

How many times do you visit older people?

Most of my time is in the field, visiting clients and projects.

When you visit older people, what tasks do you fulfil with the clients?

I listen to the views of the clients; see how they continue with life and change—giving them great insight into the issues of older people and ageing. Ageing is not a disease; it is important to accept it and understand it. Also, I am involved in talking with young people and older people in intergenerational social gatherings where I talk about importance of both young and old persons to each other. Helping people to know how they could be a help to others.

Why do you think an older person needs the service of MAFERECE?

Because we are partners in development, partnering with the Government in solving social problems. When the Government ends, we start there. We add power to social change. We help older people through various projects such as justice and law projects, and building houses. Most of our clients (older people) that we see in the village did not go to school, so have very little knowledge about how and where to go to get help in times of trouble. Through their encounters with us, the service and education we provide, older people become aware of many important things in life, e.g., government structures and social institutions that are there for them. They are liberated from fear and powerlessness, and they regain their voices in society.

By what percentage do you think the killing of older people in the village has declined?

This year there has not been any killing of older people in these villages, something that is not unusual.

What methods does MAPERECE use to identify the needs of older people (clients)?

According to the Tanzanian government, everything is well researched in their records. What we are doing is to ask the regional office which district has challenges involved the killing of older people, and other social problems affecting the older people's life experience. They respond and tell us to go and help in a particular district, a certain village, as these older people are faced with serious problems, including bullying, threats on their life, and death.

In the process of determining older people's needs, do you consider only the client or does your consideration involve a wider assessment of the family, community, and social support structure of local government?

In determining the older person's situation and their needs, we do not only think of an older person (the client). Our observation and response concentrates on the wider situation. And that's why we are involved with families, leaders, social groups, youth, government leaders, and art groups. For example, family members, traditional healers, older people, all of them are our partners to ensure that we are fighting for the older person. Our goal is to build a society that understands and embraces older people as an integral part of society.

What kind of education and skills do you have to help you to fulfil your daily task of supporting older people?

I have received education in sociology from the university. Also, I have attended a workshop where I have learned about gender issues, business, social accountability, and social protection, all of which help me in my work. We also have a various internal training program, as well as a sharing experiences.

What challenges do you face in your efforts to provide services to your clients?

The challenges I encounter are: when you go to solve the problem of violence against older people, but you find that a client has many other challenges. This reality gives me a lot of challenges in trying to help. You go to teach an older person that he/she has the right to live like any other person and has the right to own land, but at that time he does not have food, and has health-related needs and needs medical treatment. So, you see, I meet a series of problems in the whole process of providing support to an older person. Another challenge for us is in seeing that the changing of cultural attitudes and cultural practices is a very slow process.

How do traditional healers contribute to violence and the death of older people?

Traditional healers have and do play a huge part in creating problems in the living experience of older people in our village communities. For example, today this morning, we had a visitor, an older person from the area/village called Sukuma, a place MAPERECE has planned to go to. This person said in their area traditional healers are increasing and that this is worrying people, and no one has tried to look to know where these people are coming from, and why they are they are coming here in our village. Traditional healers have agents who work for them. They give money to these agents, who ask them to disperse across the community, gathering information about people's lives, learning that individual families have issues. Then a representative of traditional healers will approach people saying there is a traditional healer somewhere at the outskirt of the village who has high knowledge and can help you with your problems. Then

without knowing that their traditional healer already knows their situation and intends to benefit from their vulnerability, the individual goes there and end up paying not only money, valuable things, but also, life too. Traditional healers tend to prescribe death as the solution to a problem. Relatives within a family and clan are put into conflict against each other because of traditional healer's suggestions that there is a witch among the members of the family that must be killed. MAPERECE has taken this matter seriously and visited and organised many talks with the people involved in this business.

We have had many meetings with government at district and regional levels, calling for the registration of all people who claim to be traditional healers and thorough assessment about their education, level of knowledge, and what their purpose might be. We have said to the Government leadership that those traditional healers focusing on herbs and tree-related medicine should be given identity card and recognised. But those who are secretly involved in promoting superstitious beliefs and killing people must be brought to justice and not be allowed to continue. But what we have realised is that witchcraft beliefs and practices are deeply engrossed in people's minds in many areas, but we are working hard to change that.

What are the results, or what differences do you see in the lives of older people that you think have been the outcome of MAPERECE's work?

Positive results and changes are seen on a person as well as in groups. MAPERECE has enabled older people to change their living conditions, for example, helping the individual to build a house, and with income-generating schemes. Challenging and helping an individual family who was once in dispute to reconcile and embrace their older member family. Also, negative attitudes and mindsets toward older people have been challenged; this creates social friendly living conditions in the community. Through our work, older people were encouraged to create what we call the 'Older People's forum'. Through this forum, a platform, older people meet to discuss and suggest issues that they see must be given attention by the organisation and government. Older people's forum meetings have been taking place at the ward, district, and regional level. This channel has proved to be a practical and meaningful way through which older people from various communities can come together; it creates resilience, confidence, and is a strong force for social change in a broader way. Another thing is education: older people are now well informed about policy related to their welfare. Older people across the country are rising, making their voices heard and their concerns known by local, district, regional and national central government. This is unheard of in previous years.

(4). Interview with **Emmakulata**—female

Place: Magu office, Mwanza

Role: Employee/Social worker

Interview took place on 18th Sep 2018

What problems are facing older people in this village?

Older people face abuse, land exploitation, and are denied their rights to own land, property, opportunities. They experience discrimination based on superstitious beliefs, older people, especially older women, are particularly vulnerable. They experience separation from society.

What do you think about the origin of the problems you mentioned?

Misconceptions about ageing and physical change for an older person. Children and grandchildren want inheritance early from parents. Male young children cause a lot of stress on older parents and grandparents because they want by force to possess property and land without the consent of their parents.

What is your role within the organisation?

- Finding ways to help, manage, protect, and monitor funds and money related matters.
- Providing advice to for getting items from different areas for helping the elderly.
- Observing the rights of the elderly if they are taken and fighting for the elderly to have their rights.
- Visiting and seeing the realities of older people.

What tasks do you accomplish when you are with an older person, your client?

- I provide a cleaning service, to keep his/her environment clean and safe. I make sure that his/her health is not affected by their surroundings.
- Give advice based on the realities of life of a client.
- If I see a spiritual problem, I help the individual by looking for a religious person like a pastor, a Muslim Imam, so that his/her spiritual concern is addressed.

Why does an older person need the service of MAPERECE?

Because if you help an older person with service needed, you put the older person in the right direction and they will be able to manage himself/herself. MAPERECE focuses its service on this manner, providing particular services and at the same time working with clients and the community to realise certain good outcomes.

What methods does MAPERECE use to identify the needs of older people (clients)?

We visit the elderly in their homes and communities. Sometimes the individual older person would come to the office with her concern, so we listen and understand her situation, and through that discern the type of service right for her. Also, through the established older people's forum, councils, we get to know older people who may need our assistance. In each county, there is home basic care, and these are hospital partners, known by the council, who may provide health care to an older person in their homes.

When you decide to provide a type of service to your client, what steps do you go through to achieve this?

We cooperate and discuss internally the type of support needed to our clients, then MAPERECE at the administration level shares the information with various donors within and outside the country. A clear description of the problems and what we think might be the appropriate support is passed onto the donors. Once we receive aid/support from donors, we distribute this to the right clients (older people).

In the process of determining older people's needs, do you consider only the client or does your consideration involve a broader assessment of the family, community, and social support structure of local government?

In our investigation, in trying to discern the needs of our client, we consider what sort of community and people are surrounding him/her, and what service/support may be available from the social welfare office or the local government office that might be applied to her/his situation. Also, we look at family members or people living with him/her in the house, how they are, what are they doing in trying to help him/her.

What training do you have that enables you to carry out your duties?

I received training in health-related matters, from college. I am very involved when it comes to health problems confronting clients. In the hospital within the Magu district, there are designated windows, areas for older patients, and no other patients can go there or interfere with those areas unless they are old. It is only older people who are 60 years and beyond who get medical assessment and treatment in these designated hospital areas. I am trained in providing counselling, so, visiting clients at their house is part of my job, too. We call this home-based care service.

What challenges do you face in your daily efforts to help people?

The level of community awareness; attitude towards older people is still negative. Many people, especially young people, believe that older people are outdated, so they should be away, or give way to the young generation. We, ourselves as young people today do not appreciate our older people. Also, today, you find an older person left alone, living in a

hard situation in their environment in villages. In contrast, young relatives, children or grandchildren live in Dar es Salam city and do not intend to know how the older person in the village is doing. This story we hear again and again that there is no communication and even interest of children or grandchildren to want to know how older members of the family in the village are doing. This makes me feel sad.

When you hear the word ‘social work’ what comes to your mind?

Social work is any work we do concerning the community that addresses the needs within the community and individuals in the community—for example: activities focusing on the concerns of women, orphans, and older people.

Service users:

(1). Interview with **Thomas**—male (72 years of age, retired teacher)

Place: Lugeye Kitongonsima, Magu

Interview took place on 20th Sep 2018

What are the challenges facing the older person in these areas?

In our villages in Lugeye, many things are challenging for us older people. First, it is the weather. The climate has brought us a great change, a negative change. The weather has significantly changed in contrast to previous years. Today the rain does not come on time and is scarce. And a large percentage of people here are dependent on farming activities for their livelihoods, earning income and food. Now when farming is in trouble, the unavailability of crops brings great trouble. And as you know, when a famine exists, it means that the person is restless. Without adequate harvest, enough food, there is an impact on the life of an older person, much more so than anyone else. So, the first challenge is that of climate change; we have the worst climate change at the present moment, different from the past, and it has had a great impact on food acquisition, there is drought and hunger. So, the harvest is too low. Older people are a very active group. Older people are very worried; more so than the young, and the middle-aged people because they are strong, they can run here and there to find alternatives for life, they can survive and tolerate these challenges. But, for an older person, like me, and many other older people, life is hard in this environment, we cannot go anywhere else in search of a new livelihood. An older person depends on his farm, which sometimes does not yield enough, meaning there is no food.

So, from your perspective, the lack of harvesting enough food is because the rain is not coming at the expected time and at the required rate?

And perhaps this situation is caused by us. The past period we have probably been involved in environmental degradation, deforestation. There is current degradation of the environment and deforestation. Although for the most recent period in our village there has been a growing interest in tree planting, at least, and as we are growing trees hopefully the situation will be ok in the long-run.

How did you connect with the MAPERECE organisation? What made you join this organisation?

MAPERECE entered our district. It is an NGO that first came with a particular system. It is an organisation that was empowering and helping older people who are in a desperate situation. one side. Now, MAPERECE has brought a system of assisting older people with housing problems, shelter. In fact, the organisation was very helpful in the first phase; older people were being helped. For example, elderly widows who did not have a home, or older people living in a very dilapidated house were built new homes by the organisation. But later, we saw that this project was gone. Lately, they are more focused on educating the community, and they focus on older people. And that is why they have been very involved with us in counselling, and indeed their advice we receive is good and the older people we are now joining.

In the same way, we took the example of our elders in our culture; we had the custom and habit of living together. This system was called "shikome" (an assembly of elders, talks while sitting around the fire). People used to deal with issues within the community by a system of sitting together. Older people come together to talk about the problems they face. So today we have councils of older people at the village level and ward level. Since MAPERECE started working in our area, it has encouraged older people to deal with issues collectively. So, through their efforts, MAPERECE has mobilised older people to assemble, discuss the challenges they face, and so on. We have entered into MAPERECE in such a way and for that reason.

How do older people who live alone and have no children manage in their daily living?

These older people rely on MAPERECE to enable them because, in trouble, there are two types of support: either from families, or they can get help from MAPERECE. But support can come even from other older people; our understanding and our unity allows us to see other older people talk about the problems we all face. We older people have identified ourselves and the community is brought together, thinking about things and the lives of older people together. This is the only way I see it in the future—social sharing in all

matters. If we can do that, we will have made a very good step, because even before our time, our old people lived in this kind of socialism. And if the situation returns it will be one good step

How does MAPERECE help you personally?

For me personally, the help I get from MAPERECE is the education they offer. Back in the past, I had no knowledge about the fact that I have rights and that there are laws that protect me, but now in their seminars they have been teaching us and now I know my rights. Even in terms of the laws of the elderly, the laws of the country, the rights of the elderly, land tenure rights, the right to live, and such a thing... many things.

But there are still other things, for example, MAPERECE has taught us about natural resources, and small business-based education. This help us to come up with ideas and other ways of survival, and this has helped us. This kind of teaching is intended to help older people know how to emerge economically—to help an older person to know how to get out of poverty, lack of food. The organisation has introduced to us to ways to improve our economic situation, reducing economic hardship. Sometimes if there is a possibility, they give us a little help. But also, an old person socialises with older people, to stay connected with older people, exchanges ideas, talks, and this has made older people feel that they are a part of the community. Because of the difficulties of life and the economy, the elderly, we think, and we were asking the organisation and our Government too to continue to help us.

So, what more do you think the MAPERECE and the Government can do to help improve the living conditions of older people in the village?

There was a time that we older people tried to think of the farming question in the areas of our village of Lugeye. Our strength and our efforts were probably small, we could not do much. But we found that, for example, in a village like this we would like to have a tractor, which the older people will own and run ourselves. During the farming season this tractor would help to plough the land and help us in farming activities and the cultivating of our farms. This will be a great help for older people, who currently in farming activities use their hands to cultivate. Now, carrying a hoe and going to the field is difficult, but older people are farming and have land which needs to be cultivated. Therefore, having a tractor for cultivation will be a help to older people, and land can easily be cultivated with tools that will be helpful in the situation. If, our activities are farming, then we must get tools and aids that are relevant to agriculture so that one can get to work early. Although we were not able to achieve our idea, for lack of support, our

idea was that to get agricultural tools, one or two tractors that will help our lives. Older people will be able to get food.

(2). Interview with **Michael**—male (68 years of age, farmer)

Place: Lugeye Kitongonsima, Magu

Interview took place on 20th Sep 2018

What are the challenges facing older people in these areas?

The biggest challenge facing the older people of this place very much is the lack of food. You will find that an older person is worried, an older person is alone and has no food. This is the biggest problem we older people face here; we have no food.

Why are older people experiencing a shortage or lack of food?

I think it is the environment itself, because rain does not come in abundance. Then you also find that this older person has lost physical strength to deal with activities that can bring him/her income.

So, even if there is plenty of rain, if an older person does not have the physical strength to be able to plough the land, will a food shortage still exist?

It is true, yes, the problem of lack of food will still be present. If an older person does not get adequate nutrition and good food they remain physically weak, how can this person grow or cultivate the land? An older person has no one around to help them; they need more help from organisations that help people living in difficult situations.

How did you connect to the MAPERECE organisation?

MAPERECE came to our village, and it encouraged older people to join the vision of MAPERECE in their efforts to help the elderly. And I am very thankful for the organisation, it has done good work, its support is good. The things that we have been able to receive are good.

Can you mention good things that MAPERECE has been able to help you with personally?

I can mention them because when MAPERECE came to our village, they encouraged us that older people should be united, stay together. This was a very good step. In the past, before the arrival of the organisation, older people were separated from each other; everyone was silent in his/her own location, struggling with problems. You would find an older person here and there, another one there, no meetings, no gatherings. But now we can meet and that is a very good help. When MAPERECE came to connect us, we started to share our stories and life experiences together and began to discuss issues that

are challenging in our society, things that affect our lives. Also, MAPERECE, has taught us economic matters. Matters related to financial literacy. Then, it has assisted us with various services. Thank you to MAPERECE because they have enabled us to know how to do small business. They have brought to the older people the small project of raising goats. This project, although it takes a little longer, enables older people to earn income.... Goats are increasing through reproduction. Every old man who has no other way of economic self-reliance is given two goats, a female goat and a male goat. Then, too, through the MAPERECE young people in villages have been taught how to obey, listen to their elders, and value them and help older people. In the past, older people had been forgotten, so coming to MAPERECE has brought older people and young people close, through intergeneration interactions. So, I can say today you can see older people gaining respect and being valued as important people in our society.

Do you have children at home? And do they help you?

Yes, I have children who are now young adults, and they help me, although I don't live with them, they live far away, but they help me.

Do you see what else will help raise the life of the elderly in the village?

We were told in the past that all older people would receive a pension, but as we speak now, there is no such thing, just words we are given, nothing. I am asking you and others to advise the Government to think of us older people, give us a pension. If an older person receives a monthly pension, it will be very helpful. But now you see an older person burdened and just crying as they do not know what will happen. Please ask the Government to help us.

(3). Interview with **Margret**—female (68 years of age, farmer)

Place: Lugeye Kitongonsima, Magu

Interview took place on 20th Sep 2018

What problems are you facing in life?

I have no children to help me. I was not given children. My life in old age is just a problem. Also, the water problem is another issue. The source of water is very far away, one needs to walk a long distance while carrying water, and my own condition as you can see is challenging. My body is weak; I am not in the state I used to be. Sometimes days pass by without water, drinking water...what can I do at this old age?

How does MAPERECE help you, what support does it provide to you?

I have not been helped with anything by MAPERECE. They only encourage us older people to come into groups, be part of the older forum and older people groups at the village level councils. But privately in my troubles, I have not received direct support from the organisation or seen anyone from the organisation coming here to want to know the realities of my life.

Perhaps, I can only say that the help I see this organisation giving us is bringing us older people together. The organisation has encouraged older people in this village to meet. Older people meet, stay together, talk about the problems and challenges that they have. You see the benefits of meeting with older people, male and female. This reduces loneliness, sadness, and depression. When you are with others, you feel a little more happy, peaceful, laughing when you are among your fellow elders. But problems continue. Sometimes, older women try to sell porridge to raise money, but in this is village you do not sell much.

What do you think MAPERECE should do to help older women?

The best way to help us older women would be for MAPERECE to come to visit the older women and listen carefully to the ideas, know our needs. If MAPERECE wants to give anything to the elderly, e.g., soap, food, or money, my advice is that they should not give it to the village councils or to the older people council. But they should meet one older person after another, in person, and listen to her story and give that relief, support. Through this way I believe MAPERECE will be able to see the reality of the older people, the older women, elderly female widows. Because often the assistance that is being passed on to the council of older persons does not reach the target audience, especially older women, and it is not clear what is happening with that support. But also, something else that will really help older people both in the village and all of Tanzania is if we were given a grant/pension. If an older person accepts money every month for their livelihoods, this will be a great help and will simplify the life of many older people, it will restore value and life resilience. Older people in our village are overwhelmed with problems; their minds are not at ease, they are confused, are not in good health, and are under depression

Also, another thing to say is that older people should be given identity cards to show our age, to help us get free treatment, although this is not a sustainable way, because, first, this service is provided in Magu and Misungwi district only. Other places do not offer free medical treatment to older people even when you go with your identity card, indicating that you are over sixty years old.

Also, some older people have other diseases that need a referral to a larger hospital, to meet specialised medical doctors, like those in Bugando, Mhimbili Dar es Salaam, for medical treatment. This referral treatment is not free. Older people die because they cannot afford these treatments. Also, free medical treatment does not cover all issues and is not available in all hospitals.

(4). Interview with **Joyce**—female (70 years of age)

Place: Lugeye Kitongonsima, Magu

Interview took place on 20th Sep 2018

What problems are you facing in life?

Health problems. I am not well at all, also, the difficulty to get clean drinking water. I am old, in poor health, and taking care of my surroundings and myself is a major challenge for me. Getting food is a struggle for me; I am poor.

Have you received services or support from MAPERECE?

MAPERECE does not help me with anything directly. But we, older people have been encouraged to come together, forming an older council group. MAPERECE has encouraged older people to meet. We meet and talk. We meet on Friday. At our meeting, we share ideas, exchange ideas, and encourage each other in this life. So, I can say that I have never received help from MAPERECE, be it food, soap, clothes, or otherwise. Many times, when people from MAPERECE come, they speak only words, and then you are left in the same situation in your troubles. For example, today, MAPERECE has called a meeting of older people. From the morning time, we have gathered here, we are not eating anything, not even drinking water, the weather is hot. The leaders of the organisation come in their car and disappear after giving a speech.

We were even contributing a little bit to the village older people council in order to help anyone of us in time of serious crisis, when one of us is having trouble. But even these contributions do not help us much, as we do not know where the money, the contribution is taken too, it does not seem to go to those in great need.

Do you have children or relatives who help you?

I have no children. I have no grandchildren, and I have no relatives on whom to depend on in this life. I am just struggling on my own. Also, I strive to grow, to farm, but when harvesting time, you find animals like cattle, they have disrupted the field and all the plants. And yet my ability to farm is becoming more difficult because of old age and health problems. Also, I have a farm, and I try to grow crops, but when harvesting time

come, you find animals like cattle, have disrupted, eaten all crops, plants. And yet, my own physical strength is decreasing, so engaging in land cultivation is becoming more difficult because of old age and health problems.

If you are an older woman or man and do not have a house, a place to sleep, how does MAPERECE help?

Thank you so much for asking me this question. I have never seen such support given here. But we only hear that support is provided in other places. It is a fact that the older people in this village are impoverished people and need help. In my opinion, MAPERECE sees that many older people are poor health, in physical and environmentally problematic situations. Thus, MAPERECE should continue to help them, rather than believing that the councils of older people in the community would be helpful. Females, older women are still very concerned in these areas.

The idea and act of assisting older persons through the council of older persons, believing that it would reach the target audience, does not work as it is supposed to. Older people, especially older women, we see this method does not help us.

What do you recommend MAPERECE do, to help the older women?

If MAPERECE desires and is willing to help us, it is better for them to come themselves, or their official representatives should come to meet those with problems, and to help them directly, whether they bring money, food, clothing, or medical help. Many older women, widows, those who have never been married, live alone, eat only once a day, many are hungry because they do not have food and do not have money to enable them to meet their needs.

(5). Interview with Nelson—male (58 years of age)

Place: Lugeye Kitongonsima, Magu

Interview took place on 20th Sep 2018

In what ways are you connected to MAPERECE?

Here at our community, there is an older people's forum, and I am part of the leadership—a secretary of the village monitoring committee. One of my duties is to raise the voice and concerns of older people to responsible bodies, challenge the local and central government to honour their commitment to meeting the needs of older people and other socially disadvantaged groups, including people with albinism, in our society. Whenever MAPERECE is planning a meeting or seminar in our village, I am the person with whom the organisation consults first, and I undertake all the necessary preparation.

What makes the life of the older people in the community here difficult?

It is now about a year since the MAPERECE social project started operating in our village community. But the years back prior to MAPERECE coming, it was very bad. Older people faced challenging situations, including security threats to their personal safety, freedom of movement, and the victimisation and abuse of older people (especially older women) instigated by jealous, prevalent beliefs about the practice of witchcraft. Many older people fell victims of vicious attacks and killings in night times when no one is awake or watching. Houses occupied by an older person would be attacked, and some older women have sustained injuries, and are scarred for life.

Which years do you think were the bad years when the abuse and killing of older people was at the worst record in this village community?

I would say, the years of the 2000s was a bad period. From 2000 to 2010, each year in that period, you would hear six older people (older women) losing their lives to vicious, hateful victimisations and killings. These events created a sense of fear and terror among the older population in our community. Older people could not attend their farms or socialise openly. Some chose to sleep outside due to the fear that by being inside something bad might happen to him or her.

Why did such awful events happen in a village without anyone doing anything about it?

It came to the point when these events were seen to be normal. It reached a point, a situation, in which our community was not alarmed by the threatening or killing of older persons, when it was just normal. People were just going through their regular business as if nothing has or is happening and there was no demand of people to question, the meaning of these events and their implications on the sense a community. During the 2000s, we learnt that in our neighbour village there was a hired group of young people, who were paid to go around and commit these terrible murders. It was heard that group of young people have come and were operating in our village too, but no one could figure out who these people were. A sense of fear clouded people's minds, always wondering who is next after the death of one person. And because of conflicts within families, clans, among extended family members, sometimes not being able to resolve their differences, blaming each other. Family members end up going to traditional local healers, hoping to get help. Still, it has turned out to be that traditional healers do not help but send many families into conflict and eventually into killing each other. The common diagnosis

outcome by traditional witchdoctors is always devastating, as people in need of help end up being told it is your old aunt, grandmother, who is a witch in the family.

Why are those who are being alleged to be witches older people and not young adults?

Based on the traditional beliefs of the Sukuma tribe, it is believed that witches are older people, and especially older women, not older men.

Please, explain why older women and not older men receive these allegations that they are witches?

It means that, in the traditional beliefs in the Sukuma tribe, we believe that a person called a witch must be a woman, not a man. This is unlike in other tribal societies in Tanzania, who might take a different view, for example, the 'Haa tribal' group of Kigoma region. People in this tribe society believe that a person called witch/ sorcerer is an older male. But, the highest per cent of Sukuma people hold the belief and point of view that an older woman is witch or sorcerer.

How do you personally feel about this whole phenomenon, the victimisation and killing of older women? What does this mean to the sense of being a community?

My view is that this whole belief and labelling of older women as witches/sorcerers is bad. The more I think of it and see the negative consequences of killing in the family circle and community in general; this is a criminal act. The victimisation and killing of older women in many parts of Tanzania has damaged the sense of community. The notion that a community is a place where vulnerable individuals feel safe, protected, and cared for does not match with the attitude and reactions in our society concerning these terrible events.

So, since the MAPERECE organisation started to operate in this village, what has been done concerning ensuring security and creating a conducive living environment for older people here?

MAPERECE came with its social projects in our village, and good works have been done and continue to happen, to address the wrongly held beliefs, mistreatment of older people, and victimisation and killing of older women. With MAPERECE's initiatives and in collaboration with local government, team local leadership was formed. Key individuals, including older men and women at ward level, were chosen. The team leadership is composed of 10 members. At village level, the elderly council was erected, which monitored elderly forum activities. since MAPERECE came to our villages, the following things have happened:

- there is now village council of older people
- there is a law-related committee, members of this committee are informed and trained in law and human rights, the rights of older people.
- there is a committee (made of both old and young adults) that focuses on family affairs, disputes, and flagging up issues.
- there is a follow-up committee which I am part of it, our job is making sure that the training in law, human rights, specifically, rights for older people, is happening and going well. In this way, MAPERECE is empowering people at a grassroots level, enabling them to play a part in finding a solution and transforming the whole community for the sake of older people.

What is your primary role?

My role is to provide a guide, devising a plan and making sure that these committees fulfil their given duties. To make sure that every time MAPERECE has conducted various types of seminars that they are geared to empower the selected committees. I then have to make sure that each committee, in turn, has taken that education to the mass of people in the village, ward, community, e.g., law education, education related to human rights, the rights of older people. Both MAPERECE and local government appreciate my involvement, I am not employed to do this, but because I see the importance of issues involved and the benefits this brings to our communities, I volunteer and am passionate about it. With various teams involved I organise forums, seminars, and discussions on family and society issues. All sections of society can be responsible for addressing the concerns of older people, making sure that older people are part of society and that their needs are met. Most seminars tend to focus more at family because it is apparent that most problems begin at the family level.

.... The law committee focuses on law-related issues, at the family, clan, community level. It is the responsibility of this committee to follow up on issues and conflicts. For example, the issues that trigger the most animosity, hatred, intimidation, and killing of older people are land ownership, marriage-related issues, the inheritance of land, property, and border marking. Writing a will can help to avoid conflict among family members, older people do receive a service and help on how to formulate a will. We can now see positive changes among people, young people and young adults are interested, and already we can see the positive effect of the program that has been carried out on young people. For example, in the past, people were not feeling at liberty to mention the

committed murders of an older person in night. Still, since the seminars and education on human rights and rights for older people, people, especially young people in some villages where MAPERECE is operating do come forward to report and name those involved in the killing of older people. This openness and reporting of crimes has helped police and the legal system to prosecute some people in our community and around villages who have been involved in the victimisation, threatening, and killing of older people.

.... In the past years, the older person will receive a threatening letter, telling him or her to relinquish his property, land, and other valuables, and that failure to do what has been demanded of him or her shall be met with a violence reaction and in some occasions, death. Usually, the circulation of a threatening letter would be known to extended family members and even neighbours of the older person, but unfortunately, that information was kept secret, as no one dared to report to social welfare offices or police due to the fear that the same thing could happen to him or her, but, now the situation is different...people seem to look after each other if there is anything that seems suspicious, the report does reach police.

Are you at liberty to say who was behind the victimisation and killing of older people, here in and around the villages?

I think it is ok to talk about it now, no problem. In the previous three years, it appeared a man, whose name was Roya Bugari wa Mnva in our village. This man was said to have come from the Magu district. In Magu, this man was known for influencing/grooming young people into committing the killings. Basically, young people became his property, and any dispute or misunderstanding in the family circle, people came to him, and he would order this group to go and finish the business. This man moved from Magu to our village and groomed more young people. Consequently, we in the past saw young people walking with a machete/big knife, in the daytime and more in night-time. But I think Mr Roya Bugari wa Mnva and his group were not acting alone, I think they were following orders from family members or neighbours—directing them to kill a particular older person. In addition, behind family feuds/conflict was a traditional witch doctor/healer who would be stirring commotions and misunderstanding in the family, by naming an older member of the family as a witch/sorcerer; therefore, the entire family saw that person as bad and conspired to get rid of her. Usually, payment would be made to this Mr Roya and his group. It has now come to light that he used to charge 600,000Tsh for any person or family that needed his service of killing a person. But here in our village people have even paid 150,000Tsh for the killing of an older woman alleged to be a witch.

In the process of combating or putting a stop to the killing of older people, have you involved the police and legal institutions of the country in catching the criminals?

Thank you for this question... when MAPERECE's project came in our village, the group involved in advocating for older people's welfare was created. As I have said previously, that one of the commitments of this group is to reach government at local, district, and regional levels, in advocating and challenging the Government to pay heed to older people's plight in villages, basic human rights, and stressing the responsibility of the Government towards its citizens, older people....now we can say that the Government has responded positively to some of the demands related to security and justice for older people. For example, as we speak, the perpetrators of threats and the killings of older people in our village are now behind bars, in the maximum security Butimba prison. In our village of 'Tbongoya 'A', seven perpetrators have been captured in the last two years. This exercise is still going on in other neighbour villages. One clan colliding with another clan, misunderstanding and conflict within the family, sometimes an unhappy neighbour, who do not like an older person, would plot the threatening and killing of an innocent older person.

In which areas would you say the MAPERECE organisation has been very helpful in this village/community?

First..., MAPERECE's work has significantly contributed to eradicating the dreadful killing of our senior citizens, especially older women in our village, and in doing so, today, in our village, old people feel safe. Second..., the advocacy work of MAPERECE has challenged the Government to pay attention to the concerns of older people in general and rural areas. Previously, our government would have abandoned older people, and they had always assumed that older people's affairs are a family responsibility, even when the truth is that families today are not strong and extended family is often not there. The worst of all is that the same family that is meant to take care of their ageing parents or grandparents are the ones turning against them and exposing their relatives to danger. Hence, government through the police and legal and social welfare officers know that it must act to protect older people.

In addressing the concerns of older people, which groups or institutions do you involve?

We know MAPERECE alone cannot bring a solution to the many concerns of older people...so the community itself is actively involved. The local government, health department, and the police force is part of the solution.

Finally: what are your final suggestions to both MAPERECE and the government, regarding the whole process of improving and enhancing the lives of older people?

I would suggest that our government must ensure that older people are living in a conducive environment, socially, economically...older people must live without any fear of anyone, older people need to be empowered economically too. Also, our government must realise that old age is a phase of life that requires some sort of arrangement, structurally and socially. For example, older people need to be connected socially, minimising isolation and loneliness, hence, a program that could help older people to feel part of society and contribute to the development of our community would help a lot.

...MAPERECE must continue and increase its efforts to support older people in villages, for example, building houses for those who are without, counselling and easing tension among family members. Also, MAPERECE must continue pushing the Government at the local, district and regional levels to pay attention and practically respond to the cry of older people. The government must find a way to provide a monthly pension to all older people, those in formal employment and informal employment, like farmers, pastoralist-livestock keepers.

.... MAPERECE needs to engage more with the young people of today, who will be the older people of tomorrow, to help them see sense, and prepare themselves financially, materially, and with assets in old age. In this way, many could avoid poverty in old age. Currently, old person of 60 of age and above is given identity card, and this card is to be used whenever he or she goes to the hospital for treatment, but such a system is not working properly. I think the lasting solution for older people to receive health services is to enrol each older person, whether living in the city or village, in health insurance cover. A pension scheme would allow the older person to receive medical treatment on any health problem... instead of letting him walk with an identity card. Why do you give id card to a person who is already old?

.... Another issue that needs effort from both MAPERECE and government is the issue of drinking water... there is a need to dig a borehole-well, a source of water nearby so that older people will have not to walk a long-distance day and night searching for water.

At the present moment, at which level is the quest/discussion for older people to have health insurance?

This issue is at the policy level, there seems to be a sign that it may pass, but it needs to be made a law, or incorporated into law for it to be effective.

(6). Interview with **Mageni**—female (78 years of age)

Place: Bugomba village, Magu

Interview took place on 21st Sept 2018

What challenges do you face in your life here in the village?

I live alone. I have never had a child, or a grandson, who can say they can help me. Living alone, being old, the physical power that enables you to work, to run here and there, is not there. This condition has made my life very difficult.

So, what kind of challenges do you encounter in life, since you live alone?

My health state is not good. I do not have any food. Another problem is the problem of getting drinking water. The water wells are too far away. It is difficult for me to walk long distances to reach the water source. I am an old person, and my body is weak. I cannot carry a bucket of water on my head. Every time I try to carry a bucket full of water on my head, I fall. I have sometimes tried to ask for help to bring water from the well from people, neighbours. Sometimes they help me, but sometimes I do not get help. Sometimes you go a long time without bathing and drinking water because no one can help me all the time.

Who helps you bring water from the well and with other work in your home?

Mhmh... nobody, I have no one, I am alone, myself, trying to do what you can.

How did you join the MAPERECE organisation?

Eheee... the MAPERECE came to look for me. I did not look for them.

So, how can you say the MAPERECE organisation helped you?

(mhm...) Sometimes ago they gave me soap, and another time they gave me a little bit of money. But I do not see the representative of the organisation visiting me. It would be beneficial if they were aware of my life situation, how I am. If there was someone around to help me, the burden of my life will be a little easier.

What sort of support do you think would be of great help to you in your life?

(eehe...) Because of the old age, I am old; I would like to have water service. There should be a well of water nearby, as long walks are becoming more difficult. Carrying a bucket of water on the head and taking a long walk is difficult. It will also help if us older people will be given a small amount of monthly allowance. This will help us to live life, and it will bring relief to us in comparison to how life is now. The situation is bad. I am worried because I have no family or someone close to me always.

So, what do you tell MAPERECE about its services?

I only ask this organisation, we need it, look at us older women who have not been given a family. Even more, older women in the village have many problems. I ask MAPERECE to visit us every time, for them to see life here.

(7). Interview with **Esther**—female (80 years of age)

Place: Bugomba village, Magu

Interview took place on 21st Sept 2018

What are the situations that make the lives of older people in this village challenging?

(Mhhh...) first my problem and the one which I ask for help with is how to get water from the well. The water source is far away from here. If the water is moved here to around the places we live, it will be very helpful. When water is brought around here, I will be able to walk slowly, fetching water using a bucket or a small bucket to draw water. For now, the source of water is far away, and in my state, I cannot walk a long way, my legs are constantly aching and my chest aches, I am always in pain. Also, I am asking for cooking flour, cassava flour and maize meal, because there is no food in my house. If you help us older people, our lives will prolong, go forward, even become less burdened. People do not care today, there is not much respect and caring attitude from the community. I do not feel valued by people around.

What actions and attitudes must people around you show to indicate that you are counted positively and can make you feel positive?

(...) To be valued, respected, listen to, provided support, and protected.

Additional Question. So, your request is about getting basic needs, services, so that your life is improved?

(Mmhh...) Yes, to get the needs, will make us, older people like me, feel like a human being, appreciated, and respected within society as part of the community.

Are you or have you received any help from the MAPERECE organisation?

(Eeh....) Personally, I have not received anything, I am not helped. But at the village, community level, MAPERECE has helped. Older people in this village every time, when the night comes, you feel anxiety, fear fills your mind, you have sleepless nights and are very scared. Older women, we feared life and our very lives because there were many incidents of murder of the older people. Older people have lost their lives to swords, mutilated, while they were sleeping young people, a mob, a person would storm the door, enter the house by force. Older people, especially older women, live with severe scars on

their bodies, seriously injured. The invasion and killings were happening at night. Whenever the night comes, the older people are worried, scared, heee!...I do not know if I will wake up safely tomorrow. But because of the efforts of MAPERECE in educating the community about the rights of older people, esteeming an older person, protecting an older person, the threats and killings of older people has been very low in our village, diminishing as each day passes by. Before the MAPERECE organisation came in this village... many young people were abusing older people... the older people were just being insulted, threatened, feeling isolated.

(8) Interview with **Masanja**—male (60 years of age), village chairperson

Place: Bugomba village, Magu

Interview took place on 21st Sept 2018

What are the problems facing older people in this area?

(...mhm...) Older people in this village have and are experiencing many challenges. One thing that has been the outcry for many is denying an older person his or her fundamental rights, human rights. Young adults, children, or relatives would come demanding by force the ownership of land or property belonging to an older person. When an older person says no to their demand, then he/she gets threatened and if he/she stood her ground firmly then an attack may happen, mostly in the night-time. You find this older person dead, mostly through the horrific death of being strangled. The unfortunate thing about this situation is that those who commit these terrible things are relatives, and even when the neighbour of the deceased knew about the threat, they remained quiet, not reporting to the local authority or police. This has created the question of security for older people, as they lived under fear of being attacked and killed in the night-time.

Another issue concerning older people is health problems. The majority of our elderly struggle with health and medical treatment is difficult to get. If an older person needs medical surgery, then payment must be incurred. Still, the majority of elderly live in poverty and do not have the money to be able to sustain their lives, let alone to afford high cost medical treatment. Most older people live with heath medical problems for a long time without receiving proper medical treatment, that is why many have weak health.

What is causing young people to involve themselves in the killing of older people with machetes?

Those young people want to have power, control over property, farms, so they exploit the elderly. Older people are powerless. So, many young people see the shortest way to get what they want is to kill an older relative, cut short their lives.

Is there anything you see that is disturbing the lives of older people in these areas?

(... Eehmmm) Yes, something else I see is a problem, is that older people who are old are unable to find themselves medical treatment because they lack income, because with the treatment, they have to pay for it. Many older people in the village have no money, and even their agricultural production rate is very low. To afford high medical costs like surgery/operation or referral for treatment is impossible if there is no intervention.

As the chairman of this area, what steps have you taken to control and prevent the killing of older people?

(...) I give congratulations to the MAPERECE organisation. When MAPERECE came to our area, it educated the community about the state of the killings, ending the deaths of older people. Therefore, today the massacre of older people in this area has declined. Also, this is true of the murder of our brothers and sisters who are albinos. For, albinos had not been at peace, people saw the killing of albinos as a money-making project. The situation was very bad, people with albinism had to hide from the public, were stopped from attending the farms, businesses, and socialising with other people for fear of being kidnapped and killed.

Can you remember which years were the worst, in which many older people lost their lives?

(Ehee...) The years that many older people were murdered with swords... let me say...starting in the years 2005 backwards the murder of older people was too much in our village. Many older women lost their lives, but after 2005, the murder, so far, has become very low.

What do you advise for the service providers of older people?

(..) I would like to thank again MAPLECE for their good work which makes a positive change in the welfare of older people and society. Also, I asked the organisation, as well as our government, to consider the following requirements:

i. Lack of water. Lack of water and distant access to water affects the lives of older people. Today we live in a time when there is very little rain, we have a long dry season, with drought. If possible, help us to bring ad move the water well near. Without moving the water well near, how can people get water? Because natural wells dry up and many older

people cannot go far to fetch water, so they pass many days without bathing. Sometimes they do not even have drinking water.

ii. Medical services. My other request is that older people should be given their special place in hospitals and dispensaries when they go to get treatment, they should be treated quickly. Older people can be distinguished from other people in receiving medical care. Older people should not be made to stand on a line or queue—make the line in waiting to see a doctor give them a priority, so that they can be served first.

(9). Interview with **Jonathan**—male (70 years of age)

Place: Bugomba village, Magu

Interview took place on 21st Sept 2018

What challenges do you face in life here in the village?

(Ehe...) It is good. I am grateful for our village, in general, it is safe. We have not seen albino killings or the killings of older people again. The murder occurred many years ago. But now this village is safe.

How does MAPERECE help you? What services have you received from this organisation?

(...Eeehh.) I thank you for MAPERECE for being willing to help us older people. But the thing that bothers me is I find that every time MAPERECE comes here, they bring soda, they give a piece of soap. We are given soda—Fanta, one Coca-Cola, or one soap. Older people are happy. But if you look, or overthink of this kind of help, from a far-reaching perspective (mhhmm...) one drink soda, or a single soap, do they help us really? Where will one soda lead us? Helping an older person by giving one soda... I do not know. In other words, help in this way does not help the elder and does not help the elder for a long time.

So, what kind of service do you think is appropriate for older people, here in the village?

(...) Great support for older people is getting subsidies, pension. MAPERECE will help us get subsidies or a pension. Money that an older person will be given every month. This is the most important thing and the solution to many of the problems facing older people, like me. Another thing is that we should join five or ten people who know each other, who can work together, the organisation should ask for us to search for grain grinding machines. This will help us very much. Or poultry farming, helping older people. Helping

older people in this way will improve the life and environment they live in. But apart from this way, I don't know if there will be a big change in the life of the elderly.

Young people today are fighting for life, an older adult today can only be chased out of the field, a house, and because you are an older person, tired, you don't want to quarrel with young people, you decide just to leave them to go ahead. But this experience gives you great pain in the heart, psychologically, and you feel that you have been placed on the side. If an older person decides to argue too much with young people, they can harm you or do anything to you to get you to stop.

(10) Interview with **Lukas**—male (55years of age) village executive officer

Place: Ibongoya 'A' village, Magu

Interview took place on 22nd Sept 2018

What problems make the lives of older people difficult?

(Mhmm....) Older people in our village have been experiencing many problems. Some have received a threat from their own adult children and relatives from extended family, pressurising them to relinquish their land, property, farms, and any valuable assets. Witchcraft allegations have been used as grounds for killing an older person, while in fact, the truth of the matter is that it is the older person's disagreement to give up his/her ownership of property, land, farm. The envy, bitterness and lack of love and care towards older people and the lack of support from within the family circle and the community has put the life of older people in our village in danger. The older people are forced to relinquish their possessions while still alive. Older people were always worried. Even when an older person is in his/her home, or his house, he is full of anxiety, because at any time it can happen, bad people can attack him.

As a leader of the government, what efforts have been made to alleviate the suffering and to prevent these killings in order to bring a sense of security to older people?

(...) I first thank the Tanzania government for passing the policy that protects the rights of older people. The process of promoting the rights of older people has given older people a deep sense of dignity and self-esteem. It is increasingly challenging the young and young adults with their wrong assumptions and myths about older people. Also, once MAPERECE has come into our village, positive efforts and support towards older people became evident. The organisation has initiated the formation of an older people's forum-platform, a place where older people come together to discuss their concerns and channel their issues to the right places, including organisations and government offices. Older

people themselves created their own councils. These councils have helped us, we have worked with them to make meetings in village councils, in mobilising people, including youth groups, children and older people.

What sort of message, through its effort, has MAPERECE given to various groups?

(...) Messages have been given to groups that older people have the right to live, have the right to be respected. We emphasise to young people that, you are still responsible for continuing to care for older people and to value them as people. They are still part of the community. Older people have raised you as their own children, how do you fail to know your responsibilities to older people now? It is a shame that the current generation increasingly disregards older people despite their contribution to society. MAPERECE's efforts and collaboration with the police force in addressing the affairs of older people in our village have resulted in alleviation of harassment and killing of older people.

How do the activities of traditional local healers contribute to the occurrence of threats, killings, and negative living experience of older people in your area?

(Eeh...) no doubt the traditional healers have contributed to the loss of many lives of older people. People who tend to consult traditional witch doctors do encounter insights that set them against their older relatives and make them think and believe that by killing older people they will make their own life better. which is a complete lie and based on the wrong diagnosis. MAPERECE and the government's representatives, including the police, have engaged those involved in traditional medicine, those who claim to have knowledge of local non-scientific medicine. In one meeting, the message to them was “don't bring family relatives into the conflict amongst themselves, or with another family member” by making him or her believe that the problem he has is caused by an old aunt or an old relative of that person. People come to traditional local physicians, instead of telling you that your relative suffers from Malaria, or some illness, he is told that his grandmother, aunt is harming your relative. For now, we see some changes among the traditional healers, their attitudes and assumptions are changing. The government has put in place a law that anybody involved in this traditional medicine must first be registered; otherwise, he will not be permitted to practice. Nowadays, traditional witch doctors are acknowledging the modern way of diagnosis and medicine. So there have been some cases where a patient has gone to see the traditional healer only to be told if you feel Malaria, fever, you better go first to the modern hospital and then come to me, if you feel no improvement.

In your assessment of traditional healers, what would you say could be the main interest for someone claiming to be expert in traditional healing medicine?

(...Ehee) Most people in rural areas are involved in local medicine together with witchcraft beliefs. The majority of these people are in this business to exploit people's ignorance and fear, and therefore make money out the vulnerability of people who come to them with their problems. That is why in the past and to some degree even now some traditional healers do not care whether they are lying and creating conflict among family members, provided they get paid. There are many people in rural areas who have incurred debts, they will have been told by this local traditional physician to go and bring me a cow, goat, chicken, to solve your problems. Once, you bring those items to him, he plays with you psychologically, feeding you lies, then you go home fuming that your grandmother or old aunt is bewitching you. What usually happens, when this local traditional physician receives his reward in term of cow or any other form, he will run away and move to another village, continue causing problems with other people. You will have heard about the loss of many people with albinism due to the influence of traditional witchdoctors, who have been misleading business people and others that if you kill a person with albinism and bring a limb, arm, I will make a medicine for you that could make you rich. After the Government demanded that all traditional physicians to register and explain what their health package provision is, many have gone into hiding.

MAPERECE has been a great help to the elderly, helping them to know their rights, to educate the community about protecting them, to protect the elderly from danger.

What else would you like to comment or suggest is the role of MAPERECE in proving service to older people?

(...) For the lives of older people to improve, many things need to be done. In short, I see the following provisions will help.

First, older people need water services to be brought in proximity. Water is an essential need for our existence, but if the water source is far away, it makes the life of an older person very hard. She cannot walk a long-distance carrying bucket of water. If MAPERECE put its influence behind this issue, it would help.

Second, health treatment is another key issue for anyone, but even more so for an older person. I suggest that the Government should prepare a conducive environment for older people to access healthcare and medical treatment. Currently, it is difficult for older people to access quick health treatment. You will find an old person being told you "you need a big operation, but it will cost you Tsh 150,000." Where do you think this individual

will get that amount of money? He/she is not working and does not have a daily income coming in. Now, for not getting quick medical treatment the health condition of an older person can deteriorate quickly, and some of my fellow old people here are living with long pain without help, and some have lost their lives unnecessarily and prematurely. NGOs such as MAPERECE could spearhead this issue, calling for more medical centre facilities and free good treatment for older people.

Lastly, it is also important that there must be an empowerment education gearing to enhance the knowledge to older people. Older people need education on how to start a small business, identifying potential opportunities for small business, and they should be given financial assistance for that to happen.

(11). Interview with **Buyegi**—female (75 years of age)

Place: Ibongoya 'A' village, Magu

Interview took place on 22nd Sept 2018

Note: Survived an attack, but lost all righthand fingers, and sustained severe injuries to her legs.

Can you describe your current situation? (which led to the loss of fingers and leg injuries)?

(...) It is sad; I am sad. It was in 2012 when this problem happened. I was sleeping at night, when at about 3 a.m., suddenly I heard a big knock, big bang at the front door, the door broke and opened wide, then I heard a person walking towards the bedroom where my grand two grandchildren and I were sleeping. This man came and stood near the bed, covered part of his face, but I was able to see him and recognised him. This man said these words "today is the last day of your life, so pray for the last time", and I answered back, what do you mean? What have I done to you? How have I wronged you? You are carrying a sword/panga knife, machete. You are here to kill me. You kill me...but remember God will be on you, he will get you. God will deal with you, will find you. Then, this man raised his machete/panga knife and started hitting me, cutting me. He targeted my head, my face...so, I raised my hand to cover my face ...he cut my fingers, my arm. He also cut my waist. I lost a lot of blood. Having seen me silent and losing a lot of blood this man thought I was dead. So, he left, escaped through the window. When my grandchild who was also covered with my blood saw that the man has gone, she ran to look for help, knocking at neighbours' doors. With so much blood loss, physical and emotional pain, I started crawling going outside, my hope was that if I am taken quickly

to the nearby hospital I might survive, and I did. I did manage to get outside my house, but I fainted. I became unconscious until I woke up in the hospital. My neighbours gathered and quickly called the police. The police car came, but it took a long time to come. I was attacked and injured at 3 a.m. in the morning, but the police's help came at 6 a.m.

The police took me to a nearby hospital, in a place called Mitindo Village, but when the hospital doctors and nurses saw me, they said this person is too badly injured for the level of our services here to be able to cure her. So, they said I must be taken to Mwanza city—Bugando referral hospital. So, I was taken to Bugando referral hospital, and I was admitted from 9th October 2011 to 15th March 2012. Because my right hand, especially my fingers, was badly cut, Bugando hospital decided to amputate my fingers and inserted in me steel wires. And I was supposed to have gone back for a check-up and removed the inserted metal, but in order to have that service, I am required to pay Tsh/150,000. I do not have that amount of money, that's why I have not been able to go back. The attack, injuries, and the aftermath have deeply affected my practical life. Now I live alone, my granddaughter is far away. Taking care of myself, farming, searching for water, and other basic needs is very hard. My grandchildren and my brothers are far away, and I am growing older. I find it very difficult to do a variety of work, including carrying water, wood, even cooking is hard work, cultivating the land in the rainy season, is hard.

How did you become connected to the MAPERECE organisation?

(Mmh...) The MAPERECE organisation came in our area here. A MAPERECE leader came to attend a village meeting, talking about the rights of the older people. At the meeting, some of the people who attended were asking questions to the MAPERECE representative who was present, that, "If a person has been injured, cut off with knives, what steps are there for this person to get legal rights and justice? Because I was there, after the meeting ended the MAPERECE representative came to speak with me. So, we stayed together, and I told them all the details of my tragic story. MAPERECE took an interest in my situation. In this way, I became connected to MAPERECE.

Do you know the person who ambushed the house and attacked you with a machete that night?

(Urmmh...) The representatives of MAPERECE organisation asked me the same question, and I did explain to them. Yes, I know who attacked and injured me, putting me in this difficult situation. The one who attacked and injured me with a knife that day, I recognised him, he was my brother, the son of my younger father, a brother to my father

and I have this picture, his own image. In my own knowledge, I have not caused any problems to him or his family or children of his own, and I have never been in any fight or exchange of bad words with him previously. I have never offended him or had anything against him, and yet he came that night with the intention to kill me. That night when he invaded the house, broke my door, ready to kill me, I asked him what wrong, why you want to do this to me? He did not answer!

Do you think that this person who attempted to kill you, instead resulting in your injuries, was sent by some other people in this village and community?

(...Ehhee) I do not think so. I think it was entirely his own decision, his initiative, he decided to invade my house during that night and attacked me and injured me with a sword. But what I saw when he lifted the sword and hit me, was that he was shaking. I think if he were among those group or sent as one of those young mob, send to kill older people, he would have killed me ultimately. He would not have left me alive that day. Based on this assessment, it seems he came by his own free will and acted alone to attempt to kill me; he was not sent by anybody.

Why was he trembling if he had decided to destroy your life?

(Urmm).... Maybe he knew that what he was doing was wrong, so his conscience was accusing him, and he had no peace.

What steps were taken to peruse this person?

(....) On the day of the event, when I was unconscious, the neighbour reported to police and on the way to the hospital I was taken to police station, they registered the whole event, after the event was registered then I was taken to the Bugando referral hospital. I stayed in the hospital for more than three months. However, when I came out of the hospital, nothing continued, no case, no investigation was carried out, everything went dead both in my community and in with the Police too. Maybe if I had a male son of my own, he would have helped me with the investigation. We could have come to the bottom of this case.

So, in what way(s) has MAPERECE been helpful to you? What services has the organisation given to you?

(Eheeeh....) The MAPERECE organisation has been involving me, and in the past has always wanted me to take part in its organised meetings, talking about the concerns of older people, the challenges they face in rural areas... victimisations and abuse. So, at the beginning of my connection with MAPERECE I have attended meetings across Tanzania, I have travelled with them wherever they were leading a conference related to elderly

people's affairs. For example, I did travel with the MAPERECE's representative to Dar es Salaam. Whenever I was taken, I shared the testimony of what happened to me and the challenges that face old people in rural areas and the important role of MAPERECE in addressing these issues. But it has now been a while since anyone from MAPERECE has visited me, or even desired to know how I am getting on. Though I should admit that talking about what happened to me was helpful to me, the exercise brought confidence in myself. But still, life is tough for me. I will deeply appreciate it if MAPERECE continues supporting me.

So, in your perspective, this organisation has and is doing good work?

(....) In the past period, especially after the dreadful incident occurred to me, I was not sleeping at night in peace, I was worried a lot. Whenever I heard any movement, footsteps, I became so anxious and wondered whether the new day would find me alive. MAPERECE's work has had a positive effect on the social condition here. The work and education spread by MAPERECE in our village has brought significant change. People now know that an older person has basic rights, legal rights. At a personal level, MAPERECE does not visit me; it has not seen me for a long time, even to just want to know how I am progressing. I do not know whether MAPERECE has different grounds on which they decide to visit or provide services to older people.

What do you wish to see MAPERECE doing for you and other older people?

(...) MAPERECE needs to help people like us with our problems because that is the reason the organisation came to this village and community. It seems MAPERECE visit us only when they have a visitor of their own, then people like me are required again to talk about my situation, but no help comes from the organisation anymore. I live in a very old house which is dilapidated and whenever there is rain, water just falls directly into my house. I have no food, no drinking water, I cannot even go to the hospital for a check-up because I have no money. I believe if MAPERECE was willing to help me, they could have done so a long time ago.

(12). Interview with **Henry**—male (67 years of age)

Place: Ibongoya 'A' village, Magu

Interview took place on 22nd Sept 2018

In your opinion, what factors affect the lives of older people in this community?

(Ehee....) The living experience of many older people in our community is a difficulty. The living environment reality of many of us in 'Tbongoya A' village is hard. In relation to this fact, I would like to mention three things that are challenges to us old people.

First, we do not have things that could enable us to live a good life. Health problems rank first in the order of the issues here in our village. Older people struggle with many illnesses, including Malaria, physical pain, and stomach-ache. What makes these health issues even more difficult is the fact that the health centres where people go for treatment are located far away. To be able to reach there, one needs transport, but the accessible means of transportation here in our village is bicycles, and only young adults can ride bicycles long distances, not older people. The older people who have children get taken on bicycles by their own children. But those who are without children or grandchildren do struggle a lot. So, older people in this village will benefit much from having a good means of transport, such as a minibus.

The second issue that seems to be a challenge to people in this village, especially more for older people, is the issue concerning water. This village does not have clean water and so during the summer period people are forced to travel far away searching for water, people would go looking for water during the night-time. This is a challenging exercise for older people to undertake. So, bringing water nearby could help a great deal. MAPERECE could initiate such a project. Another problem that older people face is a lack of means of income. Climate change, the lack of rain and a long spell of drought recently has affected the agriculture production very badly; the harvest is very poor. Young people, young adults have tended to migrate to cities and other places in search of work, but older people are left here facing hardship. Having an income-generating business would help.

How has the organisation of MAPERECE helped or addressed the issues you just mentioned?

(Eehee....) First, I want to thank the MAPERECE organisation...I mean no person in this area, district, could say that this organisation has not done anything beneficial. I am thankful for the changes we are seeing here today. In previous years our community had a lower level of understanding of the plights of older people. People, in our community, seemed ignorant of the fact that older people have rights too. However, since MAPERECE came to our village with its mission to address the older people's plights, the attitudes of the people in our community have changed and became positive towards older people. The threats and killings of older people which were happening in previous

years have stopped. The coming of MAPERECE has transformed the minds of older people, they have become more aware of the need to stand up for their rights. The organisation has addressed the issue that has been used by many to cause danger to old people, “the myth about old age, age-related changes.” Older women were tortured, killed because of claims that they were witches, just because they had wrinkles on their faces and red eyes. Having wrinkles and red eyes was seen by others in the community as an indication of being involved in witchcraft, spreading diseases. Whenever a young family lost their baby or child to any illness, such as high fever, chronic Malaria, strangely the question you hear people often asking concerning illness is not what has caused the illness or death; but who has caused the illness or death?

As you can see, people in our community seem to be so engrossed by the notion of witchcraft, which has unfortunately birthed in people an attitude of blaming others/people, especially older people for illness and death in families, and therefore avoiding addressing the real root causes of illness and circumstances of death. Prompted by a strong belief in superstition/witchcraft and fear, some people in our community would consult the so-called traditional healers or witchdoctors to find explanation or answers for illness or death of their loved ones. However, such an enquiry process does not always produce a result that is helpful to a family involved and at the community level, because most of the traditional healers are not truthful. They are in this career for money-making, that is why they would always demand payment in the form of goats, cattle, chicken, and sometimes, money. Traditional healers always lie to people about the true nature of illness and death. I think that they don't have knowledge of these issues, but pretend to be physicians, and the only thing they do to people is to bring conflict in families and amongst family members, by saying it is your old aunt, a grandmother who has or is causing the illness and death. Literally, many families in our village have experienced the dilemma of how to maintain a healthy family relationship. You are told, oh! Your old aunt, the grandmother, is bewitching you. Upon hearing such news, people will feel a great anger towards older people... especially elderly relatives within the extended family: anger and feelings of animosity within family circle end up in killings. We are grateful for MAPERECE's work in our village. Since this organisation came to our community, it has and is transforming society's mindset and attitudes by providing education on old age-related issues, promoting awareness of the basic rights of older people in the community, and correcting the myths surrounding old age. Since the

MAPERECE organisation started working in our village in 2017, we have not heard of any killings of older people in our village.

What efforts and actions has the Government taken at the village/community level in curbing the threats and killing of older people?

(....) At local government level we implemented some strategies. Because as a community at the leadership level we have received education on human rights, rights of old people, in turn, we formed and equipped core groups of people. This trained group went throughout the village and to the surrounding villages, sensitising people on older people's fundamental rights, correcting the myths surrounding ageing and older people. Emphasising that having wrinkles on the face and red eyes is not an indication of someone being a witch. Hence, we took the campaign for older people's welfare and concerns from village to village, ward to ward; as a result, older people have peace, and there is a sense of respect among young adults towards older people. Every year, 1st October, in our village, we join other people around the nation and worldwide, to celebrate old people's day.

Could you mention one or two major ways in which MAPERECE has helped you personally as one of the older people in this community?

(Eheeh...) I can say that the coming of MAPERECE into our village was for me the coming of peace. MAPERECE's work has changed the social atmosphere, through its advocacy and teaching: I feel at peace. I received once support like, soap, sugar, and drink. Before MAPERECE arrived here, whenever the night comes, a sense of fear and trepidation befalls us old people, feelings of anxiety, you wonder will the morning find me alive? Today I can walk to my farm, even in the evening I can walk, meet other older people for coffee. Also, as an older person, I know my fundamental rights and the place to go when faced with justice concerns.

Interviews with Individuals of the Dogodogo Street Children Trust

Managerial level:

(1). Interview with **Shija**—male

Place: Africa Sana area, Office Ubungo, Dar es Salaam

Role: Director of Dogodogo

Interview took place on 12th Oct 2018

Why was this organisation started?

The starting of the Dogodogo organisation came about as a result of seeing children and young people sleeping rough, living in wrong places, in the streets, on the shop floors. The more difficult question occupied our mind was: why do these kids/young people live and sleep in such a difficult environment? Even if a child/young person has lost parents, surely there must still be other relatives related to this child/young person, for example, grandparents, aunts, and others, that could help this child/teenager, but where are these relatives, how have these children/young people ended up living rough? Many young people who sleep and live in dangerous environments are very young, ages 11–15. The children/young persons are scrubbing cars, picking up empty bottles from a heap of rubbish, sleeping in streets. On my trip around Dar es Salaam city, passing through the same route every day, you see the kids/teenagers that are worried about life. As an organisation, we decided to start with these kids/young people who we saw. Although we later discovered that street children are very numerous in Dar es Salaam.

What kind of street children/youths are you targeting with your services? Those who do not have relatives and live in the streets, or those with relatives but who work in the street? Or, do you target any child/youth you meet in the streets?

For all of our time, since we started this service, we focused on: first, children/young people aged 7 to 17. So, this age is our criterion. Even when we opened four stations, we considered this age for those to be allowed to receive services and live in such centres. Our idea was that when you took a 7 to 17-year-old child and train him/her at our school programme for two years, then the child can graduate at the age of 19, already an adult and now much more mature and developed. In the beginning, we found a lot of children aged 9 and 13, and we put them in our Kigogo centre, under the school supervision.

Another factor is understanding the circumstances and living realities of the young people in the streets. We need to establish the truth as to whether this person is a street child. The organisation conducts research, monitoring, researching the child, knowing where he is

from, where he is in the street sleeping at night. All these steps are to make sure that we really serve him/her with the right service and access to the organisation and not otherwise. Our goal is not to serve these kids/youths all the time, but to help them for a while to get their education and the resources needed for independent life after they have departed from us. Another criterion for children entering our programme, at our Kigogo centre for schooling, is that this young person will enter the centre but not live all their life there, but that they need to come out and not just stay in this place until his old age. So, when we pick up a street child, a young person from the street, we try to see whether enrolling this individual into our programme will be of benefit to them, and that the person after completing the programme will be able to get out and start their own life.

Our position is that for a young person entering the programme and receiving our services it is necessary and so important that when the time is over, she/he gets out of the place, leave a chance so that someone else can join. So, we measure the age: does it allow them to join in our programme? Are they ready and able to graduate, leaving after the appointed time? And is there a place we can send or bring them back to their family. Is there a possibility that this young person to be self-reliant? Could he/she be self-sufficient after their time with us has ended, can you trust him/her to start their own life, be lent out a room, given some things/tools to start his/her career life, at the end will they become self-reliant? But the very first criterion is that this child is actually a street child. This template is given more attention it avoids situations whereby a person can bring his child, or his uncle, or any of his siblings who do not possess these qualities I mentioned in our Vocational Training Centre. Therefore, leadership is very careful when checking that the child/young person coming to the programme is actually living on the street.

What factors do you use in determining that indeed this person is a street boy/girl who is deserving of your services?

The only method we use to determine whether or not this boy or girl deserves our service is one-to-one interviews, face-to-face conversations. We also conduct some observation, trying to map the whereabouts of the person and the activities she or he is involved in. Otherwise, the interview does reveal a lot about a person.

What actions do you consider to be authentic steps in helping street children/youths in Dar Es Salaam?

We opened a drop-in centre, a place where street children/teenagers could come to sleep each evening, but we allowed them every morning to go out into the city to find their needs, for example, to beg for money, food, and other items from people passing by in

the main roads, washing cars, asking for help from people going to and coming from work. The street young people are involved in various activities in order to generate money. Their activities included going to places, such as the main road, collecting empty bottles, selling fruits and other essential items in the street, because we did not have enough financial capacity to change their whole life instantly. We realized that for this period, we could only give them a safe place to sleep. This centre is called Ubungo drop-in centre. The street children and youths could come to this centre to have a shower, sleep, and during the morning they go back to the streets continue carrying out the individual activities that provide them with money, livelihood. So, the street children/youths were free to come and go at any time. It should be noted that in 1999 the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) was approved but matters relating to the rights of the children were something new in our community, and most people in our community did not understand. As the time went on, through our interactions and listening to the street children, we discovered that some street children/teenagers wanted to get an education, to be able to read and write, they expressed this desire to us. So, we as an organisation decided to work on this important issue, the request for acquiring education; therefore, we set up some classes for those interested. This was informal education here at the centre. We started teaching them how to read and write. We also made efforts to provide at least one meal for a day. In addition, we explored ways in which street children/young persons could enter the formal education system to attend school. In partnership with the City Council's leadership, we were able to ask the Government education authority to allow the street children who desired education to be given places at some of the local public schools across the city. Therefore, some children/teenagers began to go to government schools. They go to school in the morning, and after school hours they come back to us, sleeping at the centre during the night-time. Not so long after the programme got underway, another challenge emerged, which we did not foresee. The drop-in centre accommodated both sets of children, those street children/youths attending schools, and those who were not interested in school. Instead, they preferred roaming the street, collecting empty plastic bottles, selling, and begging, at night returning and joining with those attending school. The two groups could not get along peacefully and well. Their interaction was characterized by verbally abusive language, hostility, and fighting. Those children/youths who were attending schools sometimes would wake-up in the morning only to find their school bag missing, their exercise books or notebook being slashed apart, pencils and pens missing. This was a behavioural problem, and yet the organisation

felt committed to helping every street child/youth who came through our door. Hence, the leadership thought about what to do and came up with a solution that it would be better to establish another centre in a separate location. This would be a purely vocational education centre. Hence, the Bunju Vocational Training Centre was opened. Since then, it has helped many street youths to acquire vocationally oriented education that has helped street youths to get jobs, employment opportunities, such as carpentry, tailoring, driving, and basic knowledge of how to build a house.

When the Dogodogo leadership spoke to the government, what decisions and programmes were put in place to allow these kids to enter the state schools?

Dogodogo's leadership and government leadership saw the need for and importance of children and young people on the street to get an education. Many young people from the streets come from distant regions, such as Mwanza, Kigoma, Shinyanga, Musoma, and Mbeya. They were enrolled and allowed to attend Dar es Salaam schools, to receive a friendly education. There is a new policy strategy called the education programme for missed-targeted children and youth. The education programme for those who may have been missed out has existed since 1996 in the country. We built a facility in the area called Kigogo A which was able to accommodate 30 street children at one time. The children at the centre were going to school and returning to the centre after school. Only those interested in education and exhibiting good character stayed at the Kigogo A centre.

So, when the children/young people at Kigogo A centre finish the seventh-class education, what do they do or where do they go?

When they finish the seventh class, they join secondary school. The challenge we had at the beginning was about what to do with those who fail to enter secondary school. Secondary schooling opportunities were few back then, but today the number of secondary schools has increased. At the initial stage, first graduates who did not continue to the secondary school level were being returned to their home. But some young people who did not want to go home and went back into the streets continued with their life on the street, which did not make us happy as an organisation.

In seeing the failure of some children to continue with secondary school, instead returning into the street life, what action did you take as a solution?

After ten years the organisation saw what was happening to those who graduated from secondary school but failed to continue with further secondary education, those interested were taken to our two-year Vocational Training Centre, instead of going home or returning to the street lifestyle. We saw the importance of establishing a Vocational

Training Centre that allowed young people on the street to continue with a career-oriented education to gain a balanced knowledge, which will enable them to find work and independence in life. So, we established Kigogo B, which could carry 30 children. We opened a large Vocational Training school in the Bunju area, for the career development of street children/youths.

Is there any points at which you would say that the organisation's service provision was better, or conversely, more difficult?

During the period between 2008 and 2010, there was a global economic crisis. During this period, the organisation performance struggled due to financial difficulties. With the world economy being in turmoil the organisational performance was affected severely, the global economic crisis led some of our donors to withdraw themselves, stop funding our programmes, and others to move away from Tanzania and aid began to decline. So, due to a lack of funding, in 2010, we were forced to close the centre of Kigogo A. I had to ask the children who were in that centre to go back to their home. So, with the youths who were ready to go back home we made a plan to send them back to their families and for those who did not go home, and we requested a place for them to be accepted in other centres run by other organisations in Dar es Salaam. So, from December 2010, the centre of Kigogo A, was closed. In 2017 December we sold the Kigogo A building to the Government in the Kinondoni municipality, Dar es Salaam, since then it has been used as a clinic facility until today.

Has the vision of the organisation changed due to the economic climate change?

No, the vision of the organisation has not changed. The vision of the Dogodogo organisation is to ensure that the Tanzanian child/boy or girl enjoys fundamental rights, livelihood, and social welfare. As an organisation, we look closely at and manage the rights of a child who lives and works in the street, to help them be recognised and appreciated in the community. We are promoting children's rights. Our work deals with children and teenagers who live in difficult situations and their numbers are many. In the long-run, our work of care contributes to the advocacy, child rights promotion, providing mobile education to those working and living in the streets. Our Vocational Training Centre in the Bunju area is now getting support from Holy Ghost Fathers. The Holy Ghost Fathers were among the first set of the first missionaries to come to Tanzania. They started their work in France, Belgium 150 years ago intending to help local children. But when they came to Tanzania, they came intending to prevent children from going to villages, roaming in street cities. Later because of their financial capacity, they established schools,

such as the Marian Secondary School. So, from the last year 2017, we decided to work together in running and managing the Vocational Training Centre in the Bunju area.

They had indicated to us that they would like to take over and provide total leadership over the running of the centre. But we told them that if they could persuade us that they could carry out and develop our vision of the Vocational Training Centre in Bunju area, we will consider, but we have not yet made these decisions. So, the Vocational Training Centre still belongs to us. If we give up the running of the centre, then we will focus strongly on mobile education.

How do you carry out mobile education in the streets?

Our social workers are involved in mobile education. They take education to the street, in various parts of the city in the morning, carrying with them some working tools, like pens, pencils, small writing boards. Wherever they see children/youths sitting in groups amounting to 5–10 in particular parts in the city and perceive that the place, the environment/condition is conducive for such an education event, the social workers try to give such education. They then ask the children/youths for permission to do so. Often, street children are very busy, they do not have time to lose, so the mobile education programme spends less than 30 to 40 minutes and after that social workers go away and leave the street children/youths to continue with their activities.

What does mobile education consist of?

Mobile education broadly is understood as counselling, listening to the concerns of children/youths living and working in the streets. Listening is seen as necessary as most street children or youth have the mindset and mentality that the rest of the community do not care and do not regard them to be anything. Also, another crucial element in mobile education is teaching them how to read and write. It is called mobile education because it does not take place in a fixed location. It is a programme that is taken to wherever street children/youths may be found. The mobile education programme does not follow a fixed syllabus, it is flexible in its contents as it takes into consideration the condition and needs of a pupil/student it targets. One thing that this programme has helped in is the enabling of some street children/youths who were unable to read being able to read. Basic knowledge of how to read is crucial as a survival tool for children/youths living and working in a dangerous environment. We have, for example, found some youths sitting in a place that is forbidden for people to sit as it is deemed hazardous, but because some children/youths living in streets cannot read, they sit in those dangerous places.

How has the Government supported the idea of providing education to street children/youths? What sorts of reaction emerged?

This was done on a more individual basis and was systematic. We assess each child/youth and look into schools that are within the areas where our children/youths can easily join. When we approached the Government authority with the request of enrolling street children into public schools, they agreed. The government allowed us to continue providing a programme that effectively develops street children/youths. They allowed us to enrol the street children/youths in their schools. However, the issue that arose later was the reception and attitude of teachers in some of the schools towards street children and youths. The idea of enrolling street children into public government schools was received with ambivalence and negative attitudes by some school authorities, teachers, and some individuals in the local government authority did not like the idea at all. But we pressed on with the idea and the central government agreed.

So, what did you do as a response to this reaction?

The Dogodogo organisation felt the need to run a programme in these schools sensitising teachers and other people in these structures about children's rights and a healthy way of embracing, accommodating, and dealing with street children/youths in schools. It highlighted to them that just because a child/youth has been working and living in streets that does not make him or her a less of human being, or an unusual child or bad human. We told them that it is the responsibility of all of us to ensure that each child in our society experiences love, good care, and receives basic rights, including a good education. The Dogodogo organisation discourages any harsh treatment, beating (corporal punishment), or abusive language towards any child, let alone street children/youth. Schools dealing with boys/girls who have been living and working in streets require extra qualities from those involved, protecting street children/youths from the feelings of being unwanted, unworthy, discriminated, or unwelcomed in other social groups. Teachers must think creatively about ways that can encourage good and useful integration in schools

In what way(s) would you say the political elites acknowledge and are willing to address the welfare of street children/youths?

Whenever there is an opportunity to meet politicians, we are not shy to tell them the truth. Now, politicians here in Tanzania are very good at talking about the issue, but very poor at acting, poor at implementing their promises. The truth of the matter is that in the Tanzanian society, a child or anything related to child's affair is not given priority. Perhaps this is a socio-cultural and mentality thing. In general, any concerns of

children/youths are dealt with within the family, and not given much priority in the public eye. The Tanzanian politicians and majority of leaders tend to send their own children abroad, to countries such as Kenya, South Africa, the UK, and other parts of Europe for their education. This explains why some politicians do not address issues in our education system. Given their place and position, they are fortunate to have money and can afford education for their children and do not care much about improving the social situations of the majority of children here at home.

What activities is Dogodogo now focussing on in its attempt to address the welfare of street children/youths?

Currently, the organisation is concentrating more on issues of children's rights, in promoting children's rights and basic human rights for street children. Hence, our work is more of defending and advocacy. Visiting and listening to the children/youths in the streets in order to understand the issues concerning them. Through interactions with them, we learn of various issues they face, including health issues which trouble the majority of street children/youths in Dar es Salaam. Also, we are carrying out a programme named 'mobile education' to the children/youths working and living in the streets in Dar es Salaam city. Once a week we have a sports programme. Sports activities take place every Friday. Street children/youths have formed a strong team, and sometimes they compete with other teams in the city. Sports activities help street children/youths to foster a strong social connection with the public and improve their image and status as valuable members of society.

How do you think the community around think and feel about Dogodogo's work of supporting street children/youths, for example, the creation of Vocational Training Centres?

The places where the Vocational Training Centres are located are socially good. For example, the Bunju community sends its kids to study at our Bunju Vocational Training Centre. The community has found that the training provided in these schools is complete and productive and gives professional orientation to students for their future career. But with our other central centres, the people around our street youth activities have different perspectives. The urban community, especially right at the city centre, views a street child/youth as a troubled person, a creator of disturbances, a thief, without good moral values. Most people do not even show a desire to want to get to know who the street children/youths are. Therefore, society becomes a little farther away, rather than having

a close involvement. But looking at the Bunju community this is different, and the local community has a positive attitude.

How do you decide whether a person should or should not take part in any of your programmes, e.g., attending school or Vocational Training Centres?

While the organisation's vision and mission are to help street boys/girls, it, however, does not make the final decision, we do not coerce or force anybody to join any of our programmes if he or she is not willing to or does not see the need. Street children/youths are intelligibly able to tell us what they desire and whether for example, they would like to continue with schooling or not. We normally act in accordance with individual cases, reactions, and attitudes of a person involved. During our time, we have come across individuals who do not want to join our programme as they are ok with their activities and lifestyle in the streets. For anything to work in our service provision, the person/client involved must see the point and need for such decisions and actions.

Are you saying that if a child refuses or does not see the need to receive your services and conditions, you leave them alone?

Sometimes we try to link them to other organisations in Dar Es Salaam. Although few people are reluctant to decline service, you still have to choose to stay in touch with them in their locations. Many of the street youths need our service, and if someone decides to receive our service right there in the streets, for example, in receiving medical treatment for leg wound, we help them then we let them continue with their life in the street. But we continue showing them that we are interested and that we care.

After completion of technical training and success, what happens then to those who finish or graduate from the training?

After completing technical training, on the graduation day, a person is graduated according to the specialisation focus in which he/she has studied. On that day, a graduate is then given working tools/a tool kit that will help him/her to start their work, as self-employed. For example, if he/she has studied the craft of tailoring, then the tool given will be tailoring machine. If he has studied joinery/carpentry, then he is given working equipment, helping him start a self-employed life.

Do the street boys/girls who pass through your training and service experience a complete change in attitude and practice?

I have been engaging with street children/youths for 30 years. I can say, most of them change their lives completely, their attitude and orientation towards life and community changes positively. However, this is not true for everyone, some of them, because they

have lived longer on the streets, find it harder to change and see life differently. Living longer in the street does affect some more than others, in terms of attitude, behaviour, and actions. To live on the street, one may encounter certain forces that can have a strong grip on his life and to shake that off is hard. So, I have seen many doing well after completing our programme, and some who did not well at all, slipping back into old ways—the street life. It happens even under our leadership; after a while, you see, they begin to show the behaviours and practices that they were accustomed to doing in the streets—behaviour of the old ways. There is a saying that goes “once a street child, always a street child.” Even we have seen some of our children who have been able to get back to the street, over there they feel much more freedom. Sometimes, a person resorts to his or her old behaviour because of a lack of support in their later life after here.

So, some circumstances could make a street child/youth to return to his or her old street life even after going through your programme?

This is a great puzzle and a difficult challenge too. How come this happens with a person who has been given support and education, who we have put our faith in that they are indicating positive change? But after some time, you hear the same person has gone back to live and work on the street again. Perhaps, you researchers are good people to investigate what causes this situation.

What do you think are the contributing factors that cause children/youths to work and live in the street, in Tanzania?

There are many reasons, and you cannot finish talking about them. Psychologists tell us that many children/teenagers are frustrated by problems within their families. So, family reasons contribute. For example, a husband and wife/mother struggle with each other; there is no stability in life. The child/teenager sees all that happening around them and concludes that these parents are stubborn. Parents have decided to divorce. A father decides to marry another woman, and the mother marries another person. This child/youth is left alone. When this happens, the child is left troubled, confused, disoriented, sceptical, and the result is he decides to run to the streets or other places to find life and to manage himself in the way he knows. Another reason is a lack of community support, society missing a positive attitude and sympathy for children who are in difficult circumstances. You find situations where all parents are dead, the child or the children are left alone without any help, and unfortunately, even their surrounding community does not care. Another reason is peer pressure, a boy/girl associates himself or herself with bad company or people who are living in the street and they give them tales of success in that lifestyle.

What are your thoughts when you consider the situations street children/youths face and service provision in the long term, in the coming years?

The trouble I have is that the number of children/young people working and living on the street is not decreasing; it is rising; the situation does not seem to go away or disappear. But, apart from that reality, there are still no effective strategies and involvement from our government, even from other stakeholders and private social institutions. Street children/young people live in a hazardous environment; this is a social problem. There are many social groups in our society, which are considered vulnerable, such as older people, people with albinism, women. These groups, in my opinion, seem to receive high consideration and support from both government and non-government organisations. But the question of children on the street has not yet been given its due consideration and support, a favour that it deserves. Street children are a problem that will require different stakeholders in the community to deal with family, community, and government, to truly discover the causes and solutions.

So, with regards to the solution to street children/youths, is this a problem for the Government and other organisations to do more to solve?

Yes, this perspective and approach will be helpful; let anyone being right now in assisting with this situation. Sometimes I meet Members of Parliament and tell them it is impossible if you care only for your children, taking them to the international schools. But this street child is left alone in a dangerous living environment. Many leaders create a good social and economic environment for their children as if their children will be living alone in society. But the fact is that the issue of street children/youths will not go away and is on the increase, it will continue to exist as long as family, government, and other stakeholders continue to discriminate, excluding them and ignoring their welfare.

How does a diminishing sense of community and a lack of care contribute to the increase of children/youths working and living rough in the street?

The apparent diminishing sense of community and the culture of caring in our society plays a part in this issue of street children. Previously, children could count on their extended relations for support in a difficult time, but that is no more. And, because of the loss of the spirit of caring for others, this makes the street children more vulnerable and hopeless. All stakeholders, including NGOs, family, and government have a role to play.

You commented on the global economic crisis in 2009/2010 and its impact on your organisation: how does the surrounding community support Dogodogo in its endeavour of helping street children/youths?

Many Tanzanians are quick to contribute to weddings and deaths, funerals. But they are not quick to help anyone or a project that benefits the community. Someone may be sick, and the people around that person will be just looking at him or her, they do not help, until that person dies and then you see the community/people rising up. Energetically, passionately you see people contributing to the funeral. The Dogodogo organisation has tried to involve many people and the community sharing with them our work, and the need to help street children/youths. We have in the past attempted to involve those relatives/parents whose children/teenagers have been supported by us in our programme, but the response is very poor, almost non-existent. Many are still struggling to help the organisation; some even criticise it.

Would it be possible for Dogodogo to be a self-reliant corporation and improve their services without getting help from either external donors or those in the country?

Indeed, it becomes hard work, and we cannot continue with our endeavour of providing support without relying on money from different sources. Without receiving any help, all our services and all programmes will come to a standstill. Our current government has a different view of NGOs. Organisations like ours are considered in an ambivalent manner and are suspected, doubted. The government considers us to be people who have a lot of money from other countries, and the state is worried that organisations like us are just getting money. In contrast, the opposite is that the organisation such as Dogodogo have and is very helpful to the community, improving the lives of children/street youths. NGOs have a long history in supporting the Tanzanian community, but because of the government's apparent negative attitude towards NGOs, some organisations feel discouraged and stop operating.

Why do you think the Government is antagonistic toward NGOs in the country?

Some government officials and politicians seem to have this notion that NGOs have a lot of money from outside the country and that those running NGOs are benefiting more than the ordinary people/clients, those who are meant to be recipients of service. For example, at some point, the Dogodogo organisation approached the Government to ask permission to run a programme that would involve the public, to raise funds for the organisation. Some government officials who are meant to help us rejected the idea and put an obstacle to the plan. As an organisation, increasingly we see our future performance relying heavily on local support. We know that our social work is very important for the improvement of the lives of street children, and yet the Government is not supportive at

all. Though in the midst of all this, the Government has never completely stopped us from operating.

(2). Interview with **Kulwa—male**

Place: Africa Sana area, Office Ubungo, Dar es Salaam

Role: Team leader

Interview took place on 13th Oct 2018

What is your role in Dogodogo?

First, it is to teach children: in a special way we defend the rights of the children, we are especially committed to education. We are taking education to the streets.

You mentioned ‘education’ and ‘rights’, how do these two terms relate to each other?

The terms education and right/justice in our context have a strong connection because I believe children and youths who work and live-in streets have a right to get an education like any child or young person in society. Hence, our push comes from the realization and implementation of the international child rights. There is a tendency in our community to regard a street child as a nobody, who does not deserve any care; this stance is wrong. A street child/youth deserves to receive all their fundamental rights like everybody in society.

In your opinion, why is it that you see that street children do not have this fundamental right to education?

It is challenging for them to experience this right because they are in the street, they live and work in the street, sleep on the streets. Some people see them as those who are outside the normal system and that cannot be reached with provision. But the thing is the street children are in the front face of the society; they are everywhere, everyone sees them. Therefore, one cannot say that they are hidden. Their loss and pain are visible to all of us. That is why Dogodogo considers the importance of taking education to where these children and youths are in the streets.

Could you please tell me what things or elements are included in this mode of ‘mobile education’?

This sort of education does not follow a ready-made curriculum or syllabus. Some of the elements in this type of education include listening and observation: observing the environment and conditions in which these children and youths live and operate. Other ingredients in our education package are reading and writing. As a social worker and

educator to street children, I listen to their story, observe their conditions, take note on crucial issues, and then make a short class to talk about these observations with the children. For example, I address the question of taking care of themselves, maintaining hygiene, not eating randomly, not sleeping in dangerous areas, e.g., in places where there is a loose electric wire, under parked cars. This education is very much related to their living experience.

Does your education programme target any children wandering in the streets or some particular street children?

Most street children and youths we encounter here in the streets of Dar es Salaam are boys and not girls, especially in the Ubungo area. So often whenever there is a girl on the streets, other organisations come and collect that individual. Therefore, the street children/youths whom I encounter are boys who work and live in the streets.

Does your organisation not support street girls? What happens when you encounter girls wandering the streets, sleeping rough?

Dogodogo does help girls too, but most of our service users are boys. Here in Dar es Salaam, there are other organisations whose service is dedicated towards street girls. So, when we see girls, especially those who are very young, then we direct or take her to those organisations.

Has it been an official decision on Dogodogo's part to support boys only, or is it down to the circumstances that you are operating in, that there are more boys than girls in the streets?

It is the circumstance and the environment itself which leads us to focus this way. In the streets and slums, most people you find there are boys. Many boys make the perilous journey from other regions to Dar es Salaam. Though sometimes there are also girls, this group is tiny in number

Could you tell me which regions these boys living in the streets come from?

Within the record we know that our street boys come from mainland regions such as Lake zone/Mwanza, Kigoma, Shinyanga, Arusha, Mbeya, Tabora, Musoma, Moshi, and Kilimanjaro. Hence, we have street boys from all over Tanzania's regions.

What could be the reasons behind children and youths leaving their home places and coming to Dar es Salaam? What attracts them in the first place?

Some youths decide to run from their family to Dar es Salaam because they think the city of Dar es Salaam has everything to offer. Talking with street youths who have come here, some told me that back home they met children who are living and working in the streets

here in Dar es Salaam, and has been told that life is easy, and that money is readily out there, that you can do anything within a short period and get a lot of money. Hence, they then decide to make the journey here. So, they think there are immense opportunities in Dar es Salaam. But, when you now ask them whether what they thought of Dar es Salaam has turned out to be accurate, the majority will say no, it is a terrible, dangerous place to be. In general, I think the majority of children and youths who have run from their original homes to the city of Dar es Salaam have legitimate reasons to do so. Some of the reasons are family problems, death of one or both parents, uneasy relationships, teenagers' problems. Some teenagers do not want to follow the direction of their parents, so they chose to rebel and run away.

You said you have a programme of sending the children back to their original homes. What challenges do you face in fulfilling that programme?

Parental-child conflict does hinder this. In 2012 to 2014, the Dogodogo organisation established what it called the 'return-home project'. This project ran for two years, and during that period many youths who wished to return did return home to their parents and relatives. When a child expresses his wish to go back to where he came from, usually during the journey he will be accompanied by Dogodogo's staff. We had three youths in our programme, and they were doing very well and showing great improvement, and through our service they gained a high expectation of their life in the future. However, when it came to the time of asking them to go home and start life, three of them said no. The reasons were parental-child bad relationships, beating, and abuse. So, as an organisation, we do not force children and youths to go home if they feel uncomfortable and it will create conflicting feelings for them. Some choose to go somewhere else instead of returning to their original place.

Dogodogo works in various areas within the city, how does it involve the community around the areas in which you operate?

In the areas where we work, we have made an effort to introduce our work to the local government officials, such as chairman of the ward, municipal leadership. Usually, they agree and are happy to see someone dedicating his career to street children/youths. In some areas, you find local leaders are relating well with street children in their areas; there is a social connection. When a street youth falls into problems or contracts an illness, has accident, or has been beaten by other kids, local leaders do tell us. Also, in one area where street youths congregate, there is a couple who have opened their family yard, home, and act as guardians.

You mentioned that in one of the areas where street children/youths congregate, there is a couple who act as guardians and have taken some of the street youths under their wing. How did this happen?

The act of mercy shown by that couple (Mr & Mrs Dii) toward the street youths has touched the organisation and more especially the children themselves. The way this happened was that the street youths used to gather in a group behind the house of Mr & Mrs Dii, they were sleeping, eating. Mr and Mrs Dii felt pity for them and decided to build an extension hut/shelter outside their house to allow the boys to make a home there. So, each morning the boys wake up and go to the streets to undertake various activities to get money or food and during the sunset they all return back to sleep at the shelter at the home of Mr & Mrs Dii. When Dogodogo's staff visit street youths, we come to Mr and Mrs Dii and talk with the young people.

What challenges do you face in your work with street children/youths?

There are many challenges one faces when working with street youths. In my experience, the challenge is how to win trust from a new street boy. It takes time to establish a working relationship with a street boy, because of suspicion that you must be someone taking advantage of their situation or you could be a policeman. Initial contact with the street child is not a straightforward process. Street children/youths do not easily trust anyone.

If the initial connection with street children/youths is not a straightforward process, what means or methods do you use to win their trust?

When I see and speak to a street child/youth for the first time, usually he would not completely be alone, even if you find him sitting or sleeping on a sideway, outside a shop, or picking empty bottles from a heap of rubbish, there will always be his friends nearby. So, I must be observant as I talk to him. When I return the second time looking for him, I would look and try to identify first a person, especially another street youth and ask him about the other street youth. Usually, the friend will tell the truth. Street youths tend to lie about who they are, their name, the places they come from, but as you continue to encounter and interact with him and others, you learn the truth. Hence, using and consulting his fellow street youths helps to track and uncover the truth about this new street youth. Street youths who are already known to us and use our service are a good bridge to enable us to reach and talk to new children.

How do you identify the needs of a street youth? Which methods do you use to ascertain that this street youth should indeed receive your service?

What we do first is to establish the history of a person. Finding out who he is, where he comes from, where are most of his relatives living, has he attended school before, in which street is he now living or working in Dar es Salaam city. As I am responsible for taking the mobile education into the street, having a thorough knowledge about a person helps me to know how best to help and educate this person about the circumstances/environment he is currently in.

Do you get street youths who have never received primary school education at all?

It is seldom that we get a street youth who has never attended primary school. It happens sometimes that we receive a person of 9 or 10 years of age who does not know how to read and write. However, the majority of street children/youths that we have in our programme have done primary school education, some have completed standard seven, and others stopped halfway.

Are there services each street youth is entitled to receive or participate in?

The need for medical or health service provision is for every child/youth. Whenever we learn that a person is ill or injured, it is our responsibility to make sure that he gets proper treatment. Also, we have a sports programme, once every week at which every person is welcomed to participate if he wishes to do so.

In the process of giving support to street children, does the organisation work with other systems and institutions in ensuring the welfare of street children/youths?

The organisation works with donors from here and outside the country. This helps the organisation financially; otherwise, it would be difficult to provide service to our clients. Also, we have a good working relationship with a few hospitals here in Dar es Salaam, where we send our children/youths for medical treatment. Police institutions also collaborate with us. Local community leaders do support us with advice sometimes.

What dangers do street children/youths face here in Dar es Salaam city?

Working and sleeping rough in the city is not safe at all. Children and youths encounter beating and harassment from people and the police too. A street child/youth is regarded as a troublemaker, undesirable socially. Whenever a policeperson sees a group of more than five street youths together, his/her reaction is to chase them, disperse the group and children run, and some end up hurting themselves, breaking a leg. Also, working and collecting empty bottles in slums is hygienically not safe; most of our children/youths have contracted diseases and infections because they touch anything and walk over anything with bare feet.

If a street youth were to end up in a police cell, what do you usually do?

Sometimes, the police do phone us, informing us that one of our children is in a police cell. Then we will go there to listen and plead for him to be released. We have done these many times.

How can you describe Dogodogo's success and its importance in the Dar es Salaam community?

The Dogodogo organisation had played and continues to play a uniquely important role in helping street children/youths. Through its service and programmes many street youths have received help, and the majority of them have turned their lives around. The organisation affords street children/youths a new perspective, a vision in life. It uplifts the morale of many youths who feel downtrodden due to the unfortunate circumstances of their past. Through the support of the organisation, many youths have been able to forge forward in life with great resilience and optimism. Through our work, the society's mentality and perspective towards street children/youths is increasingly becoming positive, believing that street children are not bad, but they are clever, resilient, dream of a better life, and can contribute to the building up of the nation, socially, economically, and politically too.

As you look ahead, how do you see the organisation managing to provide services to street children/youths?

Dogodogo is not a self-reliant organisation. It depends heavily on donors and well-wishers here at home and abroad to be able to run its programme. The organisation does not have its own financial capital or assets to rely on. Depending on if donations for running the organisation are not healthy, as we have already experienced in the past, when the economic condition of those supporting us changes for the worse then we have no financial support to rely on. This means, no service goes to the street children/youths. Hence, as I look at the years ahead, I think the question of sustainability lingers on the face of the organisation, and unless we discover an authentic way to raise finances and other support it might be impossible to continue providing service.

(3). Interview with Alfred—male

Place: Bunju, Dogodogo Vocational Training Centre, Dar es Salaam

Role: Director of Dogodogo

Interview took place on 15th Oct 2018

What is your role at this institution?

I belong to the Holy Ghost Father. I am heading up the Vocational Training Centre of Dogodogo. I act as guardian of street youths studying at the school. At this school, youths learn tailoring, carpentry, how to build a house, be a firefighter, use a computer, and be an electrician.

Why is the question of street children/youths of interest and importance to you personally?

Personally, the issue of street children/youths is the question of both personal security and national security. When a child/youth lives in the street, he or she is more vulnerable to various dangerous situations and dangerous people out there. Bad people involved in sex and human trafficking roam at large in our cities, drug-involved gangs, and other different circumstances, in which a street child/youth can be vulnerable and his/her life can be in danger. Also, this issue is of interest to me because street children and youths have rights like anybody in our society. Just because these youths are living in the streets away from families, does not mean that they must be denied their rights, human rights. We need to correct wrong ideas/schools of thought held by the wider society regarding street children/youths. Society sees these youths as bad, dangerous, fallen from grace, troublesome. Therefore, being in the street is like punishment for them. In my view, these children/youths need to be treated in a dignified way, respected, and receive all their fundamental rights as children. I am involved through Dogodogo with this social group because street children/youths are one of the neglected social group in our society.

What do you think about how the community around feels and views the children/youths living in the street?

There seem to be varying views and opinions about street children/youths in our community. I think the majority of people in the surrounding community perceive street children as a threat to the social order and a risk to security: some see them as thieves, hooligans, and lawbreakers. I remember talking to a person in the street and in having learned that I am caring for street children/youths, this individual told me to be careful, these people are not to be trusted, they can steal from you. This is the mentality and views, the attitude that most people have in our society about street children/youths.

Where do you think these negative ideas and negative labelling of street children/youths originate from?

Perhaps some unpleasant behaviour and activities by street children in the streets cause some people in our society to view them as bad people, socially troubling. We know some of the behaviour and activities by street children/youths are just means of survival. The

majority of people in our society blame and judge the street children/youths harshly, but they seem to forget the fact that the parents and relatives are neglecting these boys, and that the majority of boys are not on the streets out of their own choice.

In your opinion, what do you think are the underlying root-causes of children/youths finding themselves working and living on the streets and not in their original home/family?

Looking after children/youths here at the Vocational Training Centre, the significant percentage, 82 per cent, you talk to them, and they will tell you that they are orphans. Also, there is HIV/AIDS that has left many children without parents, then a child goes to a relative, but does not receive good care and affection from a relative. The loss of parents destabilises the life of this child, frustration and discontent creep in, and desire for an alternative call him to go out. Also, we have youths/teenagers who have dropped out of school due to family conflicts and problems with family members, children going to school where they cannot concentrate. He cannot study well because his mind is full of issues back home. With no peace, no steady support from parents or relatives, he becomes mentally and psychologically troubled. Then such a child decides to give up school. He decides to stop going to school, and the idea of staying home becomes problematic. Going to school become a problem and going back home becomes a problem too, no peace, then he decides to go to the street.

You have mentioned the issue of children who lose their parents going to live with and be taken care of by relatives, and yet, they experience more problems. Do you think the Tanzanian community today has changed, that people are no longer helpful towards each other, even among blood relatives?

I think people's attitude and view on life is increasingly changing, the spirit of care and solidarity even among the same family members is diminishing. Many factors are contributing to this change. In the past, many families were very agricultural-oriented, which means that they had to live nearby, sharing what they had, their cultural belief and philosophy. Today, people are increasingly scattered, going far away from each other, migrating into cities. Even those who still live in proximity seem to change, instead of lending a helping hand to neighbours or the same relatives, he or she chooses to focus on his or her own affairs. A lack of surplus may be the cause these changes of attitude in terms of production or lack of enough income, economic power, which prevents people from being able to help anyone else beyond their own family members. Also, other priorities: people now are becoming more future-oriented, saving money and other assets

for the future, and unwilling to share. Hence, in this setting when children/youths do not get proper provision due to loss of parents and unwillingness of the extended family to help, then they resort to going away and end up in the streets.

So, with where our society is currently and where it is going concerning caring attitudes, do you think this it is possible to go back or recover old ways of community life?

I do not think so; it is impossible to go back to the old ways. Globalization, urbanization, and the spread of the use of technology are transforming thinking and styles of living, forcing people to consider new ideas, attitude, and priorities. I think the idea should not very much be how to go back to old ways, but it should be how best to utilize the opportunities we have today for the betterment of everyone, including street children/youths. I think the Government as well as other stakeholders, including NGOs, must think in constructive ways to support street children and challenge the community as a whole to be mindful of the vulnerable people in its midst.

Where do the children/youths you have here at the centre come from?

Most of the children/youths who are here come from all over Tanzania. Almost all tribes in Tanzania are represented here. Many have come from mainland Tanzania, searching for a better life, escaping family tensions, conflicts, or are just influenced by peer pressure, the allure of the city life. Some children were somehow told that if you go to Dar es Salaam, you will get a better job, make money, but the reality is the opposite. It is a similar situation to those Africans who believe that escaping or going to European countries will improve their lives, only to be received by a harsh reality.

In the whole process of supporting street children/youths, does Dogodogo use established social systems such as local council welfare support systems and other services available in society?

We collaborate with the local government levels. Also, we work with other partners and organisations that share the same vision, purpose, and goal. There are a number of social organisations that deal with some aspects of the welfare of children in Dar es Salaam. Also, health institutions and police institution collaborate with us in terms of ensuring the health and safety of the children. Also, we collaborate with various religious institutions, too, as our children belong to various religious groups. Also, some public schools do accept our children who wish to continue with primary education.

When you look into the future, what could be the challenges you see facing this organisation in its endeavour to support street children/youths?

I wish to see the whole society in Tanzania participating in helping street children/youths. Street children/youths is a social issue; it affects the whole society. The mentality that only NGOs should solve these issues is incorrectly perceived. An organisation such as ours does not have the capacity, financially, and resources to be able to fulfil the needs of each boy and girl in the streets without support from somewhere. If we are to be able to continue providing support to our youths in the streets, financial and material support for the organisation must come from within the community itself. People must change their negative attitudes and views, and embrace wholeheartedly street children/youths as valuable members of society.

Have you tried to share with the community the needs of the street children?

Every time we get a chance through social media, television, we share the issues, highlighting the potential and importance of these children/youths in our society. I often get invited for interviews and discussions on the radio and TV as well as in religious organisations to talk about the issue of street children/youths.

What is your understanding of the term ‘social work’?

Social work to me is a profession that focuses its effort on solving social problems that face certain people in society.

So, would you say that what Dogodogo is involved in is social work?

There is no doubt in my mind that what we are doing is social work, as we are addressing the concerns of street children/youths, which in itself is a social problem as it affects family and society as a whole.

Employees/Social workers:

(1). Interview with **Timothy**—male

Place: African Sana area, Office

Role: Member of staff

Interview took place on 17th Oct 2018

How are you involved in the organisation?

I am Social worker supervising sport programme activities and counselling

Why is the issue of street children/youths of interest and importance to you personally?

I myself was once a street boy, I lived and worked in the street. Dogodogo took care of me. I was very young when I entered the street life. Dogodogo found me, took me out of the street, entered me into their caring programme, counselled me, and sent me to school.

Dogodogo helped me to discover my talent and interests, which are sport and counselling. Under the influence and care of this organisation, I have grown and developed as a person. Because of my ability in sport, I have managed to attend sports competitions abroad, in Kenya and the USA. I can say that Dogodogo intervened in my life at a point where anything bad could have happened. You know children and youths in the streets live a risky life, they have no personal safety and are susceptible to various kind of diseases, falling into the wrong crowd, have no one to look to for guidance. During my time in the streets, I have seen many children/youths being beaten to death; some died because of taking drugs. Hence, the issue of street children/youths is at the very heart of my life. This is a group that, in my opinion, needs much help; otherwise, there can be no bright future for children/youths living and working in the streets. I was once a street boy, and now through my experience and talent, I am helping those in the streets. That is why I am part of the Dogodogo team.

Your role is a sports trainer and advisor to the street youths. Could you please elaborate on what precisely you do when you meet the children/youths in the streets?

When I meet them, I first narrate my own story to them, for I was like them. So, I am a good example from which they can learn and understand that they also can change. I tell the street children that I lived for four years in the street, and I went to the Dogodogo centre when I was 16 years. Now I have my own life. I believed that I could make it, I can be self-reliant, I can rely on myself. I do not have a father or a mother to rely on, and at some point, I believed I could not make it without parents to support me in difficult circumstances. However, now I can stand on my own feet. One of my responsibilities is to listen to them and to give them motivation so that they can make it, because even though I have passed through that same difficult situation I never stayed there. I give them an example of many artists here in Tanzania today who have had a terrible start in life, some lived in the streets, but now they are living a good life. So, using my sports game, I help them identify their ability to play. You know, many young people on the street are intelligent, able, and creative, and if they are enabled to do so, they can each get far in life. For many, sports are part of relaxation, redirecting their mind constructively, forgetting their difficulties. Some of them, through games, discover that this is their gift, and they can improve and maintain athletics. Games change behaviour, rather than wanting to steal, fight, use drugs, a person focuses on sports. I am planning a football competition, and volleyball, basketball, and jumping rope.

What problems do street children and youths encounter while living and working in the streets?

You know, many children and youths from rural areas are being misled by others, believing that the Dar es Salaam city life is good, that there is no problem, there is food, there is work, but the reality is always different, and it is not the same as one was promised. Many come here in the city and find that no one is interested in them, there is no reception, they are not accepted, and there is no one to help them. So, a person finds himself in a worse situation that he never expected to be in. When young people arrive in this environment, they face difficult situations, and become mentally and psychologically affected. The street situation affects him physically because of the lack of food, no proper place to sleep. Others are more confused, seeing that they cannot return to their original homes. That is why a child or boy of very young age is forced to engage in difficult situations, activities that are beyond his age, in order to survive.

Various problems are confronting the area, including rape, assault, indignation, insults, insecurity, lack of food, lack of consistent health, ill health, psychological problems, and a lack of education. When a child arrives in the city, he finds himself not attending school, and he loses his goals. For example, I left home believing that here in the city I would find someone to help me. Where I came from there were a lot of problems too, so, I came here believing that in the city things could work, but that was not the case. It took four years of living in hardship and dangerous living conditions in the street. Someone came up and advised me that there are organisations helping children like me, that I must go looking for them and that they can help me. I even received an education, this was the beginning of good change and brightness coming into my life.

Also, street children and youth do die suddenly. For example, since I started working, I've seen six children dying, most of them overwhelmed by diseases. Even if these conditions can be cured/healed, because the street children live with chronic illnesses without any treatment, they get worse and die. Other children get bruised due to unnecessarily being beaten. Maybe a person encountered someone who claims to be stealing, so he runs out, this other person shouts, this is the guy who stole. So, a person ends up being hunted by a group of people who beat him until he dies, just because he is a boy living in the street. Therefore, children/teenagers living on the street encounter numerous precarious situations.

What are the views and attitudes of the community towards street children? What can be done to change the negative views and attitudes?

Our society needs people to tell them more about the plights of street children/youths and how important it is that the community has a positive attitude towards them. There should be people who can research the community's views related to street children and how to help. Ideally, the community should be reminded that street children are part of society; they are still a valuable member of society and have potential. They deserve care, love, and the care for the basic rights. Therefore, they should not be shunned away or seen as enemies, undesirable people, unwanted. The society must show genuine interest in the life of street children, a genuine desire to want to know them, their stories, why someone of that age ends up living in the street. In our sports programme, we try to link our sports teams with other teams from the general public to create a social connection. Sometimes, school teams compete with our teams. This encounter helps to quench the fear and myths that most people have towards street children. Also, through this encounter, our boys grow in confidence and feel more positive and more like normal human beings, as they create friendships with other children in school and other young people in different groups. Dogodogo has previously run seminars in some of the city schools about street life and the role that society could play. One thing we thought about doing in the past, but have not managed to do so far, is having parents gathered to discuss the troubles that a child faces living in the street. The difficulty with this was that it was deemed impossible to get all the parents represented by our children/youths here in our centres. Also, there was no positive response from the surrounding community about this issue. I think that if the Government puts its mind and its resource into this issue; the situation could change.

Have you received any training or education that enables you to fulfil your role?

Yes, I attended various seminars, inside and outside the organisation, which have significantly helped me to help and support street children. I should also add that I was not fortunate in my life to receive my high school education, but my highest education reaches the fourth form secondary school level. The biggest thing that enabled me to reach where I am today is my interest in promoting my game of jumping (jumping rope). This talent has twice sent me to the United States and also to the country of Kenya ten times.

When you hear the word 'social work', what idea or notion do you get?

It means work that focuses on resolving social issue, that has volunteered 100% to helping people in the community.

(2). Interview with **Josephine**—female

Place: African Sana area, Office

Role: Social worker

Interview took place on 17th Oct 2018

Why is the question of street children/youths of interest and importance to you personally?

Street children are a matter of importance to me because these are children and, in our families, we have children. The situation of street children is an important and serious social issue. These children are young and need support to access all the basic child rights, like any child in the family setting, without judgment or blame for the situation they are currently in, considering where they are or what they may look like or what they represent. As a society, we tend to forget the crucial point that first and foremost street children/young are decent human beings. When I look at the life of my own children, I feel shame, pity, and am very moved by the situation street children are in and the sort of lifestyle they live. So, I wanted to do something about it.

What duties do you fulfil while with your clients—street children?

As a social worker, there are things I look at to be able to help a child/youth living in the street, first: I observe the environment, in what kind of environment does he live? Bad working and living conditions contribute to many other critical problems. Secondly, does he/she have a health problem? For those with a health problem, we help by taking her/him to the hospital for treatment. Helping street children and youths in maintaining good health is vital to their survival.

Another key thing that I do is listen and talk with a client/a street child. Some street children/youths do not speak much; they tend to keep everything to themselves. When you spend time talking and listening to a person, you realise how mentally and psychologically burdened he is. Because of the high level of uncertainty of how to meet their basic needs, the majority of street children/youths suffer from depression and anxiety. This situation leads many street children into taking drugs or drinking heavily as a coping mechanism. Therefore, spending time, observing, listening, talking with the client is a vital part of my work and it is through this that I can identify the needs that require further steps, like taking him to hospital, for example. As a social worker, I need to create a friendly environment in which this person feels valued and not threatened.

How are you trained to fulfil your role? What training you have that helps you in carrying out your duties?

I am trained in social work, focused on counselling, psychology, children's rights, and health management. I graduated from the Tanzania Institute of Social Work, Dar es Salaam. Indeed, the training I received during university helps me. Also, the organisation does send its staff to seminars to enhance their knowledge and skills. Furthermore, I keep learning every day through various situations and daily encounters with clients.

So, one of your duties is to help street children/youths when they are faced with health issues. Is this officially your responsibility?

In my employment position, Dogodogo has assigned this my responsibility, because health-related problems concern almost every street child/youth we encounter in the street. I make an assessment, and usually, it is me who takes the person for the medical evaluation and subsequent treatment. I must carry with me the First Aid Box whenever I go to the street, and if a person requires more treatment, then I talk with the team about his case, and then appropriate measures follow.

You mentioned the idea/plan of sending those who wish to return to their families back home. How is this process done?

At the beginning of this returning programme, when a child/youth wished to go home, he would be accompanied by two staff members. There have been circumstances where a boy lied to us about where he comes from. This individual said he came from Kigoma region, which is two days travel. We took the train to that place and arrived there, only to be told that he came from Dar es Salaam. Since that incident, if anyone wishes to go home, the organisation contacts a local government leader of that area. The social welfare office of that place where this child/youth claims to have come from provides all the details to them so that they can perhaps allocate family members or verify the information. There have not been many incidences of this nature. We are always delighted when a child/youth expresses his wish to go back home, and most of the journeys we have made have been successful. We do not impose or force them to go home.

What problems do street children/youths face in the street? What are the threats to them?

There are many threats and problems that a street child/youth face. Remember, that the environment in which they live is not like a home environment, where their safety is secure, or there is the provision of the basic need of security. Living in the street is a whole different environment and experience altogether. Street children/youths are not safe at all; they are vulnerable to prey, manipulation, and abuse. Health-wise they are at risk of contracting illnesses and diseases, because they eat and sleep rough, and have poor

hygiene. Their personal and social development is hampered by many issues unless there is a proper and appropriate effective intervention.

What reasons make children/young people leave home and come to work and live in the streets?

There could be various reasons that cause a child/youth to consider leaving his family/home environment. Reasons that have surfaced a lot in conversations with street children/youths are family conflict, and misunderstandings between their father and mother. If life at home where this child/youth comes from is characterised by conflict, fighting, a lack of security, a lack of care and love towards a child, or where the child sees his mom threatened and continuously beaten in front of his eyes, this destabilises the child mentally and psychologically. Also, poverty is another reason that pushes children/youths away from home, as they are hoping to make life better. When there is family breakdown, divorce. Or in some situations, a husband abandons his wife and children, and the wife does not have any work or source of income and is left to take care of children. Situations like this push children, especially male children, away from home in search of money. They end up working in the streets.

In the process of providing services to street children/youths, do you consider the client only or does your consideration involve broader assessments such as the situation in the family and the community, and the social support structure available through local council/government?

Yes, informing the community leaders local government leaders of the areas, or the local social welfare authority it is a must. These people represent the Government and therefore, must be aware of your involvement with street children/youths. Hence, wherever the children/youths are residing, even though it is on the street, representatives of that area (the local community leader) must be informed. Passing on the information about the children living in a place to a local community leader is necessary for security reasons, for our own security and the security of the clients. In providing services, for example, health-related concerns, Dogodogo works closely with hospital institutions within the areas. Also, the police institution are in contact with us, wherever there is an issue concerning our clients.

What challenges do you see facing the organisation in its attempt to provide social services to street children/youths in the future?

I think that when you consider the current government's view on NGOs in this country, it is not positive at all. It is almost like the Government does not like to see the NGOs

exist in this country. We hear a lot of negative criticism laid against the non-governmental organisations, that these organisations have money, are not doing good work, they are criticising the government. The previous government offered good support and collaboration to the NGOs, but not this one. Also, currently, Dogodogo is struggling to provide a full service to its clients due to financial constraints: if this is not resolved soon, then the future of this organisation does not look bright at all. Yet, social services for street children are desperately needed.

How do you understand the term ‘social work’?

Social work is a profession dedicated to helping an individual with social issues. It is the ability to help an individual so that a person can maintain and improve their wellbeing.

Can you say that what Dogodogo is involved in is social work?

There are no doubts in my mind that Dogodogo is doing social work. We are addressing street children/youths, which is a social problem in our society. Over the years, this organisation has helped many street children and youths to regain purpose, a direction in life. Listening, counselling, and accompanying these youths in their life journeys has produced remarkable results. The Dogodogo Vocational Training Centre has helped and given many street children/youths career possibilities. Some of our Dogodogo clients are now living independently because of our programme.

(3). Interview with **Mayunga**—male

Place: African Sana area, Office

Role: Social worker

Interview took place on 17th Oct 2018

How long have you been working with street children/youths?

I have been working with this organisation, reaching the street children, for about twelve years.

Why is the question of street children/youths of interest and importance to you personally?

It is true, for someone to be able to engage with street children, it requires a caring heart, passion, and commitment. There are many professions I could have chosen, but my heart led me towards helping street children/youths. I was touched and troubled much by their plights and the difficult living circumstances they find themselves in. I love them, and it is a rewarding experience to spend time supporting a street boy and witnessing the positive changes in his life.

What problems do street children/youths face in the streets?

In my experience, street children/youths are faced by many problems. Some of the issues are a safe place to sleep. Street children/youths sleep in unsafe environments, in a rough place. When you walk around Dar es Salaam at night-time, you see many youths sleeping on floors, without clothing. Some sleep in the tip of boxes of rubbish. When the weather is unfavourable, for example, raining, cold, or scorching, street children have no choice but to endure the harsh living conditions. Another issue is health-related problems. Poor living conditions, poor eating, taking drugs, and drinking alcohol, all these affect the health of a street child/youth. Safety is another issue a street child/youth face. Fighting, being beaten by others.

What type of street children/youths do you target with your services? Is it every child/youth that happens to be in the street, or specific children/youths?

In the streets, there are children/youths who are in the streets for twelve hours, and others spend twenty-four hours on the streets. Children and youths who spend twelve hours have their families nearby, but because of poverty this type of children/youths go to the street in the morning do any work, for example, collecting empty bottles and cleaning cars to receive some payment. This payment is divided into two parts, one part of the money helps him, and another amount of the same money goes to his own family in the evening. Hence, after twelve hours, children/youths tend to go home each evening. Most of them come from the outskirts of the city and within the surrounding community. The second type of street children/youths is composed of those coming from other regions, outside the Dar es Salaam region. This group does not have any relations/relatives to rely on, nor a home to go back to. They work and live in the streets. They are in the streets twenty-four hours, at the end of each day, he must look for any place he regards safe to sleep. Though we do come across all these types and try to help, our services pay much more attention to the street children/youths living twenty-four hours in the streets, who come from other regions outside Dar es Salaam city.

How does Dogodogo establish its clients' needs?

First, when we encounter a street boy/girl for the first time, a conversation/interrogation, wanting to know his/her story and history, happens. I should say that it is always tricky to get a genuine picture of who is this person in a first encounter, it takes time, and more than one encounter to establish an accurate picture of a person. For a street boy to trust you in the first encounter is difficult. Perhaps, that is expected, it is like me meeting you in the street for the first time and you asking me this question, I will have my suspicions.

There might not be any problem with you but building a truly friendly relationship takes time. Therefore, what we do is to go to talk with this person more than one time, getting to know him, befriending him, and letting him ask us questions. It is a two-way traffic-conversation/relationship. After a second time, you leave him alone and work on the information gathered at the office level to discern the type of service suitable for him. For the street children/youths who fall in the twelve hours category, we talk with them and acquire from them permission to go to speak with their parents. We try to have the parents and children/youths involved, in the same room.

Do you face any challenges when establishing a connection with the parents of the twelve hours category of street children/youths?

When you come to our centres, you will find many children/youths that in talking to them seem to have no problems at all. However, the challenge is that when we try to speak with the parents of the twelve hours street children and encourage them to stay home, some continue going to work in the street. They do not want to stay home, and there are always issues that surface later about this type of case. Maybe parents want to see their children working in the streets, earning money, because of limited financial ability. Sometimes, it becomes clear that the boy himself does not want to follow any of his parents' wishes.

If poverty is the big problem, to the point that some families cannot afford even school uniform, hence making it challenging for the children in that family to attend school, how do you react?

In the past, we used to provide that kind of family with school uniforms, school writing notebooks, pads, pens, and pencils. However, because Dogodogo is an organisation that depends on donations and voluntary contributions, it has become challenging to maintain such a type of services to those families. It is almost three years ago since we stopped providing uniforms and other necessary items to families with street children here in Dar es Salaam. Today, we are running a programme known as 'mobile education' to street children/youths.

What is the purpose of providing 'mobile education' to street children/youths?

We are trying to help street children/youths with reading and writing as many of them don't know how to read or to write. In the past, the inability to be able to read puts many street children and youths at risks. For example, you find some sleeping in a dangerous area, even if there is a label forbidding anyone to sit or sleep, but because this person doesn't know how to read, he ends up sitting or sleeping in that area. Some children sleep under hanging electrical wires. So, mobile education does consider the

environment/living conditions that children/youths are in and educates them in those areas. The young street children attending this programme and show improvement in reading and writing, are given a chance to join formal primary education in public schools.

In your opinion, how would you say that society of Tanzania, including the government's representative, think or view street children?

The government of Tanzania, to some extent, has done well around education. At the top of leadership, there is no problem, but at the implementation level, government officers at district and wards level do not comply much and cause us a lot of problems. Our work with street children is registered and known to the government. Still, when we need any help, or we require authorisation to conduct any other activities such as fundraising, local government representatives pose obstacles. Sometimes, you hear awful language in the discussion from government representatives describing street children/youths as hooligans, lacking morals, thieves, and lawbreakers. Instead of encouraging the organisation involved in providing services to street children, their focus goes to stressing law, fighting criminals, and street children are included in that picture too. Sometimes I have been involved in conversations at one office, and an individual has told me, why bother with street children, cannot you send them back where they come from, clean the streets? There is a negative view and misunderstanding about street children. The street children and youths are not bad, and the majority are well-grounded in the sense that they are focusing and fighting to better their lives. Difficult circumstances push some into destructive behaviours and activities. In the year 2012, Hamis Mohammed Kondo, from Dogodogo, received a scholarship to go to compete for the jumping rope competition in America and did well there.

When you hear the term 'social work' what picture or meaning you think of?

Social work is an important term, and it covers a wide area. In short, social work is a profession that helps people in society. For us, in this organisation, we try to influence good social and economic change in the life of a street child/youths. We engage with street children/youths through talking, teaching, building them up socially, psychologically and mentally in their everyday concerns. At the end of the day we desire to see this street boy regaining some direction in life, getting a career, and becoming independent.

So, would you say what Dogodogo is involved in daily is social work?

It is social work, yes.

What challenges do you see facing the organisation in its attempt to provide social services to street children/youths in future?

Right now, what I see is that funding is the issue. We recently celebrated 25 years of Dogodogo's life and service, since it has started, and the organisation has done well. No organisation here in Dar es Salaam was alive like Dogodogo. However, as I look into the future, this organisation will discontinue or stop because of funding, lack of financial capital, and assets to sustain itself. In the past three or four years we have had eight facilities as mobile education centres, and previously we had donors who supported them, as the service to children/youths was very good, but now we have only four centres remaining, as due to a lack of funding we couldn't manage to run all of them. We used to have centres such as Serena, Mnazi mmoja, Chang'ombe, Kariakoo, Ubungo, and Bunju.

Would you say that the issue of street children in Tanzania will ever go away?

I do not expect to see this issue going away, as it is a complex issue. The reasons are complex, and perhaps it needs different collective efforts, from all stakeholders, starting with families, community, government, NGOs, in putting strategies in place to ensure children/youths are looked after before they find themselves living in the streets. The government seems to firmly tell families, communities to maintain family traditions that once held family and community together, traditional practices that help children in ways of life. Also, the Government is addressing the question of poverty. Telling people in rural settings and everywhere to be creative through entrepreneurship.

(4). Interview with **Aisha**—female

Place: African Sana area, Office

Role: Social worker

Interview took place on 18th Oct 2018

How long have you been working with street children and youths?

Mhhh...Just a year and one month.

Why is the question of street children/youths of interest and importance to you personally?

Street children/youths is a social issue, and it is of interest and importance to me personally. I have always been interested in helping street children, to learn why these children/youths are in the streets, why have they chosen to live there? Have they gone out to work and live in the street out of their own free choice or have some reasons made them run to the streets? Are they gaining any benefits or satisfaction by being on the

streets? What problems are they facing in the streets? My passion for knowing and helping them moved me to embrace social work with street children.

What do you think are the reasons that cause the children/youths to leave their homes/family and go to live in the streets?

Aaah...there could be many reasons that cause children to leave their home/relatives and live in the streets. In my experience working with street children, the most mentioned reasons are: escaping challenges experienced in the home/family, the lack of love and care from parents and guardians, abuse, experiencing harassment and harsh treatment by extended family members, and a child's parent dying forcing a child/youth to leave. A child/youth asks why they should endure all these harassments, mistreatment, and abuse, when they can instead run to the street in cities. Other youths have ended up living in the streets because they were persuaded by their peers who perhaps told them that city life is better, full of many options and that it is easy to make money. So, they then decide to leave for the city life, without knowing the reality of experience in the city.

When you meet the youths living in the streets, what do you do as part of your responsibilities?

When I arrive in the streets as a social worker, the first thing I do is to assess who might not be feeling well or has health-related problems. This could be a cut on the leg, fever, malaria, stomach issues, or anything troubling a person that requires first aid or medical attention. Dogodogo has made it a priority to ensure that street children/youths maintain some level of good health by helping them as much as we can. It is my duty also to educate street children on issues concerning body hygiene, self-care, washing hands before eating anything, washing fruits before eating. Also, listening to any other concern a person might want to share with me.

What challenges do you encounter when helping street children/youths?

There are many challenges, for example, troubling personal attitudes and behaviours. For example, when I try telling the street children/youths about the negative side effects of smoking marijuana, they shout at me saying "do not you think we do not know this, we already know. If I want to stop, I will stop, not because you are telling me to." Sometimes, you go to the streets to only be confronted by shouting and screaming, the person saying to you 'I want money', if you do not have money then they go away. And the other challenge that takes a lot of time is to create awareness, a good idea about our staff and the organisation, because when you get to their location/streets, they tell you that white people sent you and that you now have a lot of money, and you should be giving them,

buying them new clothes or soaps, and so on. Sometimes, they would shout accusations at you saying that the white people provide you with money for us, but you just come to see us with dry, empty words, where is our money? You are benefiting from our unfortunate situation, pretending to be nice to us, while all the benefits remain with you. What I do is to try to make them understand that whatever they think of me and others is not true, the organisation and all workers are there to help them.

Where do they get the notion that you have money, and that this money comes from white people?

I think they talk to each other, constructing ideas, sometimes with a purpose to distract us from focusing on helping. Most of those who behave this way do not want their fellow street children/youths to be helped.

In the process of providing services to street children/youths, do you collaborate with other institutions, for example, local government, social welfare offices, local municipal council? Or do you do everything on your own?

We collaborate with other institutions differently, involving local municipal councils, social welfare offices, hospitals. For example, one of the street children broke his left leg; we sent him to our usual hospital, where we usually send our children/youths, but they could not manage to help. So, we decided to go to the local government to acquire a letter of authorization to take our patient to a referral hospital. We got a letter, and everything happened smoothly, our patient received the necessary treatment and healed.

In your opinion, how does the surrounding community view or perceive street children/youths?

There those in our society who have a very negative view and attitude towards street children/youths. They regard street children in the lowest possible ways, maintaining that they are hooligans, thieves, unwanted criminals, have no moral guidance, are troubled people. However, in the same society, there are those who respect and value street children, feel compassion for them, they see them how hard they work in streets, therefore they see something good in them. They see them as normal human beings. Hence, in our society there both negative and positive views.

Where do you think those with negative views about street children/youths get this from?

I think those with a negative view tend to concentrate more on the outer appearance of the street children/youths. How they appear or look like, their dress code, because in most cases, street children/youths appear dirty in the outside due to work they are involved in.

For example, collecting empty bottles from rubbish bins, tips of rubbish, perhaps they go a day or two without showering. Sleeping rough, some street children look agitated all the time due to the difficulties they encounter. People fail to see that behind their appearance, there are decent, dignified and valuable people who deserves respect and fair treatment.

What education do you have that enables you to fulfil your role with street children?

I studied social work and graduated from the Tanzania Institute of Social work, Dar es Salaam.

So, when you hear the term ‘social work’ what idea do you have?

Social work is the spirit of charity to give rather than to receive. Social work as a profession provides more support to people faced by social issues. Social work intends to move a person from below the problems to above their issues, helping him or her to see ways to be at a better place in life finally. Social work focuses more to support those in the bottom rank of the economy, the oppressed and socially disadvantaged groups.

Do you think Tanzanian society is familiar with the social work profession?

A few people know, but the majority of Tanzanians, even here in Dar es Salaam, have no clue of the existence of the social work profession, let alone what it is all about. Even at the Government level, very few leaders know this profession. The government does not know how to use it because most of the Government representatives do not see the importance of this profession to society. In Tanzania, it is the least promoted profession.

How could society be made aware of the importance and relevance of this profession?

Social work in Tanzania suffers from a lack of wide recognition and is not utilized by the public. There is a need for the Institute of Social work, the government, and the ministry of social welfare to promote it. If these high institutions see the value and place of the social work profession as a whole process of social problem solving, then, the social work profession will be in a better position. Presently, social workers are not very appreciated, though currently, social workers are involved in various areas, such as in hospitals, courts, and in NGOs tackling multiple social issues in the country.

Do you think perhaps that the idea in traditional, cultural philosophy that a personal or family problems and other social issues must be resolved within family settings is keeping society from seeing issues and the value of the social work profession?

People talk about the family structure and the extended family framework being the place where issues are resolved, is it really functioning? I do not see it working. The whole

attitude of helping is not the same. Also, remember the urbanisation process: rural lifestyle is diminishing in the sense that new values are replacing old cultural ones. The notion of a collective way of solving problems which played at the heart of the family is not there. Individualism and personal-centred interests seem to be the norm today. For example, in the past, my own child would be seen as a child of everyone in the community, in the sense that anyone could have intervened if my child had run into problems. Or, if a child loses one parent or both extended family members from both sides the community ensured a better future for that child, this is not the case in today's Tanzania. It could also be that a profession like social work is new to some, and it might take time to sink in the minds of people. However, the reality is social work is a significant player in solving social problems, and Dogodogo is a good example of that.

(5). Interview with Leonard—male

Place: African Sana area, Office

Role: Social worker

Interview took place on 18th Oct 2018

Are you part of Dogodogo team?

I can say Dogodogo is my father and my mom because Dogodogo looked after me when I was young, at its centre. I entered in their caring scheme in the year 2005 when I was young. So, I can say that for a big part of my adult life I have been in Dogodogo's hand. Today I work as a social worker, part of the team, but before that, I was their client, and the organisation did great work to form me and make me who I am today.

Tell me the circumstances in which you encountered Dogodogo before you were employed here?

Dogodogo found me at the Poster Office in the city centre of Dar es Salaam, sleeping rough. I was weak physically. My health was not good, and I had malnutrition. I was collecting empty bottles trying to sell them. Sometimes I received money, but other times, I did not, which means in that day I did not drink or eat. I came from the Singida region to Dar es Salaam, hoping to make a better life for myself. Social workers from Dogodogo came to the Poster areas and found me sleeping; they talked to me and promised to help. I was then taken to the Dogodogo centre for rehabilitation. So, since being at the organisation and with the organisation, I learned a lot, I was educated, I developed as a person, mentally and gained skills.

So, what were some of the transformative experiences that are connected to your association with Dogodogo?

Through the support, guidance, and training programme in place, I started noticing some changes in my life. My old way of thinking, behaving, acting, which was mostly based on wrong assumptions, gave way to new thoughts, ways of thinking, acting, and interpreting things. After helping and shaping me mentally and psychologically and seeing the outcomes in my life, Dogodogo put me into their high-level training and practical experience programme.

What kind of education have you received?

When Dogodogo took me under their arm, I was not yet educated. So, I was quickly put in the kindergarten stage, though my age was beyond that, it was deemed right that I start there to have a better chance of future education. Then quickly I progressed into primary school, I spent seven years and did well in the final exam, so, was selected to join secondary school. So, I studied for four years at Boko secondary school. During my secondary school education, I was staying at the Bunju centre, one of Dogodogo's branches. After finishing secondary school education, Dogodogo introduced me into various equipping programmes.

So, when, when did you officially join the Dogodogo organisation and become an employee?

I officially joined and started working with Dogodogo as a social worker in the year 2014.

When you meet the children and youths living in the streets, what do you do as part of your responsibilities?

One of my skills, I am a professional athlete. I do rope jumping and other sports. So, since 2009, I have participated in sports competitions in and outside the country. So, when I am with street children/youths, I try to discover which sports they are interested in and which they could develop more in that direction. There is a high number of street children/youths who like sport. Also, my other duty is listening, trying to understand what is happening in the life of a person, and if I encounter any concerns that need help it is my job to alert the leadership on that matter. One aspect that requires attention is behaviour, the perspective of a street child/youths; this area is critical to any further personal development. Any desired change must begin with a change of behaviour and outlook in life. I use my own experience to shed light on issues such as bad behaviour, drugs, fighting, stealing, etc., as some street children/youths see these as normal behaviours.

As an experienced person, what are some of the reasons that may make a street child/youth not to change his way of life?

One thing that may cause a street person not to change his way of life is when he experiences segregation, demeaning attitudes from society, especially from those who are supposed to be helping him. Also, experiencing harsh treatment and abuse from those who know better. Remember, for a street boy, already inside him there is the notion that everyone sees me as a worthless person, the lowest person in society. Hence, his self-esteem is low. The way he sees himself and how others see him plays a part in any desired changes. Those involved in helping must exceed their efforts and be careful not to give a mixed picture, particularly if one time you are nice to a street child/youth, and the next time you are distant and mean.

In your efforts to help the clients, do you involve other institutions such as local social welfare offices, the local council?

When you start working with street children who are already living in a difficult environment, they look at you and desire to know what your interest in them is, what is your purpose. They put on different glasses from yours in terms of judging and seeing how this will work. The community nearby, especially representatives of the community, are made aware of my work, and sometimes I can talk to the community chairman in the area where these children/youths are staying. In this way, we try bringing the community closer to the street children and youths and in turn bring them closer to the community.

Which challenges do you face in your attempts to help street children?

There are many challenges. Firstly, there are very few social workers involved with street children/youths, the number of street children is higher and is increasing daily. In a city like Dar es Salaam, train transport every day brings children/youths from other parts of Tanzania. And, because we are very few social workers, it is impossible to reach every child/youth in the street, as Dar es Salaam city is vast too. There are popular centres where a high number of street children/youths congregate, places such as the central poster, Chang'ombe, Kariakoo, and Ubungo. There is a need to increase the workforce. There are other groups that I hear about who are emerging to help street children; maybe this is good. I hear there are two groups known as SAFINA and Kwa baba Watoto.

When you hear the term ‘social work’ what comes to your mind?

The way I understand ‘social work’ is as a voluntary service to people that need help. It is the service we are giving to the street children/youths who are separated and living in a poor environment. Therefore, I can say this voluntary service can reach anyone who

feels excluded and is experiencing hardship. In trying to help this person, effort must help to connect this person with the community he is part of.

For the issue of street children to be solved, what else needs to be done?

I think the Tanzanian government needs to do more; it needs to invest in programmes that could bring positive changes in the lives of street children/youths. The government needs to sponsor street children to join vocational training schools. These schools are many across Tanzania, but street children/youths cannot afford to study, because of a lack of finance. And yet, they need career training to get a job. Also, organisations like Dogodogo need to continue working and improve their performance in this area.

Service users:

(1). Interview with **Nicolas**—male (17 years of age)

Place: Ubungo Street area in the city.

Interview took place on 17th Oct 2018

Where did you come from?

Aha....I have come from Mwanza, that is my home.

How did you come here to Dar es Salaam?

I came to Dar es Salaam with my friends from Mwanza. My friends and I travelled by train transport that comes to Dar Es Salaam. We hid in the train until we reached Dar Es Salaam. It was not an easy journey. We did not have food nor anything to drink. The trip took two days.

Was anybody expecting you in Dar es Salaam?

No, we arrived and stayed with other people in the streets, doing what they are doing, collecting bottles, washing, and cleaning cars at cross-roads/junctions.

What is going on in your life now, as you live in Dar es Salaam?

Ahaah ... things are so bad; I do not like it.

What is bad, what are you referring to?

My leg is injured, and it is hurting, troubling me. Also, I am hungry, I have not eaten anything since I woke up this morning and I do not have any money.

I am sorry to hear that. How did you get this wound on your leg?

I was running, and I fell at the bridge of the Ubungo station. I fell on a sharp metal, and it cut me so deep, as you can see. It is now a week since I got this injury.

What treatment did you get and from where?

(....) A social worker from Dogodogo came and cleaned me, bandaged my wound. Also, she gave me some ointment to put on the wound. This social worker promised to come back after several days to look at my condition, but until now, she has not returned. It means she has lied to me. I think she deceived me; otherwise, if she were honest, she would have come back to see how I am doing. So, I decided to open the wound by myself but is not healed yet; the wound is weeping.

This is a health challenge, isn't it?

This is not a health challenge.

Oh! So, how do you call this?

... this situation is not a challenge, it just happened, I fell. Maybe it is a challenge because I feel pain.

I see you are working, too. Are these collected empty bottles yours?

No, this collection of empty bottles is not mine; it belongs to my friend. I have not managed to go collecting bottles because of the wound on my leg. When you have a health issue, life is exceedingly difficult. Currently, I do not have anything to buy a drink or food.

So, how do you deal with the situation?

Well, I found another person eating bread, that he had bought after selling the bottles, he was kind to give me a small piece of bread, which I ate, and I feel a little strength in my body. But I do not know what will happen in the following hours.

What then are your thoughts in all these difficult circumstances? What would you like to see happening in your life?

I want to go back home to Mwanza. I want to get away from this kind of life. Living in the city of Dar es Salaam is hard. I ask the Dogodogo agency to help me get back home. Also, when I get back home, I would like to continue with school.

(2). Interview with **Andrea**—male (18 years of age)

Place: Ubungo Street area in the city.

Interview took place on 17th Oct 2018

Where is your home?

I came from Mwanza, one place called Mabatini-Natal.

How did you get to Dar es Salaam?

I came with my friends. We hid in the train transport from Mwanza.

Why did you leave your family and find yourself living here in the street?

A hard life, poverty, and hunger made me leave home. The hope for a good life at home was impossible. So, I came to Dar es Salaam to look for a better life, and to improve.

How has life been for you here in Dar es Salaam?

As you can see, problems are everywhere, it is not a nice place. You are continually receiving threats from the police, and you get beatings from other people in the streets. Hunger is a problem, there is no food to eat.

How does the Dogodogo organisation help you?

Ahaa ... a large part of our daily life, we sustain ourselves by picking cans, collecting empty plastic bottles, and selling, washing cars at road junctions and roundabouts. Sometimes, we receive help, such as soaps. If you get an injury on your body, staff from Dogodogo do come to help. Dogodogo teaches us how to protect ourselves against disease, dangers. The organisation does not give us money directly, which can help. But, when you are sick, ill, or injured, they take you to a hospital for treatment.

It seems Dogodogo is important in your life as it help you in these circumstances?

We need food and more help, Dogodogo is good to us.

(3). Interview with **Kishishi**—male (claims to be 17 years of age)

Place: Ubungo Street area in the city.

Interview took place on 17th Oct 2018

Where did you come from, where is your home?

(....) I came from Kasulu district in the Kingoma region

What reasons made you leave your home and come to Dar Es Salaam?

(....) I came to Dar es Salaam to find life. Poverty at home has led me to find life and be here in Dar Es Salaam. But life here is problematic.

How did you get here?

I came with my friends in the passenger train from Kigoma, we hid in the train.

What challenges do you encounter while living in this environment?

I have developed a skin problem and I am worried about skin disease.

What happened, how did this skin problem come about?

Because of poor living conditions, poor working conditions, spending most of the time in polluted environments and sharing things among ourselves when we have a different level of maintaining hygiene.

How does the Dogodogo organisation help you?

I have never received any support, except for advice on how to protect myself from problems. They have taken me to the hospital for treatment.

What do you wish to happen in your life?

Eeh...I ask Dogodogo organisation to help me get back home to Kigoma. The life of Dar Es Salaam is terrible, challenging to succeed. I am tired of living here in Dar salaam.

(4). Interview with **Kevin**—male (19 years of age)

Place: Ubungo Street area in the city.

Interview took place on 17th Oct 2018

What challenges do you encounter in your current environment?

Health challenges: disease, fever, lack of food, poor sleeping place. There are many challenges facing children and young people working on the street. I am worried about spinal fever. I also had physical weaknesses for three months. Young people here are sleeping in the same place, so many young people use one toilet. Even food we share. We also eat from one container/plate. So infectious diseases in this environment are very easily transmitted from one person to another person.

What challenges do you encounter in your daily life in the streets?

The challenge in street life is to get a safe place, to feel safe, sleeping safe, living in the streets without fearing being attacked, beaten, without being harassed, ridiculed, or chased by police around. Another challenge I do face, and every street boy faces, is how to get the basic needs, as it is not guaranteed that one can get money through selling items in street.

What health problems affect street youths in the street?

The problem of UTIs (urinary tract infections), is incredibly stressful. Most young people live with this problem, some of them do not like being asked about it. Most do not know how much their health is affected by the UTI. This is caused by dirty environments, and we work and sleep in dirty environments.

Where are you living and where are you sleeping?

Ah ... I live with another eight young people here in this cabin you see.

We have set up an arrangement among ourselves to make sure that we live in sanitation, a clean environment, to reduce the risk of infectious diseases. We have allotted times when each of us cleans the room and toilets. Mr and Mrs Dii have kindly welcomed us into their home yard, and have built us this hut, in which we live. Mr and Mrs Dii were

very compassionate for us. Sometimes, they give us food and bring out the television for us to watch.

What sorts of support do you receive from the Dogodogo organisation?

It helps us with advice, take us to receive medical treatment when we need it. They helped me when I was not well by taking me to the hospital.

Where is your home, where did you come from?

I came from Tabora, the Ipuli area. But I grew up in the Bukoba region.

My mother died, and I went to Bukoba to live with my uncle, but my uncle did not care much about me. When my mother died the challenges of life became many. I found myself living this kind of life I am living now, on the street.

What is your dream in life, what would you want to see happening in your life?

(... ...) I know that life will not end just like this, living in the street. I have my dreams and I believe they will happen one day. I believe my tomorrow will be good. Let me continue to fight and reject the living conditions in the street. I believe that one day I will be like other people who pass me on the main road on foot or driving cars going about their daily business. I have faith and zeal and I will surely get out of this situation one day.

How do you think the community around you views and treats street children/youths?

Most people in our community have a horrible view and attitude towards street children/youths. The public/society see street children as second-class citizens and does not treat us in a dignified way. Street children/youths are laughed at, debased. We are called names such as thieves, hooligans, dirty people, and dangerous people. This type of language and views creates a big chasm/gulf between street children/youths and the rest of society, in term of a good relationship. However, street children/youths are human beings at heart, and they have dreams of a better life, regardless of how they may look from the outside, as shabby, dirty, rough, confused. Still, we deserve fair treatment, respect, and support. Each morning we get up with our daily schedule, go to the cars, sell bottles, clean up, washing cars, working hard to meet our basic needs.

(5). Interview with **Lydia**—female (20 years of age)

Place: Ubungo Street area in the city.

Interview took place on 15th Oct 2018

What is your current occupation?

My main occupation is tailoring. I am making and mending clothes. I received this professional training from the Dogodogo Vocational Training Centre in Bunju.

How did you connect with the Dogodogo organisation?

Eheh...I came from Singida. My father died before I finished primary school education. When I finished primary school education, my mother did not have the financial capacity to enable me to continue with my secondary school education. The family lacked resources, and the life of my childhood was characterised by poverty. Because of poverty in our family, my mother struggled to meet our basic needs, education, and with the desire to have a better life, I decided to run to Dar es Salaam city. I was hoping that my life in the city will be better than in the village in Singida. However, the experience in the city proved to be the opposite, being without proper education and work, it was tough for me to earn a living. Besides, being a girl in an unknown place, wandering around in a city was a frightening experience for me. Then while wandering around in street Dar Es Salaam a thought came to my mind, I remembered in the past back home in Singida, I was told that my mother's young sister was living here in Dar es Salaam. So, I started looking for her, and luckily enough, she was still living here, and I found her. Therefore, she welcomed me in her home. While in her home, she told me about the Dogodogo organisation that the organisation provided training in various skills and helped children/young people who come from poor families and especially those on the street. She took me to Dogodogo. That's how I encountered the organisation.

While at the Dogodogo organisation, what happened?

(...) the organisation enrolled me in its Vocational Training Centre/school. This school provides a career-oriented education. The Dogodogo organisation financed my education at their college. I decided to make tailoring my career profession because I loved it. Receiving education at the Dogodogo Centre gave me a sense of purpose and occupation for my life. The tailoring course lasted two years. At the end of my studies, I did well and graduated, and the organisation gave me a certificate and a tailoring machine. The organisation gave me a tailoring machine as a gesture of kindness with the purpose of helping me to have an easy start in my tailoring career, and it worked for other purposes to help me start my independent life.

So how important do you perceive this organisation to be for street youths in the Dar es Salaam community?

This organisation plays the most important role in the Tanzanian community, thanks to its vision and work that targets vulnerable street children and youths. Dar es Salaam is full of orphans and street youths, children without a father or mother living in the street, who need support. These youths could benefit from the same help the Dogodogo organisation provides. Also, many children and young people in the streets, living and working in the streets, do not have a stable life, and their number increases and possibly will continue to increase because of various problems at personal, family, and community levels.

Dogodogo's vision and work should not stop: its work is a lifesaving one, enabling many young people who are without hope to possibly fulfil their dreams in life. I am the living testimony of street life and the product of Dogodogo's good work. I can honestly say without receiving education and social support from Dogodogo; I would not have reached where currently I am at in life. I have now a purpose.

What advice do you give the organisation to continue and improve its service to the street children/youths?

The organisation has a good and commendable idea of giving its graduates a range of equipment in relation to the training received. For example, those trained in tailoring are given a tailoring machine as a way of helping them to have an easy start in their career life. Those who graduate in carpentry/joinery are given a hammer, nails, and other accessories. However, it seems that the relationship between students and the organisation ends here. Once the students finish their training and is given equipment to start life, the relationship between students and the organisation ends. However, in my experience as a street youth, graduate, and inexperienced tailor, making your name and having customers interested in your profession is very difficult at the beginning. Therefore, I do think that it would be very helpful if the organisation continued to offer support and advice to graduates for a certain period until they feel a bit established, knowledgeable and more confident in their specific work. Giving them equipment and tools to aid them in starting their career is good but remember that these people were once street youths and now are inexperienced workers, so they need some guidance outside the school on how to navigate and establish their career and life. Dogodogo should connect its graduates to more experienced people or industry; this will help students. To just give them working tools, equipment, hoping that they will make it their own because of the education and tools in

their hand, is an overestimate, as you do not know yet where to start and where you are going, where you will find customers. So, I advise Dogodogo's organisation to have a system in place within a certain period, to continue an advisory relationship with these graduates. The organisation should continue to travel with these young people during a transition period from student training to independent workers.

You said you had other opportunities while at the Dogodogo. What were these other opportunities?

Through Dogodogo I have been able to visit another country, outside of Tanzania. For example, Dogodogo's leadership invited me to go to Germany, to share with people in that country about the challenges that face street youths and the ways in which organisation such as Dogodogo is supporting and transforming the lives of street youths in Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania.

(6). Interview with **Suzan**— female (19 years of age)

Place: Bunju area.

Interview took place on 15th Oct 2018

How did you join the Dogodogo organisation? How did you become connected to this organisation?

I have been brought up here in Dar Es Salaam. Therefore, I have heard about this organisation from my relative. When I finished primary education, I stayed home and could not continue with higher secondary school due to family poverty and lack of finance. My mother is the one who has taken care of me, and she knew about the Dogodogo organisation. One day my mother told me that there is a social organisation known as the Dogodogo Street Children Trust that provides social support and helps children from poor families and street youths. Therefore, my mother took me to the Dogodogo Training Centre, where I received education for two years in tailoring and making clothes, mending clothes.

So Dogodogo seems to be an important organisation to your life, can you explain in what ways?

Well, you know Dogodogo; as a person, you enter with one leg, but you come out with two legs because Dogodogo's help uplifts the street children's' lives. Many street children, I include myself as I have passed through Dogodogo programme, are where we are in life at this moment because of the social support this organisation has sacrificed to us.

Which challenges did you encounter during your time and how did you overcome them?

In the beginning, I found everything, including studying, very difficult. Sometimes I did not see the future of my life clearly through this type of education, but because of being surrounded by wonderful Dogodogo staff members who encouraged me, I did finally complete it, and now I am self-employed as a professional tailor.

And when you finished your studies and left to start your career, how did things go?

When I finished school, it was challenging to start my career, to open my own office, because I had no experience. At some point, I felt alone, not knowing how to attract customers to my business. However, now I can say I have got used to it and have met other experienced professional tailors and shared experiences that have empowered me too.

Having gone through Dogodogo successfully, what would you like to say to Dogodogo?

I advise you not to give up on others as they helped me not to go astray. There are so many street children/youths living in hardship and challenging environments that could have a brighter future if Dogodogo continues offering service to them. Being in the streets, collecting empty bottles, washing cars at roundabouts, road junctions, or selling other things or just smoking to numb the pain will never enable street children/youths to reach anywhere in life. They need a well-organised support service provision to be able to realise a new bright day.

(7) Interview with **Seba**—male (22 years of age)

Place: Bunju area.

Interview took place on 15th Oct 2018

When did you connect with Dogodogo and received support?

I connected with Dogodogo and officially enrolled in their Vocational Training School in 2011. My study lasted for two years. In 2013 me and other four students represented our school at the University of Dar es Salaam. This visitation was part of the promotion campaign of the school. This programme helped the school to be popular among Dar es Salaam people.

What challenges have you met in your career journey after finishing the Dogodogo study programme?

After I finished my two years of training at Dogodogo, the idea of being self-employed and having an independent life was not an easy one; it took me a while to become stable in myself and my career. The challenge of starting a carpentry career is that to get customers coming to you takes time and requires other people to help you. Also, another challenge for me was having not enough working tools and a place that I could call my own office. Even now, I am sharing an office with other joiners. I am hoping that it won't be long before I will have my own place.

You mentioned that you struggled to get established after finishing Dogodogo, what would you ask Dogodogo to do in the future to help those starting their career?

My advice is that when students graduate in their specialised areas of careers, there should be teachers or leaders from Dogodogo who can connect the new graduates to already existing industry or enterprises. This support could help these graduates in transitioning and put into practice what they learnt at school. The intervention of Dogodogo's leadership in helping their students to get employment in an already established industry could help a lot at the beginning of their new careers.

What difficulties did you experience in life that led you to the Dogodogo organisation?

I grew up in a family where there was no leadership; my parents never showed any interest in me. I never had proper parental guidance. I was neglected. I found myself connected with those boys working and living in the streets here in Dar es Salaam. However, one of my relatives knew about the Dogodogo organisation, he visited me and told me to meet Dogodogo social workers who sent me to the Vocational Training Centre. This is how I ended up connected to the organisation.

You said you missed proper parental guidance in your childhood. Is this the big reason why many children/youths end up leaving their home for the street life?

Yes, when parents who are meant to love, guide, and provide for you wholeheartedly do not do that, it destabilises the growth and progress of a child/youth. The absence of this parental support forces children who are very young to run away and fight for themselves in the street. During my studies at Dogodogo Vocational School, my own father never came to visit me, nor did I receive any encouragement from him. Now, I am standing on my own feet. I have my own career.

Interviews with individuals of the Social Mainstreaming for Gender Equality Organisation (SMGEO)

Managerial level:

(1). Interview with **James**—male

Place: Chamwino area, Morogoro district, Morogoro Region

Role: Executive officer, coordinator of the service programme

Interview took place on 13th Nov 2018

What is your role in this organisation?

I am a chairman of the board and the principal executive officer here in Morogoro.

How many members are there in your board?

Our board consists of five members: the chairman, secretary and three other board members.

Why is the question of gender equality of interest and importance to you personally?

My interest in this issue has been triggered by the living reality of certain people in our area. The majority of women nowadays in our society seem to understand and are becoming more conscious of their right to equality. Women are now actively contributing significantly towards social and economic development both in the private and public sectors in our country. Therefore, women can no longer be regarded as backward, or followers of men's control. Women's contribution is noticeable in the political arena; for example, today we have a woman vice-president, and plenty of women are parliamentary ministers, leading their constituencies in various places across Tanzania.

How do you interpret this rise of women into leadership positions in relation to the issue of gender equality?

I think it is the right time that as a society we no longer turn a blind eye to gender-related issues. Education is setting both men and women free from the shackles of traditions that hinder personal and social development. Gender inequality is a key issue that has and is causing a lot of problems at family level, community level, and the national level.

How do you understand gender inequality?

It is a phenomenon whereby a person is discriminated against based on his or her gender. In our context, women are most discriminated against and in some situations, even experience bullying and harassment.

Can you mention the underlying cause for the presence of gender inequality and discrimination against women and girls in our society?

The main factors causing the existence of gender inequality in Tanzanian society are as follows: First, it is sanctioned by traditions and customs held by various communities. Most of these traditions perceive women as inferior to men and limit the expression and freedom of a woman. Most tribes in Tanzania still see a woman as a nobody within the social strata. A woman does not have a voice, a say. Even when she is married and has children, those children belong to her husband. When it comes to property and land ownership, a woman owns nothing; she is not entitled to anything except under the direction of her husband. In the event of death, when a husband dies women suffer a lot; most of them fall into poverty and a life of despair because they lack a means of livelihood and social security. It is difficult for a woman living with these inherited traditional perceptions and systems to realise her own full potential unless she is counted as an equal member of society, equivalent to a man, that she has her right to have a say, to be free in exploring life and have a space to contribute to life.

Second, even at the workplace, still, men dominate. Promotion opportunities are more afforded to men. The sad thing is that various sectors have well-educated men who should know better and create spaces for women to utilise their potential, and develop their career fully, but because of the same inherited traditions and customs from various tribes, you find the same tendencies. Negative attitudes and treatment towards women is apparent in the offices.

You mention family as a key place where changes should take place. Who, in your view, has the authoritative voice at a family level?

Traditionally, it is a man, a father, a husband. He is the one who dictates everything and who owns everything. A woman, despite doing a lot of activity, including raising children, taking care of the household, making sure that there is food, is not acknowledged at all in many tribes in Tanzania. She is the most oppressed person and lives under immense pressure. When it comes to educational opportunities, it is always a boy who gets priority and not a girl. This emanates negative perceptions and attitudes; consequently, it has and still puts girls, women in an unprivileged position. But it looks like a new dawn is here; gender inequality can no longer be ignored.

So, what would you say is the main hindrance to the full realisation of gender equality in your society?

The biggest hindrance or obstacle to the escalation and realisation of gender equality in our society is the dominance of traditions and customs that are at play in various communities at large. Some of the tribal held practices that yield an unfavourable view

and attitudes towards women are still seen today as a framework and a measuring stick of who women are and about their place in life.

How do you think these harmful traditions towards women came to exist in the first place?

I don't have a piece of complete knowledge as to the background of these traditional practices that put women in an unprivileged position. However, it could be that, for a long time, a man in African society has always seen himself to be superior to a woman, that a man is important and ought to be revered. Unfortunately, this mentality has escalated to affect the notion of being a human, of having rights to certain privileges in life. A woman has almost nothing to claim.

What needs to be done for change to happen?

I think education on gender equality must challenge male-dominant culture and traditions. That is why SMGEO is educating people at a grassroots level.

When was the SMGEO started?

This organisation was started in the year 2015 by Mr Eric Kuhoga.

Why was the organisation started?

Mr Eric Kuhoga received education on gender-related issues and social development from the university. Through his education, Eric saw that there was a need to set up an organisation that would address the gender inequality problem in our society, which is apparent at all levels. Chamwino community is a place where gender inequality practices are evident.

What steps did Mr Eric Kuhoga take in establishing this organisation?

After graduating from his university, Eric started to share his vision and mission with some people here in Morogoro, Chamwino area. Various seminars were launched at which Eric taught us about why an organisation like this must engage in addressing the social problems created by gender inequality, tackling the root causes of gender inequality in our society. Some government ministers supported the organisation and saw its value and mandate as relevant in Tanzania today.

In which geographical areas does this organisation work?

This organisation is mainly working in Morogoro, Chamwino area. The organisation has just now begun to expand in term of its coverage. For example, just a week ago, we have started a process of establishing a base in the Gairo district. We have already gone to introduce ourselves to the Government authority there. We have passed unto them the

organisation's written vision and its focus. Because this organisation is recognised nationally, it can therefore expand anywhere within the country.

Do you think there are places in Tanzania that are more affected by gender inequality than others?

Yes, there are groups, such as the pastoralist, livestock keeping, and farming-oriented tribes. For example, the Masai groups, Kurya tribes, and the Chamwino community of ours where the majority are not educated at all. In these groups and others like them, a woman is seen as merely a tool; she does not have her rights, she is denied any privileges. Men in these groups are highly esteemed and enjoy all the privileges that life brings. A divorced woman is regarded as worthless in these groups.

What does the organisation do in its attempt to tackle gender inequality, discrimination, and harassment issues in your community?

The organisation is involved in educating various groups in our community, such as the women's group (women's forum), seminars attended by men only, seminars attended by both men and women. Also, the organisation carries out seminars in primary schools and secondary schools.

Why do you need to carry your programme to schools?

We felt that without engaging with both primary schools and secondary schools, the realisation of a society that is characterised by gender equality would be a distant dream in our community. The future progress of our community depends on the girls and boys who are currently in schools. If they are well educated on this issue, they may be able to avoid and challenge the wrongly held traditions about the place of men and women in society and the roles that women and men potentially fulfil and seek to create a society that holds equal rights for both genders.

What groups/clients do you target with your services?

The organisation works with various groups in our community, this includes individual persons who can come to us if they are in need of help, but we work mostly with farmers, individual women, women forum groups, youths. We work with youths in our community, helping them to see what drugs and drinking alcohol can do to their health. We tend to ask them what they would wish to see happening in their lives and how can the organisation help in that process. The women forum is a platform, through which we meet women who are interested in running small businesses/entrepreneurship. Women tend to group themselves according to their business interests and come to us for assistance with how to write their proposal to get loans from the bank and other social

fund institutions available. Therefore, we help women who are involved in mending clothes, making local soap, cultivating, and selling tomatoes.

What sorts of issues have your female clients brought to you so far?

We have received a female client complaining about the lack of support, neglect, and abuse from their husband. For example, one woman, a mother of three children, came to us. She told us she is among the women who had received a loan for a vegetable business, but her husband has made it difficult for her to set up the business. And sadly, he has taken the money that was meant for the vegetable business, claiming that he can use it on an important matter, and so she is frustrated because she has been stopped from doing what she had her mind set on. Also, she does not know what her husband did with the money, and, at the end of the day, the loan must yield an interest. The organisation tried to intervene by advising her to report the matter to the social welfare office, that deals with domestic issues. Up until now, we have not seen the husband in person, but what we were told about him is that he is heavily involved in drinking alcohol. Also, we have had cases of women being harassed and beaten by their husbands. Depending on the case involved, if we see it is beyond our ability, we do tend to redirect the individual to the right institution, such as the police, legal advisers, or social welfare offices.

When a woman who is a victim of abuse, beatings, or rape comes to you to report an incident, what would you do to help.? Which procedures do you have in place?

When such a case is brought to us, we listen to the client, and we together with the client seek a way forward. If the client has been subjected to a life-threatening experience, we then advise that she goes to the police and seeks legal advice. One of our core works is advocacy. We are speaking on behalf of victims to the right institutions, such as the government, police, and others relevant to these issues.

What training and qualities must a social worker have in your organisation?

The organisation gives much preference to graduates from university or college, who have received education on social work, community development, business management, and computer programming. Also, he or she must have a strong desire to help people.

Do you cooperate with other institutions in your attempts to tackle some of the social issues in your community?

Yes, we do tend to partner with other institutions around us, such as the social welfare office, the legal farm, and the police office. Depending on the issue or the case at hand, we always refer it to the right institution.

People with disabilities is one group that you say you are supporting.

Yes.

Please, tell me, how are people with disabilities regarded/viewed in the society here?

They represent another socially disadvantaged group in our community—people with some form of disability experience neglect, at the family level and the community level. One thing you notice here is that it is hard to see a person with a disability mingling with other people publicly. You find at the family level, a person with a disability is kept inside, just staying home, and not much thought is given about his or her future life prospects. The language people use while talking about a person with disability implies that they are less human, or that it is his or her fault that they were born this way or involved in an accident.

I have always thought of African society as being very accommodating and embracing of every person regardless of condition and status. Where does this unhelpful demeanour and attitude towards people with disabilities come from?

It comes from people having a wrong view and just a lack of understanding and education on disability. I think the negative attitude towards, and in some circumstances, the mistreatment of people with disabilities has been in society for a long time. Children born with some deformity face a complicated life, sometimes they are denied basic needs that are essential to them, as a result, some die.

What sort of language do people use while describing or discussing a person with a disability?

Oh, there must be a curse in their family, or she or he must have wronged God to be born like this, or they are too lazy to work.

How well-informed is society about people with disabilities?

There is a lack of education at every level. For example, our schools, both primary and secondary, are not friendly towards people with disabilities. School building structures are an indication of how society is unfriendly or blind to the needs of people with disabilities. School entries, toilets facilities, classrooms, and desks, are not made to accommodate those with some form of disability.

How are you involved in helping people with disabilities?

When we can, we provide soap and sugar for those struggling. Mostly, we provide advice and encourage them to get involved in some form of work.

What resources does the organisation have and rely on in its mission of helping people here?

The organisation doesn't have any financial resources or assets to rely on. This is a big problem we face daily, and it has caused the organisation to not be able to expand and improve its service delivery.

How then do you manage to provide social services while you don't have any resources?

We depend on members to contribute and offer voluntary services. Sometimes as an organisation, we conduct seminars on entrepreneurship and small businesses. Those who wish to have the workshops we teach are required to contribute money to the organisation. Sometimes, we want to get a loan, but we do not get because the organisation lacks capital or assets.

Have you ever involved the wider community or institutions when asking for contributions or donations to the organisation?

No, we haven't tried this way, because our community believes that the organisation is responsible for offering help to those in need and not the other way around. The people believe that SMGEO is here to help, it has the resources, so to turn towards the community and ask for help is unthinkable, and the people in the community will not understand.

When you look into the future, what challenges do you see facing this organisation?

The biggest challenge facing this organisation is the question of sustainability. The work of the organisation is not sustainable because of insufficient resources.

(2). Interview with **Benjamin**—male

Place: Chamwino area, Morogoro district, Morogoro Region

Role: Board member and field officer

Interview took place on 13th Nov 2018

What is your role in the organisation?

I am a member of the board, and my role is as a field officer in the organisation.

Can you tell me what the work of a field officer is?

The task of the field officer is to encourage people in community development. My role involves following up on projects, seeing how clients apply the education they are given, and seeing how they are making progress, be it with a small business for economic empowerment or addressing gender inequality-related issues in a domestic setting.

Why is the question of gender equality in Tanzanian communities a problem and of importance to you personally?

Gender equality is a very important topic and relevant issue in our community here. I see as a man that gender inequality exists between men and women in our community, and it needs to be addressed. There are indicators that show the existence of gender inequality in our Morogoro society. For example, women are disadvantaged and deprived of many opportunities for their social-economic progress compared to men. I see men being given more priority and rewards than to women. Many problems that women experience in life are as a result of men exercising power over them, and in many circumstances women in our community experience mistreatment and abuse domestically and at a structural level. The existence of gender inequality has led to most women being unable to experience their rights and opportunities compare to men. I think women and girls in our society deserve their rights to all privileges, including land inheritance, property and the freedom to make social and economic progress as they wish, rather than being subjected and suppressed by a traditionally male mentality and attitude. It seems that from ages past, there has been a distorting attitude that puts women in a subservient position, lacking their freedom of expression. In my opinion, this has been caused partly by the religions of Christian missionaries and Muslims, and we inherited religions that contributed to the divide between men and women and the lower position that women occupy, below men.

What do you see are the social effects of gender inequality in your community?

I think male-dominant attitudes and selfishness cause sexual harassment for women and girls in our community. Women, girls are obstructed access to their rights. For example, when it comes to accessing education, girls do not get as much support in comparison to boys. Also, when faced with abuse or harassment, girls and women receive unfair treatment in our civil legal structures and community settings. The held cultural traditions that favour men are the underlying causes for this gender inequality and mistreatment we see in our society. Emphasising the need for equality and social-economic equity for both men and women will ensure social progress in our society here.

From your perspective, especially when you look at the community around you, what are some of the problems that arise from gender inequality?

For a long time, women as a social group in our society have been forgotten. They had no people or institution who could speak for them. However, right now, in the case of women, things are a little bit better. There are now groups and organisations that represent women, speaking for a women's agenda in our society. Right now, there is an organisation of female lawyers who are very supportive of women and represent women in court. Today, there is an organisation called Tanzania Women Lawyer's Association (TAWLA)

This is a body made up of female lawyers in the country. It speaks for women's rights, equality, and equal opportunities for women and girls. Another group that has emerged focusing on social issues is the Tanzania Media Women's Association (TAMWA). This is an institutionalised feminist organisation, made of female journalists. The emergence of organisations like TAMWA and other groups has challenged the Government to take seriously gender inequality-related concerns in society and workplaces. In previous years, our Tanzanian government was not very strict on women's rights, there was oppression of women, and this prevailed even in government. But now the situation is changing, the rights of women, girls, and other groups, for example, people with disabilities, are being given priority.

How is the SMGEO involved in solving problems arising from gender inequality in this community?

As I said before, we are trying now to pursue gender equality in our society, both intellectually and professionally in a practical way. There are concrete steps we are taking, for example, when we call young people, we do not call boys only, we also call young women, so that the teaching we give reaches both genders. When we deliver projects and teaching, you will find that women are the group that receives and applies the teaching, compared to the men's group. As a step of social and economic empowerment, many women in our community are involved in entrepreneurship projects and look to us for direction, especially women who face challenges or are unsupported by their husbands/partners come to us for solutions.

What is the community's attitude toward this organisation, especially in its activities? Does the community see this organisation important in society?

Aaaah... even the Government right now emphasises the existence of private organisations like these, to help bring about the development of women, children, and young people. Also, the Government wants organisations, NGOs, to assist and manage female and youth development.

In your work practices, what methods do you use to identify your client's needs?

Yeah ... we are using tactics. Mostly because we work in difficult situations, we sometimes raise money for ourselves and then find out where to go to help and help people in need. We see a local chairperson or county executive officer and ask for permission to speak to those in need. We reach out to young people, inspiring them so they don't miss out on opportunities.

When you receive complaints or cases involving inheritance or harassment, what steps do you take as an organisation to help?

We conduct counselling sessions with the person. A session like this could help a person get the support they need and help them open up about the situation. Having a counselling session with her and her husband or partner, helping them to talk about whatever might be the cause of the problems. Our job is not to cause pain but to ease pain by providing perspective and encouragement to whoever needs our help to be set on the right path. If we detect that there could be other problems that require different services that can be found outside our remit, then our job is to direct the client to where that service can be found.

If someone is injured, you try to treat the wounds. If someone has lost her husband, she is grieving. In addition to the grief brought on by the death of her husband, the widow is again harassed by a brother on the husband's side, forced to leave the house where she lives. She is robbed of her property and her husband while she is alive.

In helping, we first counsel this widow, let her cry out for comfort, forgetting the traumatic loss. Since she has come to us, we will talk to her, teaching her how to govern herself, to protect receive justice. Therefore, as our client, in need of service, we direct her to the things and steps she needs to follow, under the rules of the law. We refer her to the law so she can claim her rights left by her late husband. The community is happy to come to this service for us. For as field officers, when it comes to a case that is not mine, or, in cases where I see that the problem is out of my scope and expertise, my ability, what I do is I direct the client to a convenient place where he or she will be able to find a service that is tailored to his or her problem. In some cases, we have spoken to a client more than twice, then we decide, for example, to direct them to the county executive officer. This is the state level. Our job is to be with our client every step of the way until he or she receives good support.

Does the organisation contain any principles that govern its performance and activities, or any guiding ethical principles?

Professional ethics exist because everyone must care for their professional boundaries. We work in line with boundaries. I, for example, must obey and follow the instructions of the chief administrator. If you are an accountant, you should take care of your level, and follow the leadership level when you want to solve the problem. Should a serious problem occur in a particular section within the organisation, information must be communicated to the director, the chief executive of the organisation. Effective resolving

steps follow. Therefore, we have procedures, and we have identified steps to follow when a problem arises. Even those we serve know our offices whenever they reach out to him. The clients of our services respect our work.

What resources does the organisation rely on in achieving its goals and delivering its services to its clients?

The fact is that we do not have the resources we depend on. We depend on ourselves. Also, we rely on donations from other people inside and outside of the country. That is why you see our work performance slow down, even if our office is not well, it has no office appearance, like other offices. We fail to reach out to the neediest people and fulfil their needs within the community around us, due to a lack of resources. I wish that we could go to widows, children, people with disabilities, and orphans, but without financial and material resources, we cannot not go to them. We cannot even give one piece of soap, one kilogram of sugar, salt, or clothes to the needy. We look forward to finding a place to build a hostel that will accommodate orphans and widows so we can serve them.

When you hear the word 'social work', what idea do you get?

Personally, the word 'social work' inspires me. When I hear the word 'social work' I get the idea of social support. These are activities aimed at bringing about positive change for people in need, or, for the whole community.

Do you collaborate with stakeholders and other institutions?

Yeah ... there are different organisations we work with, though not too often. We often call them if anything. For example, women's groups within the community, we work together.

(3). Interview with **Richard—male**

Place: Chamwino area, Morogoro district, Morogoro Region

Role: Board member

The interview took place on 13th Nov 2018

Why is the question about gender equality or gender inequality important and relevant to you, personally?

I see this as important because of one or two basic reasons: gender inequality has brought challenges and changes to every society, especially on the women's side. Gender inequality is there in our society. I think part of the reasons is a religious one. Some of the Christian teaching for a long time has maintained the idea that woman is subservient to man. This means that a woman is inferior to a man. For example, we see in the Old

Testament that only men get counted and not women. Therefore, the interpretation and application of these kinds of incidents in the bible propagate the superior mentality of men and demeaning attitudes toward women in our society. This way of thinking about women is wrong because they carry various huge responsibilities, including bearing children, giving life. Women ensure the survival of our lives. So, to be considered secondary in term of social status is wrong. Also, in our community, there are numerous cases of women being mistreated and abused, treated harshly at the hands of husbands and relations. The plights and difficulties women experience make gender inequality an important case to engage with.

Can you tell me the reasons why a woman would experience mistreatment in the community? Why are these incidents happening?

Well, I believe in the spirit. It is the spirit of the devil that has developed a certain kind of attitude and mentality in men to consider themselves as lords or master over women. To regard themselves as better than women. This spirit has no value in the eyes of God. This spirit and character has prevailed in our society, manifested through the patterns and customs that operate in our daily lives. Gender discrimination has created layers, especially women's social and economic oppression. I know that by educating and raising women's lives, you have improved the lives of all communities. In our African societies, it is the woman who lives with the child, who provides the guidance and firmness of life in the family. Also, husbands, fathers in their families rely on the care of their wives, and mothers. But you see women in this community enduring problems, being abused. You find that men in some of the tribes in Tanzania have been brought up in myths and traditions, customs and traditions that oppress women. What is ironic is that the violence and discrimination of women in these tribes is considered normal. So, some ethnic groups live like that, but gender inequality has a huge impact on women, families, and the whole community.

Why was this organisation established? When was it started?

I found the organisation already working, and so I joined. Historically, I think this organisation was founded in 2015 by Brother Erick, who is currently in Tabora. Although I have never met Erick, after joining this organisation and knowing their goals, I found that they fit my needs, and the way I see the community and its needs. The organisation specialises in solving social problems, including issues of gender inequality and some marginalised groups, addressing their lack of basic rights, and their needs. These groups include women, people with disabilities, and girls.

Which clients does the organisation reach with its services?

Yeah ... the groups we serve include people with disabilities, young people who are taking drugs, orphans, widows, and elderly people struggling to make ends meet.

When you realise that someone, or a group of people, needs your service, what steps do you go through to reach them?

Now this depends on the source of information. For example, when information is available, then a member of the organisation will have to be involved in knowing the problem, or where the person involved is. You can't wait for a social worker to go there, sometimes you have to take a step to see and know what the problem is, and then you come to the office to tell other employees that someone has this problem somewhere. For example, maybe there is a mother in need of urgent help, you cannot wait for a social worker who has travelled until she returns. But I like myself, I know my responsibility, and I know what I should do in that situation. As a board member, I look at the problems in various areas within our communities. If something requires supervision, or an immediate follow-up, then that is what happens. But if it is not an emergency, you should receive information if it is urgent or not, and then you notify the individuals who can solve the problem. So, when we know someone needs our service, we track down who they are, and where they are. The organisation sends someone to investigate, brings information to the office, and then we discuss, and act based on the problem itself.

In the process of helping your clients do you collaborate with other institutions or systems?

Yes, because there are some things that need to be handled, for example, legally. For example, after the death of a widow, her widow's estate was taken from the family of her husband. In other words, this widowed mother has been deprived of her rights. Therefore, as an organisation, all we do is go to try and comfort and help her. We give her education about her basic rights. We inform her of the proper ways in which she can secure her rights, her property. We take her to law enforcement agencies, the court, where we will help her file litigation cases. Thus, through the transit agencies, a country court, a widowed mother, is returned to her estate. Therefore, we do not solve all the issues ourselves. Of course, some issues are legal, and we must cooperate with law enforcement agencies. Therefore, we must be aware that the requirements for sharia are legally enforced, and those that do not thrive in society must go through the processes of community development and be taken to the social welfare offices. Also, there are security issues, and for things like this we partner with the police force. In the

performance of our tasks, we measure things, and, our customers, in order to know the best way to get help. Some things require brothers to be called and we to speak to them to give them legal information, ensuring that they understand it is possible for the property to be returned, but that if it fails now, legal action must be taken. So, some things require being followed up at the highest level, and some are done within our organisation.

Do you give any training to your staff/employees?

No. Training has not yet officially begun. But with formal training, for that we will call a professional to come to do the training.

Where do you find employees, social workers for this organisation?

Yeah ... There are often graduates from different colleges in the country, there are many. For example, many young people have come out of college and have received training in social development. Therefore, graduates like those, with social development education, we use them extensively in the functions of this organisation. Others who are without college qualifications but are interested in working with us, we provide them with the organisation's work guidance. This is a group of people who have completed the seventh, form four, form six, we have them here in the community.

Does the organisation have a code of conduct that governs the operation, and the values of the work?

Of course, such rules exist, and the organisation must have such things.

What resources does the organisation have for its operations?

Aaaah... the biggest resource we have is people Because I cannot say that we have money, land, no. We do not have these things, but we have the people.

As you look to the future, what challenges do you see facing this organisation?

Yeah, the challenges that exist are related to how we can get capital, money; that is the biggest challenge. Considering that, we are currently in a difficult period. So, if we can get capital, money, things will be okay.

How does the community around you assist in enabling you to provide services?

The goal is, we were aiming to get both domestic and foreign donors. We rely heavily on our foreign counterparts because they are passionate about activities like ours, and experienced, and have a charitable spirit. Here locally, especially in our society, we still struggle to mobilise indigenous people to help us.

When you hear the word 'social work', what idea do you get?

(Ahaaah...) The word 'social work' is wide-ranging. Social work is multifaceted, focusing on the needs of the people, depending on the areas where the needy are. These are community activities.

(4). Interview with Matthias—male

Place: Chamwino area, Morogoro district, Morogoro Region

Role: Chairman of the organisation

Interview took place on 13th Nov 2018

What is your role in the organisation?

I am a chairperson in the organisation.

Why is the question of gender equality or gender inequality important and relevant to you, personally?

The issue of gender equality in Tanzania is very important and has a lot of impact on me. The absence of gender equality in our society has led to other problems; for example, many women are not listened to, oppressed by men. Many widowed women suffer from the deprivation of their rights, such as heritage, land, housing, and farms. In various communities in Tanzania, women, girls, and people with disabilities, experience discrimination economically, in decision-making, and in terms of job opportunities. The underlying cause of gender inequality and social discrimination is that in Tanzania there exists a male-dominant system. By this I mean, men are highly respected, men are highly favourable, they are listened to, but mothers, women are not appreciated, they are not very well heard. Instead, they are oppressed, despised, and are denied developmental opportunities. If you want to know this, look at the family level. In Tanzanian families, women and men are viewed differently, are valued separately. There is a male culture that fathers, men seem to deserve everything. In families, the main speaker is a father, or a male member of a family, not a female or girl. But a wife, a female or girl does not have a voice. But it is not that women, mothers, or girls are powerless, or intellectually unable, not at all. The problem is the social life system is built on stereotypes that favour men. But today, there is an increased awareness and realisation that women are also able to lead, take on challenges and responsibility. Today they are women ministers, holding higher levels in our government here and across the world. This defies wrong perceptions and the held cultural traditions. These positive changes are important, and they are in line with gender equality.

Why do you think there is gender inequality in this community?

I think it's a system that came from our ancestors. A patriarchal system has been dominant for a long time. Within this system there is the emphasis that a woman could not be fully heard and is not given an opportunity to express her voice or freely advance socially or economically. There are some tribes where women, or girls, are not even allowed to come out; they just stay inside; they are not allowed to stay in the men's assembly. Even in the case of food, when the food is ready, the first to have the meal is men, and after that, the women eat. In these times and customs, women were treated as lesser than men and are required to follow men's orders and advice. Women do not advise, nor guide. Women in such societies are generally oppressed.

In your opinion, why do you think this issue of gender discrimination needs to be addressed and resolved?

This issue of gender equality needs to be given priority, to be dealt with because women can play a variety of leadership roles, performing various roles in our society and in their lives. Today, we see women doing great work and succeeding. We see women leading commercial companies in Tanzania, and especially on the outside society of Tanzania, women have great development, they are great leaders. So, we, as an organisation, wanted our society as a whole to recognise women, to give them space, not to oppress them. Only with this will our society move forward.

When was this organisation established?

The organisation was founded in 2015, but its work primarily began in 2017/2018. When it was started, it lacked staff because many Tanzanians are looking for more money. So, if someone comes looking and knows that this is a voluntary activity, he leaves. So, in the beginning, this organisation lacked power; it lacked staff. But, at this time, we young people are now involved, and in this society, we decided to carry the responsibility of the organisation, to fulfil its vision.

Why was this organisation formed?

The organisation was established to address the attitudes, traditions, and cultures that oppress women, girls, people with disabilities, and those with special needs. We felt it was important to take on the responsibility of educating communities about gender equality, women's rights, and the disabled, human rights. Women as human beings have the potential to bring about social and economic development. Also, we have seen, particularly in the region of Morogoro that young people, women are not involved, most

are not going to school. Many young people are unemployed; they live in gangs on the streets; they do drugs. These things do not bring development to the community. Therefore, the organisation transfers these groups, building capacity by educating them, changing their thinking.

What does the organisation do to help the young people that you have mentioned?

These young people live in an environment that is not helpful. In the sense that the families they come from are poor, they do not have much education; they are unemployed. These young people come from families who have had no education. Therefore, it is rare; often parents have not learned to encourage their child to go to school because he or she does not know the benefits of education. So, you find the parent himself doesn't motivate his child to go to school, he tells his child, don't worry about education, look at me living without school, without education, and he'll just live. So, you find a guy playing hard, smoking marijuana, living on the street in bad gangs, unemployed, at the end of the day he starts robbing, raping girls, and doing damage.

Which clients do you target with your services?

Our organisation focuses on women, and it is also aimed at young people in general, women, girls, and young people who are psychologically burdened due to social problems and economic hardship.

If a situation occurs where a girl who has been the victim of rape is brought to you, what action do you take as an organisation?

As an organisation, we often go to schools, talk to the school leadership. We would like to meet the victim, to help her psychologically. We advise, and direct her in the legal way of law, for a trial to be heard, and justice to be found.

We know too often girls who go through such problems tend to feel unworthy, feel worthless, their personality has been damaged. For schoolgirl experiencing this problem, going back to school, where all her classmates have heard that she's has been the victim of rape, there becomes a psychological problem, and she becomes more restless, more confused. So, this is how we deal with cases like this. In our efforts, we strive for this child, this girl, to continue her education as other students.

The other group we work with is people with disabilities. People with disabilities are viewed in our community as disabled, unable to work. People with disabilities experience harassment and are seen as disabled, pushed away. They are even deprived of justice. But it should be noted that having a disability does not mean that this person cannot work, or that they have no value because of a disability. We tell the community to value people

with disabilities, to count them as part of the community, and that they have the right to live, to be heard, and have the same basic needs as anyone else in the community. People with disabilities have the intellectual capacity, knowledge, and effort to make progress. Many people in the community believe that the disabled are people who cannot even participate in economic activities. This view is incorrect, and it results in a breakdown.

How do you help people with disabilities?

Due to the limited capacity and the challenges, we face, we are reaching out to a few people. We build capacity for a person with a disability. We help this person to develop a positive self-perception. We help him or her to get rid of the negative thinking about themselves and their social standing status in the community. We have come across those whose sense of self has been damaged by what they have been told that they represent. This negativity emanates from the held social/cultural negative perceptions and attitudes towards people with disabilities, which tend to focus more on the individual's physical appearance. The negative attitude has unfortunately led some people to feel and see themselves as not complete human beings, feeling worthless, like a nobody. Consequently, some hide away from the public, facing hardship alone. Some experience neglect from their family relations, are mentally and physically abused, denied food, called names such as a lazy person, told 'it is your fault you are in this form'. The first thing we do is that we tell him/her that you are a valuable person, a complete human being, that you are worthy, deserve respect, deserve to be treated with dignity, and should not feel like a secondary citizen.

Second, we teach her/him to know about other support entities or systems that are there, where he or she may get help. Therefore, no one needs to feel alone, and struggle alone. We emphasise that it is his/her right to get a job and that it is his/her right to have their concerns be heard, like anyone in the community.

Third, we discuss with him what he feels he wants to do, things that his/her heart and will inspire him/her to want to do, for example, a small business, or education about something, for example, computer skills. We tell him that he/she has the mind and knowledge and that there is an opportunity for him/her to develop economically and socially. The person should know that they are no different from anyone else in the community.

As an organisation, you seem to be carrying a lot of things. Since the organisation has a limited financial resource capacity, do you think you have perhaps expanded your scope too much?

We indeed have no money, a great resource. In general, we do not have anything other than what we are using as individuals for our performance. For example, here we have a small project. We use entrepreneurship. We are entrepreneurs, and we can make soap, using the natural raw materials, found in our products. Some people know how to make soap. Therefore, we use this knowledge and opportunity to teach a variety of people how to improve their lives economically. Some people who want to learn how to make the soap come to us, and pay us money as a fee, then we teach them. Some come to buy the soap we have made, they go to sell, like a small business in their streets, where they live. The little money we get through this small project helps us in planning and enabling customer service improvement. Although, let me just say that the money we get from soapmaking, and training is very small.

Have you ever involved the Government in supporting the activities of this organisation?

Let me just say that because the Government has a good target, and according to its annual budget, it usually contributes about 10% of the money of the district councils, with this being for projects focusing on young people's welfare, children, and women welfare concerns. However, the problem is, you find the leaders at the district council level, the district offices, are sitting with that money. Thus, money allocated by the central government often does not reach the targeted people in local communities. This is the biggest challenge we have here at the Government structural level. You find even in the County Office, they have received the money, and they don't tell us because of the bureaucracy that exists. We are working to help the community, but we are not receiving any assistance from the Government offices.

When you look at the organisation from a long-term perspective, will it continue its service to people with problems in society?

Today we can; and although we are voluntary and self-employed ourselves, we still can't fail, we are determined to carry on with work forward.

Where does the SMGEO find its employees?

About employees, we get graduate students. They come to us with dedication, and when they come to us, we tell them we have no money. And we tell them that if there were money, we would only give the benefit, and not the salary, as usual.

As you look at your work, what positive changes do you see in the community that can be said to be a result of the organisation's work?

For a large percentage, we have not yet seen the great results yet, as people have not begun to understand that when we come to them, we clearly state that we do not have the money that they think we have. Now, many young people out there on the streets want to see money, knowing that you cannot change their life, they don't see the benefits of your ministry. Therefore, accepting you as a service provider becomes a challenge, that is a challenge.

Employees/Social worker:

(1). Interview with **Janet**—female

Place: Chamwino area, Morogoro district, Morogoro Region

Role: Social worker

Interview took place on 13th Nov 2018

Why is the issue of gender equality essential and of interest to you personally?

This issue may be influenced by long-standing cultural tradition. Let us say, from the beginning the patriarchal culture has dictated the division of labour, thoughts, and how particular tasks were understood and assigned according to gender roles. In other words, there is a cultural perspective in place that dictates the separation of roles and boundaries in decision making. This perspective says that gender dictates who makes which decisions or who performs which task, and that gender can decide this, or fulfil this role. This long-held view has created a gender problem in our society, and despite the problems caused by it, society has been following these traditions for a long time without questioning them. These held views have created behaviours and attitudes in the minds and thinking of the male members of our community that have and are harming the life of female members of our community. Hence, gender inequality is an issue of concern in our society.

Are there social problems caused by the existence of gender inequality in the community around you?

Yes, there are problems caused by gender inequality in our society. For example, you find that women need to do certain activities for their personal development in their lives, but they fail to make ends meet just because they are women. For example, on the practical issue of obtaining a loan, a woman in our Tanzanian society, I would say, does not have the power to make decisions, or the freedom and the power to own property. That is, if the family has a home, the house will be named after the father or son. When it comes to

banking issues, when a woman wants to take out an entrepreneurship loan, she is incapable of doing so because she doesn't have anything to show, this woman does not own anything, be it a house, land, or anything of value. The title deed does not have her name on it, so the house or other properties do not belong to her. The title deed is in the name of her husband, or man. Therefore, a woman is not empowered and is not motivated to sustain herself based on these criteria.

What negative effects does gender inequality has on women in the community around you?

There are problems caused by this. Gender inequality has a huge impact on personal and social development for women. For example, you find women in our society who need to run a small business for their life to progress, but often fail to do so because they are denied the opportunity purely on the basis that they are female. For example, when it comes to getting credit or loans from recognizable institutions such as banks or other financial institutions, the process does not favour the situation of many women. It is a challenging process for women, and there is almost no guarantee that she can get a loan to be able to start a business of her own choice, in Tanzanian society. In our society here in Morogoro, women do not own anything and have no say, no power, and their voices are constantly squashed both in domestic settings and at a social level. The experience of life for women is very different to that of men, in the sense that socially and culturally, men have a notion that they have the right to dominate and own everything and keep a woman in a subservient position. A woman, according to our culture here in Chamwino area, is that person who has no dream or plan of her own except to follow her husband or what the family dictates to her. There have been some incidences where a woman has been domestically abused, intimidated, suppressed by a husband or a male colleague. Here at our office, we have had women come to report about abuse, such as a husband taking all the money for his drinking habit and leaving his wife nothing and yet she is supposed to be caring for the children. When she has dared to question him, the only reply is beatings and insulting words. Many women in this community have high ambitions and dream of developing socially and economically, but something is standing in their way. Male-dominated culture is a problem. Women are in this social struggle, and some see it as if that is how destiny has been planned for them, that they should remain a second-class human being because they are a woman. It is wrong. This problem has kept women in a weak socio-economic position, meaning they cannot achieve personal, social, and economic development.

What would you say could be reasons those men behave this way or have such a discriminative attitude towards women?

Some of these unhelpful behaviours and attitudes in our community may be caused partly by the cultural upbringing that has an impact on the individual's formation of value, mindset, and cultural world view. Some of the notions held by our people here favour men more than women. I believe both men and women are equal before God, they are both human beings, but for some reason, men in our society are more promoted and given priority over women, and yet women birth life. The women carry a heavy responsibility on their shoulders of caring and making sure things are in order. A lack of education also causes discrimination and the mistreatment of women. The majority of men and women here in our community are not well educated, so have poor and limited thinking about gender inequality and situations, incidents that amount to discrimination are not easily understood. Lack of education and ignorance about factors that encourage gender inequality in our society means that victims suffer quietly and live in despair.

What hope do you have about the realization of gender equality in the community here?

(....) the biggest obstacles for the realization of gender equality in Tanzania is our held traditions and customs/practices that vary from tribe to tribe. For example, women are seen differently from tribe to tribe. As we are now living in an increasingly globalized world, with a high mobility of people, knowledge, cultural values moving from one region to another, ideas move from one part of the world to other parts of the world and are received by people from other cultures different from ours; these things are shaping a very different culture and value. This movement of both people and culture has a positive impact on our society, making us question things, including attitudes and practices held in our society. Also, education is making a difference in our communities across Tanzania. The advocacy movement for stopping discrimination and promoting gender equality has and is making changes in our society. SMGEO's work is helping in the Morogoro region, giving advice, seminars, and practical support to those facing gender-related problems and social discrimination. Today women are feeling freer to express their views openly and undertake various roles beyond the traditional housewife and are proving to be better leaders in various levels of society. Many women are running small businesses, and although some men in our community seem to be threatened by the idea of women taking on a leadership role and running business, the majority have and are

waking up to the realization that women have a lot of potential that if implemented can transform life both at a domestic level and societal level.

What activities are undertaken by SMGEO that demonstrate that you are supporting clients faced by discrimination in the community around you?

The organisation provide counselling, conducts seminars on gender-related issues, as well as being involved in practical projects such as making local soup and local batik, colourful pieces of cloth using local materials for women. Most people who come to us for help are women. Women in our society are increasingly waking up and becoming more active and visionary in changing their lives socially and economically.

In your working experience, have you met any individuals who have experienced abuse and discrimination in the office because of being a woman?

Many clients (women) are interested in starting a small business, so they come to us looking for ways to get a loan and start a business. We, as an organisation, organise entrepreneurship education. We look for the right facilitator to provide empowering women seminars. Now, there was a time back; a woman and mother managed to get a loan together with other three women to start a small business of selling tomatoes in bulk. But the husband of this woman took the money by force, claiming that he had a better idea on how best to use that loan, money. So, the woman reported that incident to us. When a loan is given there is an expectation from the loan provider to receive interest and the time was running out for these individuals, so the SMGEO intervened by calling the husband and warning him that if he didn't return the money and allow it to fulfil its purpose he may be reported to police and other legal proceedings may follow. He understood and returned the money. Few men in our community are now beginning to realise the importance of education on gender-related issues and see the benefit of their wives freely undertaking activities that benefit them socially and economically, and we provide such seminars on the benefits for all in the family.

How do you help a client who has experienced violence and gender-based discrimination?

When we have a client with such concerns, we sit down with them, listen, try to understand what might be going on. If it is a wife bringing a complaint, we try to ask for the husband's collaboration and encourage him to meet us to talk. So, we listen and discuss with both a wife and husband together. We have found in some cases that the husband has acted or behaved towards a wife or a female in a discriminatory manner because of misguided or wrong beliefs. Sitting with him or both together helps us to understand the

full picture and discern the way forward. One case we dealt with at our office was about a female client who desired to run an entrepreneurship. The problems in this cases centred on the complaint that the husband did not want the wife to be involved in small business. Her husband was not interested in seeing his wife taking a leading role, running a business. The mindset that underpinned the husband's negative attitude was that he was the leader of the family and so he must be listened to. In our role as an organisation, we challenged his behaviour and made him understand about gender equality, human rights, and the negative impacts of his actions and attitudes on his wife's mental and psychological wellbeing. The husband seemed to understand and apologised to her and changed his way of life.

What other tasks do you undertake while with your clients?

My job as a social worker is to link clients with social welfare offices. And especially single mothers caring for children struggling to make end meets. The social welfare office can trace the husband's whereabouts and make him accountable for the neglect of his responsibility. Sometimes a social welfare office's effort may fail to find the husband, so what they do is to provide a single mother with some basic needs, such as food. In some severe cases, my role involves helping a client seek legal support in solving the problem. There are times when we find significant legal claims, mothers and children wanting to know their rights and where to get help. In our community here, we have many single mothers who have taken on the burden of rearing, raising, and educating children without any reliable means of income, no help. So, in my role as a social worker, I would tell a single mother where to go to receive support or where their needs can be met. They can meet social welfare officers at the social welfare office to talk about how to make a husband, or a father of the children, fulfil his responsibility, and if he doesn't comply then there are legal channels to go through that can make him understand the repercussions of his actions. So, in my dealings with the client, I make sure that the proper steps and actions are taken to ensure that the correct support is given, and an adequate solution realised.

Based on your response, must a social worker be aware of other options, systems, or institutions that can help clients?

A social worker must know about other institutions from which a client can get help. Therefore, the social worker can judge the issue or problem and be able to direct a client correctly.

What education did you receive that enables you to fulfil your work of providing services?

First, I studied issues related to community development, so I have some knowledge of social issues. Also, I know about project planning and management. Also, we often have seminars, for example, ward people have found seminars to be held somewhere, but the people who must attend are social workers to improve their skills. It helps to see that a social worker can think critically about what will help them. Therefore, such activities help us to increase our awareness and gain an understanding of social concerns in society.

What challenges do you encounter in your task of providing services to your clients?

Challenges exist. The first is that gender inequality is a social issue that concerns both men and women. It is not a women's concern only; it concerns all in society. But in my experience of dealing with this issue, I have found that many men seem to be sceptical, not involved in these things, especially in this area, in the Chamwino community. When you reach several men, fathers, they are not interested, and they may give you the impression that they are listening, but don't take it seriously, they regard gender-issues as only for women and not for the community. They have the wrong idea about what gender equality or gender inequality entails, so education is much needed.

So, you can say that the community around has not yet understood the concept of 'gender equality' and the effects of gender inequality?

Gender-related awareness and education is the biggest problem here in our area. When people, especially men, hear about public forums or groups discussing gender-related issues, they automatically assume that these activities are about women. However, the fact remains is that gender equality, or lack of gender equality, effects lives collectively: the lives of both men and women in our community. And that both men and women will benefit greatly if they become fully involved. We see promising signs of change; we are seeing some men engaging in discussions about gender equality and the benefits they see our programme is having on their family lives. Some men in our community have teamed together with women in running entrepreneurship, so the community will see much benefit if men and women cooperate on an equal level and value each other in an equal way.

Do you have male clients to whom you provide service and what attitude do they have regarding your work?

The male clients who come to us for advice are involved in agricultural activities. Most of them are interested in getting financial support. Whenever we conduct workshops with

various social groups in various areas, clients tend to say, oh! You have taught me the idea of entrepreneurship, but where do I get the money to start the project? We try to educate people on the fact that the loan lending institutions in our country are also problematic because the majority of people in our community who seek loans are very poor materially. Therefore, the lending institutions consider people from a poor background as not meeting the criteria for obtaining loans. Poverty and a lack of resources are cited as some of the reasons. The problem we see is that these lending organisations' service is not based on the real situation of the customer they are seeking to help. You find that some lending organisations have set higher interest rates that make one nervous and make it impossible for those from poor backgrounds to engage in meaningful small business and meet their daily needs while being able to pay the set interest rates.

In the process of providing services to your clients, do you involve other agencies, bodies?

At present, the organisation works with the county office, a ward executive, or community development office. All our plans and our actions must go to the county office. We make known our activity to them. For example, when we visit a particular place, certain people, or when we are working with a specific group of people, our whereabouts and activities must be known to the community social welfare office, the ward office. Also, after completing an activity or a project with a client, a report must be expressed back to the ward office, community social welfare office, which means that at this stage the executive officer of the ward wishes to know what you have seen, any issues of concern, and your advice on the situation.

When you look at your job in the long-term, what challenges you see facing the organisation?

The biggest concern is finance. We have no financial support right now; this affects our work, the level of our involvement, and the coverage/scope. We are failing to get enough social workers. Currently, there are only four social workers; this number is not enough to be able to do all the required work in the organisation. So, we reach a very few clients in wide communities. We cannot reach the larger community. So, first, there is no financial support. For example, today if you are going to visit a particular group you must spend your pocket money to go to help them. Also, due to the lack of money, we do not come to the office as much as we should in a normal good economic situation. We cannot work in the office full-time because of there not being enough money, but still, I need to live and so I have to look for something else to do in supplementing my other needs. The

organisation understands this situation. We are not in the office full time. I must look for something else to do while waiting for a company to arrange some projects through which it can get money. Our office is in a rented property that requires a monthly payment.

What should be done to improve the work of this organisation?

First, a major problem or major request is to have financial support be from an organisation or private person, either within or outside the country. This would enable our service to work well. Because sometimes you see staff who are compelled to perform a specific task or responsibility which is not at the level of his or her qualification within the organisation, because SMGEO is unable to find a qualified people to fill posts, due to financial limitations. So, we end up with unqualified employees, not performing well. For example, I am sent to deal with accounting-related matters, but as I do not know the accounts, the result will be underperformance. Importantly, if we had the financial capacity, it could be possible to reach many people. Currently, we are unable to visit and see our clients as much as we would like to, due to financial obstacles. Also, transport limits us reaching where we are needed, people are scattered, some are far away, and getting there by motorcycle is costly.

Regarding financial support for your work, have you ever sought support from your surrounding community or government to help you?

No, the people we are currently associated with are the people of the local government, which is the ward office. Also, we are trying to expand the scope of communication. Some funders require project proposals. So, we involve in writing various proposals. We pass these proposals onto various people, institutions who can potentially support us. Currently, we have sent three proposals. With funding organisations outside this country, before they can give you help, a financial donation, they give you some criteria that you must meet to get funded. For example, they say, 'I want you to see what projects you've been doing or how you have been funded in the past', then they ask you to show them how you managed the funding and the results yielded on the ground.

When you hear the phrase 'social work', how do you understand it? What idea do you get?

It is an activity aimed at developing a person socially. These are also activities aimed at bringing about change in society. Thus, the target may be one person, a family, or a social group in society, who are faced with problems. Usually, this profession addresses everyday basic issues that affect people. Activities can be education on maintaining a clean environment.

(2). Interview with **Moses**—male

Place: Chamwino area, Morogoro district, Morogoro Region

Role: Social worker

Interview took place on 13th Nov 2018

Thank you for giving your time and your willingness to participate in this interview.

What is your position in this organisation?

My position in this organisation is that I am in the department of finance and economy within the organisation. I am also involved in giving service to our clients.

Why is the issue concerning gender equality important and of interest to you personally?

For me, I see this question has a relevant implication to my community here. There have been many gender-related problems caused by the lack of gender equality in our society. So, I saw that there was a need to get involved personally with the question of access to human rights, social and economic equality for male and female. So, I became interested in working in this organisation as it deals with problems within the community around me. Many problems are caused by gender inequality, social inequality between women and men. Typically, many women and girls experience mistreatment, and are abused within their family circle and in the community, but do not receive their justice, their voices are squashed. You see in our streets, young girls who have been raped, who have no advocates, and we do not understand the way their rights and their demands are being addressed. Cases related to rape are being handled in our legal system, but victims do not get the right support, from the initial stage and throughout the process, it is a bad situation. Many cases of this nature and victims of unfortunate events do not receive justice, just a hearing. People within our community who are high up in the system tend to favour the perpetrators and make it more difficult for victims to receive support and justice. At the local and domestic level, victims' concerns are not taken seriously; discussions take place behind closed doors to manoeuvre processes and procedures.

People whom we expect to represent the community in processing cases and finding solutions for rape-related cases seem to be driven by other interests and do prevent the claims and rights of girls who are victims of rape. Victims are discriminated against, and claims are suppressed. Male repressive attitudes dominate our system here. Female victims from poor backgrounds get denied justice and their deserved rights. So often men who are accused of rape or sexual offences go free and no actions are taken against these

individuals. There have been some circumstances where local representatives of communities, who are meant to lead and manage the process for justice, have prevented cases from continuing and achieving good results. We see those who are doing wrong to women and young girls are on the streets. For example, there was an incident that occurred where a male pupil was sexually abused on his way from school, but his parents were afraid and with this lack of courage failed to defend their son in terms of their limited understanding of justice. Therefore, I can say that these are the issues of gender which have failed in the community. This is one of the reasons that made me enter and engage with this organisation that advocates for gender rights and fighting for the minority, the underprivileged and underrepresented.

Based on your answers, you mean that there are people in your community who are affected by the issues you mentioned but have no advocates or people to represent them in their path to justice and in acquiring their rights?

It is true, in my community... even to mention the community as a whole of Tanzania. In our areas, in the community here, many people face sexual harassment, mistreatment, but they have no representative or people who can defend them and plead for their cases. Therefore, we, as an organisation, have become their defenders. But if you follow up in our area, in this ward you will find no other organisations like ours that are involved in advocating for these gender issues. However, I should say that we as an organisation lack equipment, tools, and means that can enable us to do this work thoroughly. The need for advocacy on gender issues in our society is greater than the number of those involved in providing this service, especially in legal advocacy.

When you look at this problem in Morogoro, Chamwino community; what do you think is the cause of gender inequality? What are the leading causes of discrimination and gender-based violence against women and girls?

Problems originate from the existence of gender inequality. Also, there are other explanations for this social problem. I can say the following reasons underline these problems:

The first thing is 'education on gender equality'. Most people in our community have not received this education. The education systems we rely on in Tanzania do not focus solely on gender issues. For example, we have one subject called 'Civics', but in the primary school education system, this subject is called 'Citizenship'. Now within this subject is the explanation of gender-related education, but the subject does not go as far as to describe the harmful effects of gender inequality which are being experienced by many women

and girls in our society. The absence of comprehensive education on gender equality and the impact of gender inequality in both primary and secondary schools makes both pupils and students finish school without having been properly taught this crucial area. Hence, the problems continue. If the Government, through its education system, would emphasise thorough learning about gender, gender inequality and its impact on the social and economic progress of a person and community, this would bring fast changes in our society. The mistreatment of women, girls and discrimination at work based on gender may not happen. The second thing: few organisations are involved in gender-related issues, and they lack support. There are a few organisations that deal with gender inequality in Tanzania. Also, these organisations lack the support that could enable them to fulfil these functions. For example, the SMGEO, as you see us here are struggling to achieve our conceived mission because of a lack of support. We only volunteer because we are touched by social problems. Many of us are dedicated and want to help our clients who have and do experience mistreatment due to their gender. But we lack the support from the Government, we don't even have any donors that enable us in our daily work. Therefore, the absence of a single donation from either the Government or private individuals, donors, has made us unable to provide social services to clients at the maximum level.

Which individuals or groups that you are supporting have experienced harassment and discrimination based on their gender and social status?

The first example, for example, is the Government programme called the Tanzania Social Action Fund (TASAF). This scheme was set up to help poor households and disadvantaged people, including people with disabilities in life. The TASAF programme started operating in Tanzania in the year 2016. We have had people with disabilities come to SMGEO, explaining that they were meant to receive support from the Government through this scheme but experienced discrimination. They did not have anyone to defend them so that they could receive the service. Discussing their complaints and through making some investigations, we found out that people at the Government level, the highest level here in our district, were asked to register names of those living in poor conditions, including those living with some form of disabilities. However, we found out that due to the high level of corruption, representative of TASAF at the district government level did not visit poor homes, people with disabilities, instead the officials registered the names of their relatives. These government officials registered their people, their relatives, but these people had no disability... most of them were not qualified to

access this service. But the intended beneficiaries of this service, people with disabilities, the poor, the low-income people who were the target of the service in the first place were not given anything. Consequently, once the truth came out, people began complaining, but could not reach the right people in structure, so they came to us in need of assistance in reaching the district government TASAF representative. The SMGEO tried to assist them through the process. This incident is an indication of how disadvantaged people in our society struggle to get help and how even the system we think is there for them fails too to deliver. This is the first group I saw, and I was hurt by hearing the terrible experiences endured by the people of the TASAF programme. Now we have people with disabilities come to us in need of support. Some of them of ideas on how they can be assisted. For example, some tell us to want to open a small business to improve their economic life. There are also those who need the constant support of basic needs because of the kind of physical disabilities they have. This group includes both men and women. The second example, it is schools. I describe schools because I have a great experience here, I am the chairperson of the school, the chairperson of the school committee. Also, I am involved in many school committee meetings in various districts of Morogoro, Chamwino County.

Harmful incidents happened in the district, the Chamwino ward. Schoolgirls who attend school, come out of school in the late afternoon, the evening, on their way back home have been subjected to brutal treatment, rape by people involved in the passenger transport business. These schoolgirls paid for transport and got carried away on motorcycles by male business motorists. These business male motorists are known in the areas because of their daily business to offer motorcycle transport to anyone in need of that means of transport. However, what happened to that schoolgirl that day was horrifying.

The driver drove while carrying the schoolgirl and got to an area where there were no residences or people, stopped his motorcycle and forcefully sexually abused the schoolgirl.

There was another incident of a similar kind in the community here, whereby a male pupil, while coming from school, was sexually abused, raped by another driver of a motorcycle. The parents of the male pupil were informed about the horrible incident, about what happened to their son. The parents of the boy who have been abused did not receive any support in their quest for legal justice for their son. The mentality and attitude assumed by the community and those in an influential position towards this horrific case

was that of denial, unwillingness to pursue and bring the perpetrator of this offence to face justice. It was understood that there were government leaders in the community who were preventing the prosecution of the offender from happening. The biggest fear is that the rape of school children, female schoolgirls, will lead to HIV infection and other infectious diseases, like syphilis; this is very dangerous. But those who do these acts are not legally recognised. Several schoolgirls have become pregnant as a result of rape and their long-term dreams of education and career prospects have been shattered. These are the types of clients we at SMGEO receive and try to help where it is needed by clients.

Why do you think the beneficiaries of TASAF's service do not receive the services as planned?

I believe that they do not receive services because the Government decided not to share with SMGEO the information about the TASAF service programme in the community. The Government dislikes organisations like ours who work closely with people. In my assessment, the Government both central and local should have used SMGEO and other NGOs in the society and the TASAF social programme could have been put under our supervision, because NGOs like SMGEO know who the targeted people are and where to find them and could have made sure the right people received the intended services, but the local Government carried out the TASAF programme secretly, and distributed TASAF support to the wrong people, mostly close relatives of local government officials in the community. Corruption and self-interest among local government officials characterised the whole exercise of the TASAF programme. The Government delivered TASAF's aid support through local government officials whose interests were in benefitting from the scheme themselves and not helping the intended users. We saw many disabled people missing out on this service because the people involved in the distribution of the support chose not to reach out to these people, the older adults and people with some form of physical disabilities did not receive their services.

Do you think the occurrences of sexual abuse and rape against school children, and the lack of support of victims, could indicate that this society still lacks an understanding of the grave nature of these atrocities and the negative impacts on victims and the role of law/justice?

Yes, I can go back to my last conversation and say that our society is still far away; it still lacks an understanding or awareness of the issues of justice. The community is lacking education on gender issues and fundamental rights—the rights of children, the rights of the elderly, the rights of women. And, the importance of intervening or defending the

rights of those affected by bad events. Education is therefore required that focuses on the rights of all groups in the community, including, the elderly, children, women, girls, people with disabilities.

Your answer is very focussed on people being given education/information. Why is this?

I am critical of education because I believe that if a person is well educated, then good changes will occur because education brings awareness about various issues, including justice. For example, people who are educated on human rights would care and respect the dignity of the person. The actions or acts of rape of young children of the school, the abuse of women, will not exist. When people are made aware of the law, human rights, and gender equality, they could be actively involved in protecting victims and fighting for better systems in society.

What are the steps that SMGEO uses in its efforts to provide services? Does SMGEO involve other systems and agencies in providing services to its clients?

We often look at the type and size of the problem. Some problems that arise, for example, require government leaders to be involved in the process of helping. For example, in the event of the rape of a female student; an older person deprived his of possession, property. Therefore, due to the weight of the problems I mentioned, we must involve Government agencies. Sometimes justice and law and internal security/law-enforcement agencies, such as the police and the legal/judicial system must be informed. So, I can say that it depends on the type of problem. There are some problems in which the Government should be involved. But there are other problems we deal with as an organisation.

What challenges does this organisation face in the process of solving social problems and delivering its services to its clients?

This organisation aims to help people solve the social problems that affect clients' lives. But we lack both material and financial support, we do not have permanent reliable means. For example, we long for our organisation to be announced on social media. To explain to the public, the general public why this organisation exists and provides services. Announced on the radio, television, to be known to the whole community, so that people with problems can come to us. However, we are unable to reach many people and services because we do not have support and money and wealth, and we have not had the opportunity and ability to advertise the organisation and its work in major social media.

Therefore, the SMGEO's problem is that it is not known to the public; the wider community is not aware of the organisation. Is it correct to say this?

True, the SMGEO and its work are not known in general; the Tanzanian community has not recognised the organisation. Many people do not know what the SMGEO is, what its functions are and why it is involved in social problems. We want more people to see that the SMGEO office is a place of refuge for all who need help and support of any kind. Most of us, as an organisation, are struggling to distribute information about our organisation's activities to all people. We want to get to the national and international recognition point.

When you hear the phrase 'social work', what notion do you get?

When I hear the phrase 'social work', the idea that comes into my mind is a work that needs to be done by individuals privately to improve the lives of individuals and the community. So, I can say that the SMGEO is doing its work to help the community.

(3). Interview with **Mapela**—male

Place: Chamwino area, Morogoro district, Morogoro Region

Role: Information officer

Interview took place on 13th Nov 2018

What are your responsibilities?

(Aaaah) ... my responsibilities in this organisation are to seek information and to organise training.

Why is the issue concerning gender equality important and of interest to you personally?

(Ah ...) I consider issues related to gender equality important because when there is no gender equality, there is no form of development in the community. Gender-related violence happens. For example, here in our society, girls, women and other groups like disabled people, albinos, are in trouble, they are oppressed, segregated, and deprived of opportunities for social and economic progress. So, the whole idea of social development must be consistent with the whole concept of gender equality regardless of the level of education, and social status, or whether it is a female or male involved. Therefore, the question of gender equality and challenging gender inequality in our society is important, as this could liberate individuals who experience discrimination at a domestic and structural level because of their gender. Through our deliberations and service provision,

the SMGEO stress an embracing of values, attitudes that are based on a philosophy of gender equality.

So, which social group or people in the community experience discrimination and struggle to develop socially and economically?

My view is that women are amongst the social group that experience discrimination, are deprived of their rights, at a domestic and structural level and in the workplace. There is a cultural tendency that reduces women to functioning in a family circle domestically, and not in an office or running a business. The patriarchal culture in our community contributes to the problems that women and girls experience in life.

How do you help your clients?

Women's groups wanting to know how to begin a small business come to us, and we teach them how to make soaps. Others come to us wanting to know how to write an application for funding. So, in our team, we have members who guide clients on how to write an application. We receive clients who have experienced abuse, so we take them through the process of knowing their rights, and then accompany them in their legal path and process. There were cases where a husband and wife had come for counselling and managed to resolve issues. Sometimes issues are complicated and require legal involvement or police involvement.

Do you have specific clients that you see every day?

We do not have specific clients, but we have clients who come to us from the community.

Service users (women):

(1). Interview with **Aliya**—female (widow)

Place: Chamwino area-Morogoro district-Morogoro Region

Work: Cook—sells vitumbua and local snacks bites for a small business

Interview took place on 14th Nov 2018

Have you ever been in a situation where you felt discriminated against because of your gender?

I have not been victimised much. But my life is difficult. I am a widow, and my husband died, leaving me with little children. But now this situation in life, for a widower who is raising children, the economic situation is difficult. For a large percentage of women's we depend on support from our husband for our lives, but most of them are cruel. Men are aggressive with their wives. A man may leave home without leaving you any money to spend. So, you must look for money, but when the ability to search lacking, you find

yourself working hard, including working at a day-to-day farm to earn a living. But as women, we sat and thought we could form a collective support group, and last year came the announcement that we were setting up a forum for women. Working together, so we can get rid of the economic challenges. We got together and started small business activities. Ward government officials helped us form the women's groups.

Were women's groups formed to do business, or did women want to be united in the Chamwino region?

Different groups are formed here in the community; each group has its activities. There are others involved in small farming activities. Some do various businesses. And the gathering was put together by the ward leadership, and the forum is supposed to work together, but the problem is capital.

You mentioned the problem of husbands and fathers who do not care, those who do not take care of their families, with many husbands leave families or abusing their wives. Why do men do these things, behaving in this manner?

Many men, if you look at their situation and behaviour, first, here in our community, many men are without education. Because of illiteracy, many men resort to bad practices. When a man in this area comes out of his activities, instead of going home, he goes to drink first. He will stay at the bar, drinking alcohol until night, and then he goes home. He does not know what the wife and children have eaten. So, the bad behaviour of men come from the groups they hang out with at the bar.

Also, the cultural mentality that promotes the notion that man is the only speaker, that his voice is the only one that matters and that he has authority in the family and in the community underlies many problems at family and society level. That a man's decision is the best, even if it is wrong, has created an environment of discrimination and abuse for women within the family and society at large.

Many women are vulnerable because they have no means of income, so they rely solely on their husbands. But as a man wakes up to go to his work, finding little, he passes on alcohol, and he does not know the children have eaten.

How would you advise the organisation to help men improve their behaviour?

The organisation will be very helpful to the men in this area if it provides them with an education. To educate them about the responsibilities and importance of caring for their wives and children.

Do you get any help from your relatives?

No, I do everything myself. I make a living through cooking, snacks-bites. This allows me to raise my children.

How does this organisation help you?

The organisation is important in our Chamwino region because it educates us. I have received an education on gender equality and women's rights. Education is a major contribution. If they could find us the capital and other equipment, it would be great.

How does the community welfare office help you?

The Social Welfare Office is helping, but it is only giving advice. They call people with problems in their office and urge them to change their behaviour. But these office services do not quite meet our needs.

(2). Interview with **Neema**—female (widow)

Place: Chamwino area, Morogoro district, Morogoro Region

Work: Runs a small business

Interview took place on 14th Nov 2018

What activity are you involved with?

I am an entrepreneur, running a small business.

Have you ever been in a situation where you felt you were being abused or deprived of your fundamental rights?

The harassment situation has not happened to me. But in the communities, we live in, we see such problems exist in different families. But because our potential is limited, we sometimes fail to prevent situations of discrimination. Also, in our society here, there are many divorces, many widows. There are many single moms accompanied by children. Many families here live in troubled situations because men abandon many families. There is extreme poverty in many families. Many children live in abusive situations every day.

Can you say why men abuse women here in the community? What are the reasons?

The abuse and oppression of women stems from the existence of a system in our society. A married woman, stays at home, she has no work to do, the man is insulting and intimidating. Especially in our society, men are given priority over everything. Men are the spokespeople for everything. The woman she needs to know her role in society; her role is to follow directions; she is guided only by her husband; she has no say herself. And this is not just a system, but a real-life situation, because you can be a woman, but you have no job, you live with a husband, and you have no life force; you have no source of income, and then you start to look like a dependent.

Where do women who are abused and mistreated go to for help? Where do you go for help?

For help, you can go to the county offices, social welfare offices. And the advice you get is often just mentoring, no other forms of help. Maybe if you have a father of children but he has abandoned you it can become known where he is or where he works, then the social welfare office will sometimes find the man and demand that he continues taking care of his family. Thus, sometimes the social welfare office works hard to reconcile the husband and wife and find a solution. Or the office legally warns a man about his duty.

How did you come to know about this organisation?

This organisation I knew at the beginning of this year, 2018. And what brought us to the realisation of the organisation was the existence of a forum for social issues at the ward office, Chamwino. SMGEO came to visit us and explained their role. We know each other that way. We interact with them on a variety of issues.

What sort of support or service have you received from this organisation?

I have benefited from their educational awareness programme that highlights gender inequality, gender equality, and women rights.

What types of sources of employment are there available to people in Chamwino?

Mmmmh... The sources of the economy here are probably these NGOs that tend to offer a few jobs. But, here, we do not have many other sources of the economy that provide employment. That is why so many people, especially young people, are wandering the streets with nothing to do. The girls end up pregnant.

Is there still social or family solidarity here?

Due to the difficult economic situation in this area, many families are increasingly scattered. You find young people and the educated adults leaving their families, travelling to other regions in search of jobs, and living. Also, nowadays the fact is, people do not help one another very much, there is a cultural change in our society today.

Do you think agencies like the SMGEO, and other NGOs are important in society and that their services will continue to be needed in the community for years to come?

Such organisations are very important to our community because of their services to a wide range of people. I think these organisations will focus their services more on women, girls, and young people. These groups need to be educated about entrepreneurship, to break free from poverty. If possible, they should be given capital. When I say education, I mean practical education, which will enable them to know how to use the capital that

will be given to them. Teach them how to use capital to succeed. For example, we in our group make women's clothing, Batik, but the biggest problem is finding markets to sell these products, it's a problem for us. This is where we need SMGEO and other NGOs to help us too.

(3). Interview with **Eriety**—female

Place: Chamwino area, Morogoro district, Morogoro Region

Role: Organiser of the women's group

Interview took place on 14th Nov 2018

Have you ever been in a situation where you have felt discriminated against because of your gender?

I have been in that situation, and I got it. Harassment exists. When I went through a state of abuse, I wondered, is this just happening to me, or are other women going through it, being abused? In the 1990s, the economic situation was challenging in my family. A good partnership between my husband and I was absent. I was insulted, ridiculed. My husband was one of those people who did not like to be counselled or corrected, even though he was wrong, because he is a man, the head of the family. His behaviour was to do whatever he wanted. I used to live a life of fear, of distrust. I used to stay quiet even though I was hurting inside. Later, I came to learn that many women in our society live in this kind of environment.

How do you think the community around you think of women?

In our society here, violence and other problems against women exist. I am the chair in the council of arbitration, seeing conflicts here. I do see a lot of families getting very frustrated. Many mothers and fathers have problems. The poverty and unhealthy habits of many men are causing a family meltdown. These social problems are causing children in many local families to become thieves, to join in bad groups as a result of their parents' separation. The woman is sometimes unable to raise children, and the father leaves the family. So, the children decide to leave to make a living on the street.

How does SMGEO help people who suffer from harassment?

The organisation tries to help a wide range of conflicts, most often income-related issues. My request for the organisation is to help men/fathers. For until now, the organisation has been able to help us women, widows. The organisation has been able to build ideas in us,

ideas of self-awareness, women's self-esteem, the use of mental abilities and opportunities to improve our lives and our families.

I also request that the organisation's efforts should be directed to men, fathers to help them improve the lives of their families. Many men will benefit from education on gender equality, human rights, social equity, respect for humanity, and care for their families.

Women in the Chamwino area are working hard to get involved in various activities to earn a living, but the biggest problem is that most Chamwino women live on credit, and the interest is too high. And because of the lack of cooperation from our husbands, we do our business in hiding.

What are the things you do in your women's forum?

We make batiks, local cloth fabric, using hot bathtubs, weave bed sheets, bedding, fabrics, sleeping mats. When we meet, it is a collection of different groups, so each group aims to create something. Our challenge is to find a market for the items we manufacture. Until now, because of the lack of a special market and a delivery system for our products, we end up lending only to ourselves. This situation does not give us much benefit and progress.

When a woman or a mother with children, comes to your office for help, how do you help her?

When a case of this nature arrives at our office, we write a letter of invitation to the father of the children to come to the office. So, when they both meet in the office, we listen to both sides. After listening, we check, measure where or who is at fault. We reprimand and resolve the problem. If the mediation or reconciliation between them is difficult, then we look at the aspect of parental responsibility for the child. We enforce the law. The law states that the husband/father of the children must take care of the children to avoid the children being destroyed because of their parents' separation.

(4). Interview with Dilek—female

Place: Chamwino area, Morogoro district, Morogoro Region

Role: Volunteer in women's activities

Interview took place on 14th Nov 2018

Have you ever been in a situation where you have felt discriminated against because of your gender?

I have experienced this situation at different times. At one point, I was helping the community. There is one place in our area that is unsuitable for inhabiting or building

house or living in that area. But there were still people in our community who forced building in that area. I decided to go to the city planning offices to oppose the idea of housing, stating that this area would not be suitable for making human residence, so it should not be built. But because of being a woman, my campaign was despised, as a result, people ended up building houses in that area. But now as rain befalls the area it is flooded, houses collapse, and it affects people's lives, jeopardising the lives of residents. A woman in our society is still underappreciated, and her thoughts and contributions are very unacceptable. The woman is still despised; her voice still has no place in society. Gender equality does not exist, until men change, and our male-dominated cultures are abandoned. Also, in our society, many men die of HIV/AIDS and many women are left to worry about raising children.

How and when did you become connected with this organisation?

I have become acquainted with this organisation this year through our efforts for social and economic development. The representatives of SMGEO came to my office to talk about their work and their goals for helping the most vulnerable groups in Chamwino.

How does the organisation help you, or what support you receive from SMGEO?

This organisation gives us many ideas on how to improve our social and economic life. Counselling can be enough to help, because someone else may give you some money, but if they cannot give any ideas on how to spend that money, then that money can just be lost.

How does the community around you think of women? How is a woman perceived?

In my view, a woman cannot do anything great, unlike a man, this is because of the environment, the attitudes we have inherited from those of our forefathers. And another thing that causes women to be stigmatised is the lack of income. If you have no income, you are abused, and it makes no sense that even if you have good ideas, you cannot tell your husband because you are afraid. Men also do not want to give women the freedom to be free in their ideas and production/business, fearing that women will dominate them.

Can you say the Government or social welfare agencies help here?

Mostly they help, but their help is limited. I once saw a husband and wife argue, and their case came to the police. But sadly, one of the people involved in the pursuit of the case, in the police arranged to track down the woman, romantically. Imagine when someone is already having problems, coming to ask for help, and then people in the office who are set to help people put their interests first. In such circumstances, a woman cannot be helped until she gives anything, even an intimate relationship. This is why women

sometimes reach despair, living silently in trouble. People at these levels know what the law says, but because of their behaviour, they choose to override the law by giving priority to their own interests, rather than helping the victim.

What advice do you have for this organisation to improve its services?

I suggest that SMGEO build a closer relationship with the government. The organisation should have connections and work closely with the ministry of social welfare. The organisation should be more involved in forums and discussions at the Government level throughout the community development process. The contribution of the Government and the organisation together will bring about development. Our government is ignorant, and has many social problems, so it needs to be educated by organisations like these

(5). Interview with **Rahel—female**

Place: Chamwino area, Morogoro district, Morogoro Region

Work: Runs a small business

Interview took place on 14th Nov 2018

What activity are you involved in?

I am an entrepreneur, running a small business.

Have you ever been in a situation where you have felt harassed or discriminated because of your gender?

Yes, there was a time when I got the opportunity to go into management training and good leadership. After completing the training, I graduated and got a certificate. The problem came when I was assigned to conduct a similar workshop/teach in another place, away from home, to teach other women about what I had learned. The idea of me going to train in another place was a big problem for my husband. He stopped me, forcing me to stay home, but I decided to go because I felt that the education, I would receive would help many. So, I went to Kilosa, Morogoro District. When I returned, the situation got worse in my home. I received harsh, insulting remarks from my husband. He decided that I should never go to teach seminars again. He did not have any basic reason to stop me, but it was the tendency of oppression, to see women as a mere a passive instrument. So, I often get in touch with women here in this area. My desire in life that I would like to share what I know with others.

What do you think was causing your husband to try to stop you from going to conduct a seminar for women in other areas?

He does not want me to do any work, because from the time I got married he did not want me to be involved in any work. I used to tell my husband to look for work, but he refuses, he tells me to stop looking for work because he will do that for me, so I wait, but he does not. I tell him I would like to continue my education, but he says you will go. Other times he says leave those thoughts, postpone, do not go. Once he said, 'give me your application letter, I will send you to the relevant place', but his intention is not to see my progress socially and economically. He wanted to have a voice over me, to rule over me.

Would you say that there are many families in the Chamwino area with problems like the one you described?

There are so many families, especially in our Chamwino district. Chamwino has lots of children within this Morogoro municipality. Also, many children live in difficult, high-risk situations. Even though many marriages are in trouble, many women are very worried, many of whom I have encountered want to break free, but they receive no help from their husbands. Many men in our society here would like their wives to be beggars, to rely on men only. The idea of giving women the freedom to work, to sustain themselves socially, economically, and to be happy in life, does not exist. Many women and mothers have been abandoned by their husbands. Now, for example, there was a mother who was abandoned by her husband while pregnant and now to this day lives with her 8-month-old baby. Many mothers fail to raise their children on their own, and in the end, the children find themselves in a difficult situation.

How did you get to know the SMGEO?

When I'm in a state of stress, I struggle to find ways to get involved with women's groups. I was told there is an organisation called SMGEO, involved in social issues, dealing with issues of gender, gender equality, and human rights. I went to meet them and filled out a form to join them, for help and cooperation.

Have you ever shared your problems with SMGEO, the difficulties you went through? And how did they help you?

Yes, I told them about the life and hardships I went through. Also, I told you, there are many mothers whose lives have been filled with challenges like mine. But then I realised that even SMGEO does not have any help to give. Many women do not dare to fight against oppression and are abused by men, especially in the family. The SMGEO in one of its campaigns has put a lot of effort into the issue of reducing sexual harassment, especially to protect women and children.

Does the SMGEO give you support, or has it helped you in any way?

Yes, mostly they gave me advice, even today they only give the advice that I continue to belong to the women's groups, to strengthen the women's forum in Chamwino County. Women's groups are experiencing such challenges. Many women are uneducated and are economically struggling. Many get into lending groups, but interest rates are high, so many fail to repay. As a result, they are deprived of their property and credit; the capital is given to them. This situation leaves many living in poverty.

What makes men in the Chamwino region have the idea that women are inferior?

Why do they despise her, deprive her of freedom, and oppress her?

In my view, most men are simply avoiding their responsibilities. Also, it is possible that many men were brought up by their parents with such beliefs, seeing that the woman was worthless, only weak. Therefore, if one was brought up like this, then it is quite easy to keep up the behaviour of his father. Also, many of our men do not understand what it means to be responsible. He has children, then he leaves behind a woman with children. He goes in search of another woman. Such behaviour is to avoid responsibility.

Do you think society is awakening now to the realisation of the importance of gender equality?

I think it is leadership, governance in our society, that can cause change. It would be good if the situation changed for all. For all women to rise up and improve their lives, they must be given entrepreneurship education, gender equality education, and justice. For example, when you loan money to a woman, you give her an education on how to run a business, ask her what she wants to do, teach her how best to spend the money. How to start a business, how to make a profit. She should also be taught business discipline and economics. Because you can give money and she cannot spend it well. I think if we look at this lowly person, this will help. Loan agencies often look for someone with high income already, that is not good. Otherwise, the lives of many women will remain poor; lowly, and poor.

How do you think SMGEO helps in this area?

I think that the organisation should stay close to the poor. It focuses on the poorest people. These people should be educated and gradually capitalised. Because we see these big corporations lending to people and they want you every week to send interest and refunds, even if you have not sold anything. If you just take out a loan, only the following week you are asked to send a refund, now this is not good. You have just started a small business, and you have not sold anything, where do you get that return from, that interest?

How important are organisations like SMGEO in the community?

Such organisations are of great importance to society because the Government tends to look at the general situation, but such organisations are investigating the problems of society from the lowest level, from the lowest to the highest social order. The government does not have time to interview individuals, but an organisation like SMGEO has the opportunity to know where the problem is, or what the shortcomings are, who the people are in the village, and what problems this community has. The government will call maybe to interrogate the leader of a local county, neighbourhood, or district, but the fact is that many leaders are unaware of the realities of their people. You often find this government official saying only things that are inconsistent with people's realism to satisfy top leadership so that he seems to be working. These organisations like SMGEO are reaching large crowds, researching to study the community and who and what needs help.

Service users (people with disabilities):

(1). Interview with **Rashid**—male

Place: Chamwino area, Morogoro district, Morogoro Region

Work: Shoe repair business

Interview took place on 15th Nov 2018

Have you ever been in a situation where you have felt abused or discriminated against because of your situation?

True, I have experienced discrimination. There is a devised fund programme named Tanzania Social Action Fund (TASAF). It is a community development fund. This fund project was set up purposely to help people living in a difficult environment. But now, I'm shocked, this year I was not included in the group of people who needed help in our area. As you see, with my condition, I need help. Local government officials have visited disabled people in our area and have given some money and other things, but they did not come to my home. There is unfairness in the way government helps people, it's very discriminatory. I am disabled and my daily life is difficult.

What work do you do for yourself?

I am sewing, repairing damaged shoes.

What challenges do people with disabilities experience in society here?

Aaaah... You find that sometimes a neighbour, a parent does not want to send their child to help you bring something you need. Considering my condition, being disabled, I need help from people who are not disabled. There are needs such as access to water; maybe

you need water for the toilet, you want to go to the toilet. Maybe you need water to wash your clothes. Sometimes you need someone to hang the clothes on the washing line to dry them. Because of disability, running my own life depends heavily on other people to help me in various ways. But sometimes the neighbours around me don't help me at all. Some even prevent their children from helping me fetch water and other necessities. This situation hurts me. You feel that because you are disabled, then you have no value in the eyes of others, you are considered a burden.

How did you connect to SMGEO and come to know this organisation?

Well, the SMGEO staff have been coming to tell me their services, their intentions, their meetings. I came to know the organisation this way.

How does the organisation help you? Do you receive any help from this organisation?

This organisation has only helped me once. They have given me a laundry detergent, soap. It has been a long time since I saw them. Today they again invited me to meet you.

What would you advise this organisation to do for you?

I would advise the organisation to remember us, to help us regularly, for example, with flour, soap, even a little money to be able to relieve the difficulty of life.

Are you living with your family?

(Aaaah) I have one child, aged 8. The mother of my child and I are separated. My wife decided to take our child away, I am unable to see my child, and she took the child and went to live in another place. So, I live alone.

What does the community around you think about you, and how does it treat people with disabilities?

Every human has the right to be honoured, recognised, and to feel loved by the community around him. But the community around me is not this way; the community around me doesn't treat people with disabilities with high respect. People with disabilities almost do not exist as people in the eyes of our society. However, certain individuals in the community are nice and show concern towards us.

Why do you think the community around you is behaving in such a way towards you, and towards people with disabilities in general?

I think it is just the hatred of some people in our community. When my parents died, they left me a house where I live. People around me are envious and hateful, and some dare to even tell me to leave the house and go somewhere else, as they want the house. Some

have approached me saying, why do not you go and live in another place? They have a negative attitude towards me.

(2). Interview with Mohamed—male

Place: Chamwino area, Morogoro district, Morogoro Region

Work: Shoe repair business

Interview took place on 15th Nov 2018

Have you ever been in a situation where you felt discriminated against, and deprived of your rights, because of being in a state of disability?

Eeeeh ... on transport, buses, trains. Travel instruments are not friendly to people with disabilities. On public transport you are overlooked, harassed, and criticised by the transport conductor for being slow, as you can see, I cannot walk faster. Some travellers want you to speed up, to be like those who do not have a disability. I thank God very much because one person in the community has seen me struggling a lot, and they decided to buy me this bicycle. Now I use this bike on my journey.

Another problem that the people with disabilities experience here is the challenge of getting a place to live, to let a room for a person with a disability is difficult. People with disabilities are discriminated against when it comes to finding a place to rent. Rent charges are higher. Even when you get a place to rent, you are harassed continuously, belittled, debased, by landlords and fellow tenants living in the same house. When you delay paying the rent or bills of the house, you receive a lot of threats, abusive words. Being a disabled person feel isolating; you are not part of the rest of the community. It is a big problem. For example, I do not have a big job that brings in a high income. My job is amending old shoes, torn shoes. Also, I have a baby and a pregnant wife, to get enough money for all my children and wife is a challenge.

How does the community around you view people with disabilities?

A disabled person is put on a much lower rank in our society. People in our community see me not as a person, but they see the disabilities I have. Disabled people in our society are denied work opportunities and other rights. When you go looking for work, the way you are looked at and judged is different from a person without any form of disability. Disabled people in our society are always looked at pitifully but not in a dignified, enhancing way.

The community around us look at a person with a disability as a very strange person. For some in the community, the disabled are viewed as non-human. But from the efforts of

the organisation and the Government to educate the community, a positive attitude has begun to be apparent in the community. Changing people's mindsets and attitudes towards a person with a disability could create a positive living environment for people like us.

How did you come to know about this organisation? How did you become part of this organisation?

I met them; they came to provide education on human equality, a campaign to eradicate gender discrimination and abuse, in the area where I live.

Does the organisation help you? Do you receive any support from SMGEO?

(Aaah) ... support in the form of things, I have never received. Sometimes they only give you advice on how to make progress, how to improve your life.

Do you see the importance of this organisation?

Yes, because they provide advice and ways to fight against abuse, discrimination, and how to improve life. So, this organisation has an important role in our community of Chamwino Morogoro.

Do you live with a family?

I have a wife and three children.

What is your advice to this organisation to improve the lives of people with disabilities in this community?

I pray that this organisation also cares about us, gives us the services as it declares. Visit us regularly at our homes, and at our places where we work. If possible, give us money or enable us to live our lives in other ways. My biggest request from the organisation is for them to help me find a transportation tool, like, a bicycle. This tool will be a great help to me in life.

(3). Interview with **Fatima**—female

Place: Chamwino area, Morogoro district, Morogoro Region

Work: Does not work

Interview took place on 15th Nov 2018

Who are you living with at home?

I live alone. I was fortunate to have seven children, but they all died. They left me with four grandchildren, who are living far away from me, in Dar Es Salaam city. These grandchildren do not visit me. I have never seen them. I think my grandchildren do not have a loving mind; they lack compassion. I wish my kids would be still alive today; maybe, my life would be nice.

What challenges do you encounter in your life?

Hunger is a great challenge. Also, I am old; life is more challenging. I do not have work. And on top of that, you see I have disfigured fingers.

How do you get your basic needs?

I live by just begging people to help; whoever is willing and able to help. That is how my day goes by. My legs do not have the strength to allow me to stand for a long time or hours, so I cannot do much work either. Life, for me, is extremely hard.

How do you know the SMGEO agency?

(Aaaah ...) people who work in this organisation know me.

Do you get any help from this organisation (SMGEO) or elsewhere?

The SMGEO organisation shows an interest in helping, but only with words. Also, the Tanzanian Government, through its TASAF programme. But I have never seen any tangible support from them. The only thing they do is send people around to register names of people like us, who need help, but the help is nowhere to be seen.

What does SMGEO do for you?

They have never helped me with anything and never visited me. But yesterday someone gave me one kilogram of sugar.

Did that person come out of this organisation?

Yes... It is just this time, and it has never happened before. I do not know why they do not help us.