Exploring the Space Between:
Community Perspectives and Experiences of Child Discipline and the
Relationship with the Discourse of Children's Rights in Northwest
Tanzania

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Candidate Declaration

I, Susan A. Kelly, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Susan A. Kelly, _____ 12 May 2020

ABSTRACT

In 2011, three-quarters of young people reported experiencing survey-defined physical violence before turning 18 in the Tanzania Violence Against Children Survey (VACS). Physical punishment is, however, legal across all settings of children's lives on mainland Tanzania.

This ethnography focuses on the space between community perceptions and experiences of child discipline and the discourse on children's rights. The study's conceptual framework combines a socio-ecological model with the concept of liminality to consider policies, practices and perspectives about physical punishment within a rapidly transforming society. Data were collected April 2016 – May 2017 in a northwest Tanzania peri-urban town, with some Dar es Salaam national-level data also collected. Methods included observation, in-depth interviews, group discussions with teachers, caregivers, and children (8-12 years), and policy and media reviews. As a term, physical punishment proved more consistently understood for discussing children's experiences of violence than corporal punishment. Physical punishment was common in the peri-urban town and mostly considered necessary. Some national rights translators, adults and children across the socio-ecological model contest the practice. Adults resisted physical punishment's abolishment using enactments of avoidance, negotiation and/or outright rejection. Multiple childhood realities emerged along class lines with middle-class providing some protection from physical punishment. Children mostly said physical punishments were necessary for maintaining respect and obedience, but also relayed that excessive physical punishment was violence and created fear and stress that could undermine learning.

This ethnography demonstrates the value of combined methods in understanding children's daily realities and the complicated and uncomfortable relativist ethics of researching physical punishment of children. I argue that global rights discourse is not just imposed. Rather, it is resisted, debated and dynamic, occupying a liminal space within broader societal change. Resolution on use of physical punishment has not yet been reached; however, transformations are on-going which considered the best interest of the child.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work and the accomplishments of this PhD journey to my father and mother, Leon F. Kelly and Judy Kelly. Without their ceaseless encouragement and support throughout my life I would not have had the courage and curiosity to undertake this academic adventure.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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ACRONYMS LIST

ACRWC – African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child

AIDS – Acquire Immune Deficiency Syndrome

AU – African Union

ACTG – AIDS Clinical Trials Group

CDC – U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention

Child Act – The Law the Child Act, 2009

COSTECH - Tanzanian Commission for Science and Technology

DAS – District Administrative Secretary

DDH – Designated District Hospital

DHS - Tanzanian Demographic and Health Survey and Malaria Indicator Survey

FA – Field Assistant

FGD – Focus Group Discussion

FGM – Female Genital Mutilation

GBP – Great Britain Pounds

GIEACPC - Global Initiative to End All Corporal Punishment of Children

GIS – Geographic Information System

Global Partnership – The Global Partnership to End Violence Against Children

GoT – Government of Tanzania

HIV – Human Immunodeficiency Virus

IDI – In-depth interview

IEC – Information, Education and Communication

INGO – International non-governmental organisation

IPV – Intimate partner violence

KII – Key informant interview

MCL – Mwananchi Communications Limited

MOHCDGEC - Ministry of Health, Community Development, Gender, Elderly and

Children

MUHAS – Muhimbili University of Health and Allied Sciences

NGO – Non-governmental organisation

NIH – U.S. National Institutes of Health

NIMR – National Institute of Medical Research

NPA – National Plan of Action

NPAVAWC - National Plan of Action for Violence Against Women and Children

OAU – Organisation of African Unity

OHCHR - UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights

PEPFAR – U.S. Presidents Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief

PGD – Participatory Group Discussion

RAS – Regional Administrative Secretary

SDG – Sustainable Development Goals

TSN – Tanzania Standard Newspapers

TZS – Tanzanian Shillings

UN – United Nations

UNCRC – United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child

UN CRC – United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child

UNICEF – United Nation International Children's Emergency Fund

UN-OHCHR – United Nations Office of High Commissioner for Human Rights

UNSG – United Nations Secretary General

UPE - Universal Primary Education

UPR – Universal Periodic Review

USA – United States of America

VAC – Violence Against Children

VACS – Violence Against Children Survey

VAW – Violence Against Women

VAWC – Violence Against Women and Children

WHO – World Health Organisation

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Chapter 1.0 Introduction

> **"The Study should mark a turning point — an end to adult justification of violence against children, whether accepted as 'tradition' or disguised as 'discipline'. There can be no compromise in challenging violence against children. Children's uniqueness – their potential and vulnerability, their dependence on adults – makes it imperative that they have more, not less, protection from violence."**
>
> UN independent expert's comments in the introduction to the 2006 UN Study on Violence Against Children report to the United Nations Secretary-General (Pinheiro, 2006: 5)

The 2006 United National Secretary General's (UNSG) World Report on Violence Against Children (Pinheiro, 2006) is recognised as one of the milestones that propelled the global movement to end violence against children (VAC) forward. The report aimed to describe global prevalence of all forms of VAC and make recommendations on how to address VAC in all spheres of children's lives including homes, schools, and within communities throughout the world. As part of this report, the UN independent expert called on nations to conduct research to assess the prevalence and magnitude of VAC in their own countries. In 2009, Tanzania rose to that call to action by initiating what has come to be recognised as the first comprehensive national study of all forms of violence against boys and girls (sexual, physical and emotional) on the African continent (UNICEF Tanzania, et al., 2011). Subsequently other African nations such as Uganda, Kenya and Zambia have also conducted similar national-level VAC surveys using Tanzania's study as a model (UNICEF-Uganda, et al., 2015; UNICEF-Zambia, et al., 2014; UNCEF-Kenya, et al., 2012).

This chapter begins by providing an overview of the Tanzania violence against children survey (VACS) with a specific focus on Tanzania VACS findings related to physical violence. It presents the contextual complexities affecting the interpretations of the Tanzania VACS findings, along with some post-VAC initiatives undertaken by both government and non-government partners. I then reflect on the broader issue of VAC with relation to children's rights and contextual variations in conceptualisations of violence, discipline and physical punishment. The chapter reviews interdisciplinary literature on historical and more contemporary constructions of childhoods, socialisation and punishment, including excerpts from East African childhood ethnographies highlighting social transition and changing conceptualisations of children and childhoods overtime. This includes cross-cultural perspectives on child abuse and neglect that underlie East African regional experiences of regulating and banning the physical punishment of children. The chapter closes by presenting the thesis rational, an overview of the study aim and objectives, and the conceptual framework that guides this work.

1.1 Tanzania VACS, 2009 and consequences of physical violence

In August 2011, findings from the Tanzanian VACS revealed that of the 3,739 young women and men, ages 13-24 from mainland Tanzania and Zanzibar who participated in the study, almost three-quarters reported experiencing study-defined physical violence[1] by a relative, authority figure (such as a teacher), or an intimate partner prior to the age of 18. Findings from this UNICEF-funded survey reported that the violence

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[1] Physical Violence: physical acts of violence such as being slapped, pushed, hit with a fist (referred to as "punched" throughout the report), kicked, or whipped, or threatened with a weapon such as a gun or knife.

primarily took the forms of being punched, whipped or kicked (UNICEF Tanzania, et al., 2011: 2).

Research exploring the health impact of childhood physical violence and other abuses suggest that increased aggression, depression, anxiety, risky sexual behaviour and substance abuse are just some of the public health consequences of childhood trauma and violence (Dube et al., 2001; Gershoff, et al. 2002, 2010, 2012, 2013, 2016; Norman et al., 2012; Runyan, et al., 2002; Simons & Wurtele, 2010; Straus & Kantor, 1994). Most of the research investigating the health consequences of childhood violence has been conducted in resource-rich countries. Research on the prevalence and public health consequences of various forms of violence against children is however now emerging from resource-constrained settings in the global south (Banks, et al., 2017; Devries et al., 2014; Hecker, et al., 2014, 2016; Kisanga, 2012; Tao, 2014). In a 2014 study evaluating the impact of The Good School Toolkit[2] and its effects on preventing violence in primary schools and surrounding communities in Luwero District, Uganda, Devries et al demonstrated that experiencing past week physical violence by a school staff member was associated with increased odds of poor mental health and double the odds of poor academic performance for girls (2014). Furthermore findings from psychological research with primary school students in southern Tanzania that investigated the prevalence and effect of harsh discipline of children in homes and schools, revealed that corporal punishment and harsh discipline are linked with both

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[2] The Good Schools Toolkit is a methodology created by the Kampala, Uganda-based organisation Raising Voices. Raising Voices is dedicated to the prevention of violence against women and children and the Good Schools Toolkit was designed to support educators and students in exploring what makes a healthy, vibrant, and positive school. http://raisingvoices.org/good-school/

externalization and internalization problems such as increased aggression and low cognitive functioning and school performance (Hecker, et al. 2014, 2016).

As is recognised in the field of violence research, variations in methodology, measures and definitions of violence within contexts and among different VAC studies, make attempts to interpret meta-analyses and cross-cultural comparisons challenging (Korbin, 1991; Ruiz-Pérez, Plazaola-Castaño and Vives-Cases, 2007; Fallon *et al.*, 2010; UNICEF, 2015; Fraga, 2016). As a large, population-based study, the Tanzania VACS used an "acts-based" methodology to measures violence by enumerating the occurrence and frequency of specific acts. While such a means of measurement does not necessarily consider participants' interpretation of the meaning of those acts, it does serve as a means of gaining insights into the frequency and prevalence of various forms of violence in a population (Heise, 2013).

As physical punishment is currently legally sanctioned and broadly socially supported in Tanzania as part of what is considered responsible childrearing (Archambault, 2011; Frankenberg, et al., 2010; Muneja, 2013), the alarmingly high VACS findings regarding children's experiences of physical violence are not surprising based on the specific act-based definitions of violence used by the VACS. The findings do not clearly indicate which actions or how much of the study-defined physical violence was administered in the name of what people consider responsible child discipline under contextually normative conceptions of childrearing and socialisation (Archambault, 2011; Frankenberg et al., 2010; Gershoff et al., 2012; Hassan & Bali, 2013; Lansford et al., 2005, 2014; Tao, 2014). Yet gaining insights into the complexities of the contextual norms and values associated with child discipline and physical punishment in the

setting in which the Tanzania VACS was conducted is essential for a comprehensive interpretation of VACS findings. Acknowledgement and understanding of the variations between global rights-based conceptualisation of physical violence and local understandings and practices could help bridge the gap between policy and community-level practices aimed toward supporting the wellbeing of children. Further, an understanding of the emic perspectives of both children and adults is also necessary for the development of strategies that seek to sustainably address issues of VAC or enhance the wellbeing of children and families in the Tanzanian context (Omari and Mbilinyi, 1997; Montgomery, 2007; Pells, 2012; Twum-Danso Imoh, 2013).

1.2 Tanzania as a "Pathfinder" country

In 2016, Tanzania became the first African country invited to join the newly launched Global Partnership to End Violence Against Children (Global Partnership). The Global Partnership brings together governments, foundations, UN agencies, civil society, academia, the private sector and young people in driving action toward achieving the new global targets as outlined in the Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 16.2 to end all forms of violence and exploitation of children. On 12 July 2016, the Global Partnership held their launch event from the UN offices in New York City, USA. Representatives from the first "Pathfinder" countries were invited to New York for the launch. Government ministers and representatives from Tanzania, Sweden, Mexico, and Indonesia committed to developing specific plans that would combat violence against children, including tackling behaviours and traditions that further violence, making schools and institutions safe for all children, and strengthening data collection about violence and children's participation (UNICEF Tanzania, 2016). In anticipation of the launch event, UNICEF Tanzania Representative, Ms. Maniza Zaman said:

> "The launch will be a key opportunity for Tanzania to reaffirm its commitment to end violence against children…. Tanzania has already shown its determination to end violence against children and women. Systems and structures such as the Police Gender and Children's Desks, one of the specialized units established in police stations, have been set up to prevent and deal with cases. A new innovative plan to end violence both against children and women will be finalized soon. Its successful implementation will usher in a better and safer world for all those children and women who today silently bear the trauma and pain of violence." (Ibid.)

In May 2016, Tanzania participated in its second cycle of the UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights' (OHCHR) Universal Periodic Review (UPR) process that involves a review of the human rights records of all UN Member States. As one of the results of that review, Tanzania, along with 12 of the other 13 UN member states under review at that time, received recommendations suggesting the abolishment of corporal punishment. In September 2016, just months after the Global Partnership launch and Tanzania's inauguration into the Global Partnership as a Pathfinder Country, the Tanzanian government rejected the recommendation to prohibit all forms of corporal punishment in its formal State response to this UPR recommendation. An excerpt from the State response to the corporal punishment recommendation read:

> "…a study by the Law Reform Commission revealed that the majority of citizens are in favour of corporal punishment. This form of punishment plays a significant deterrent role in the society." (United Nations Human Rights Council, 2016: 7).

While Tanzania continues to take decisive steps to improve the safety and wellbeing of children, the clear national level response to the UPR recommendation on the abolishment of corporal punishment illustrates the space and tension between

promoted global ideals imbedded within the dominant human rights discourse[3] and declared Tanzanian norms, beliefs and practices related to the maintenance of social order and responsible child rearing and socialisation. While the dominant rights discourse promotes a views that no VAC, which includes physical punishment of children, is justified "whether accepted as 'tradition' or disguised as 'discipline'", the acknowledgement of alternative perceptions and practices regarding responsible child discipline and socialisation must be recognised and engaged with in order to comprehensively understand and support children and families as they negotiate challenges to safety and welling faced as part of their rapidly transitioning society.

1.3 Considering global childhoods and children's rights

Childrearing practices, customs and beliefs have varied over time and across cultures throughout human history. Cross-cultural distinctions between parental, kinship and community roles in child socialization; variations in the value, responsibilities and education of girl and boy children; and transitions and rites of passage into adulthood, make up just some of the aspects of childrearing and child development that are of interest to those concerned with the daily lives of children and families. One of the topics typically addressed in discussions about childrearing and socialisation is child discipline. Physical punishment as a child training and socialisation strategy for educating children about "right" from "wrong" or "good" from "bad" behaviours has been practiced in numerous societies in different forms throughout history (Raum, 1940; Lijembe, Apoko and Nzioki, 1967; Varkevisser, 1973; Ntukula and Liljestrom,

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[3] When I refer to the dominant human or children's rights discourse I refer to discourses involving children and childhood ideals based on the political, economic and social histories of countries in the global north.

2004; Ember and Ember, 2005; Archambault, 2009; Montgomery, 2009; Frankenberg, Holmqvist and Rubenson, 2010; Kennel, 2010). It was not until the 20th century and the era of global human and children's rights (Abebe & Tefera, 2014; An-na'im, 1994; Norman, 2014; A. Twum-Danso Imoh, 2012a; Afua Twum-Danso Imoh, 2014) that child discipline and physical forms of punishment have become a topic of significant interest and debate within both local and international arenas.

Key global and regional children's rights documents such as the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) (United Nations, 1989) and the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (ACRWC) (OAU, 1990) call for measures to protect children from inhuman and degrading treatment and physical or mental injury. While these internationally recognized children's rights charters are typically invoked during discussions of violence and children, these documents are not specific about what actions or treatments are considered injurious or abusive to children. They therefore leave room for interpretation and variations in implementation, enforcement and enactment of rights principles to each sovereign state. The Global Initiative to End all forms of Corporal Punishment of Children, which was launched in 2001 and has support from numerous international agencies and actors across the globe, calls for the immediate and complete elimination of all forms of corporal or physical punishment of children in all spheres of children's lives. The "complete elimination" advocacy movement is a key element of the international children's rights agenda based on the promotion of UNCRC Articles 19, 28(2) and 37 (EACPC, 2009; Hart, et al., 2005; Soneson & Sweden, 2005; United Nations, 1989):

> **Article 19:** "(1) States Parties shall take all appropriate legislative, administrative, social and educational measures to protect the child from all

forms of physical or mental violence, injury or abuse, neglect or negligent treatment, maltreatment or exploitation, including sexual abuse, while in the care of parent(s), legal guardian(s) or any other person who has the care of the child…."

Article 28(2): "States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to ensure that school discipline is administered in a manner consistent with the child's human dignity and in conformity with the present Convention."

Article 37: "States Parties shall ensure that: (a) No child shall be subjected to torture or other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment…."

The UNCRC, and more specifically the above Articles, do not indicate which specific acts constitute violence. In the case of Tanzania, corporal punishment in schools is allowed and is very specifically described and regulated through the Government of Tanzania Education Act (Corporal Punishment) Regulation, 2002. Corporal punishment is described as "striking a pupil on his hand or on his normally clothed buttocks with a light, flexible stick…." Among other specific details, the regulation states that the number of strokes should not exceed four (4) on any one occasion. It also excludes striking a child on any other part of the body or with any other instrument (See Appendix 1 for the full regulation.) In accordance with the act-based design of the Tanzania VACS, this form of sanctioned physical punishment would likely be considered whipping and fall within the survey's definition of physical violence. It is, therefore, from the lens of the dominant children's rights discourse and related movements that such physical punishment is considered violence and a violation of children's fundamental human rights (Durrant & Ensom, 2012; GIEACPC, 2018; Hart et al., 2005; Soneson, 2005; UNICEF, 2012; UN CRC, 2006).

In order to better understand and reflect on regional use of physical punishment in childrearing and socialisation, the next sections present an overview of physical

punishments' role and changes in perceived utility in childrearing in both East African and Western societies.

1.4 Child socialisation and East African childhood ethnography

Childhood ethnographies from East Africa include O.F. Raum's <u>Chaga Childhood</u> (1940) from Tanzania's northern Kilimanjaro region, Varkevisser's work exploring Sukuma childhood in the northwest Mwanza region of Tanzania (1973) and the compiled autobiographical monographs of three East African childhoods (Lijembe, et al., 1967) from Uganda and Kenya. All these works describe discipline—including physical punishment or "beating"--as a normal means of socialisation and preparation for the sometimes harsh realities of adulthood (Archambault, 2011). In Joseph Lijembe's 1967 autobiographic story of growing up as a Luyia in rural Kenya, he talked about how he was responsible for the daily care and nursing of his younger sister while his mother went out to work in the *shamba* or farm. He described his mother's response if, upon returning home, she saw porridge remaining in the gourd where she left his baby sister's food and realised he had not fed his sister properly during the day. He said "[I] would be reported to my father who would decide the punishment for the offense and who would inflict that punishment, usually a beating" (Lijembe et al., 1967: 6-7). Lijembe and other described such situations without judgement, implicitly recognizing it as a normal part of childhood training and socialisation (Ibid).

Raum in his work in northern Tanzania described how "corporal punishment, ranging from a quick, unexpected slap to a sound thrashing," was not uncommon among the Wachaga. He suggested that such actions might be linked with "linguistic tools" for the training of young children (1940: 225 & 212). He described how a small child who

began to eat a "luscious clod of earth" was "smacked hard by his mother while she said: 'A-a-a!'" (Ibid: 212). Raum suggested that this formed a conditioned reflex that the toddler responded to when the child was tempted to pick up and "orally examine" other objects of interest. Raum described other more extreme punishments such as placing a child in a bag filled with nettles or other unsavoury creatures (Ibid: 226), and also described and suggests that the Wachaga had "a well-thought-out pedagogics of punishment" (Ibid: 228), adapted by age and gender and including other mature family members serving as representatives of the child's case to the parent or other elders.

Varkevisser, in her early 1970s ethnographic work exploring Sukuma childhood and socialization, described a communal disciplinary training and correction of young children typically for those under the age of six. She described how everyone from mothers and on occasions, fathers, grandparents, uncles, aunties, siblings and even neighbours participated in the training and correction of young children. She suggested that sanctions for naughty youngsters might include verbal threats and shaming such as an open discussion of a child's deviant behaviour while gathered around the *kikome* or evening fire for men or in the kitchen while preparing food among the women. Threats of physical punishment such as "Must I beat you!" or threats of invoking nature and placing errant children in the bush to have "rats gnaw on children's clothes and hyenas, leopards and insects eat them up" were also used. Varkevisser suggested that "minor corporal punishment, a pinch, a shove or one or two lashes with a twig" were also used to control contentious young children. However, "children receive[d] a sound beating only for major offenses" such as rebellion, destruction of valuable property, aggression and significant lapses in adequate social interaction (1973: 222-223). The need to address disciplinary issues

between parents and children reportedly continued as children grew older and Varkevisser suggested "the most intense emerged between mothers and sons" as some maturing boys challenge their mother's authority. Some of the maturing young boys would meet with a beating from their mother and sometimes father for their transgressing behaviours. Young girls were also said to experience disciplinary beatings, mostly for issues of returning home after dark and potential or real romances (Ibid: 266-269).

Such actions reflect a particular time and place in East African cultural history. More recent ethnographic work by Caroline Archambault in a Kenyan Maasailand community discussed how the community engaged with and negotiated the dominant rights discourse to reflect their transforming conceptualisations of childhood. She wrote that the global children's rights discourse on physical punishment arrived in Maasailand "already reshaped in law, in the school curriculum, and in the practices of civil society organizations, in such a way as to make the proper use of corporal punishment permissible and commensurate with human rights standards" (2009: 283). She suggested that the non-specific descriptions of violence and abuse in key children's right charters were transformed by teachers, parents and even students in ways that supported local conceptualisations of responsible child nurturing and development. Although boundaries for its "proper use" were not drawn, corporal punishment was described as "integral to children's development and well-being" and meant not to cause harm, but rather just pain. Archambault wrote that "Maasai also seem to justify the use of pain in teaching discipline as it relates to its symbolic dimensions. Pain represents future struggle" and thus "the ability to overcome struggles encountered throughout adult life" (Ibid: 291). So in the case of the Maasai

pain and punishment are social phenomena interlinked with an evolving state of maturity and personhood.

The next section presents historical as well as contemporary explorations of childhoods and child socialisation practices in Western societies revealing similar beliefs and practices regarding physical forms of training and punishment at various points along those societies' historical trajectories.

1.5 Childhoods and punishment in Western societies

Brockless and Montgomery, in their edited volume exploring historical conceptualisations of childhood, childrearing, and violence in Western societies, reveals how the value, roles, and treatment of children within families and the broader community has changed over time. From "whippings" and chastisement by any adult for "poor behaviour" as part of the *agoge* or upbringing of young, male "citizen-warriors" in ancient Sparta (Kennel, 2010: 108) to post-industrialisation child labour and corporal punishment in 19th and 20th century Britain (Muller, 2010; Humphries, 2010; Ellis, 2010; Cretney, 2010) the imaginings, utility and value (financial and emotionally) of children have changed over time in different Western societies. In considering global shifts related to the promotion of non-physical forms of training and correction of children, it must be remembered that these changes in the relationships and power dynamics between adult and children are based in recent Western historical developments. It was just over 35 years ago in 1984 that the U.S. sociologist Barbara Carson conducted research on the perceived deviant social position of U.S. parents who did *not* spank their children (1986). Therefore, the dynamic nature of childhoods and what is perceived as acceptable or normal socialisation strategies and

adult-child relations continues to change in various ways in societies and among groups the world over.

1.5.1 Cross-cultural perspectives on child abuse & neglect

In the late 1970s, Jill Korbin, an anthropologist who pioneered work in the field of cross-cultural perspectives on child-abuse and neglect, demonstrated that the definition of child abuse varies across societies and groups. She suggested that defining and dealing with child abuse is challenging enough when the phenomenon takes place in a community with a shared definition of child abuse. However, it becomes much more difficult when different communities with differing beliefs around childhood and childrearing come into contact with each other (An-na'im, 1994; Korbin, 1977, 1979, 1981; LeVine & LeVine, 1981; Montgomery, 2009; Rwezaura, 1998, 2000). A practice or behaviour that may appear violent or abusive to one group may not be seen the same by another. Korbin asserted that "while behavioural components of [an] act itself are important, the contextual factors must be taken into account for [an] act to be meaningful" (1977: 11). She outlined six specific factors for consideration when attempting to reconcile cross-cultural or intra-cultural variability with an international definition of child abuse:

> 1.   **Cultural acceptance of an act and rules about its occurrence can provide a means for assessing what is abusive.**
>
> 2.   **Individual deviation from the cultural rules, and the amount of deviation acceptable within the culture, are important components in the definition of abuse.**
>
> 3.   **The intent of the adults [or individuals] involved is important.**

4. **The child's perceptions of the incident must be considered.**

5. **The age of the child and cultural standards for physical and psychological development of children of differing ages must be taken into account.**

6. **The development of the child as a member of his or her culture must be considered. (Ibid).**

In an effort to expand global measures, Korbin pointed out that many Western childrearing practices would be viewed as abusive or neglectful to someone from another background. She gave the example of Hawaiian women who "were incredulous that *haole* (meaning outsider) mothers put their infants in a separate bed" and even further in a separate room. This was perceived as dangerous, if not at the minimum neglectful (1979).

Korbin went further to suggest that "all communities have concepts of appropriate and inappropriate parenting behaviour," and that from the most indulgent to the most punitive communities, there are community definitions and means of monitoring abusive treatment of children. She suggested that outside Western nations and especially in societies where the interest of the group is paramount, "it is a rare community that believes that all children are necessarily suited to their natural parents, and vice versa" (Ibid). In societies with communal notion of child rearing, children were often sent to grandparents or other extended family members for varying periods of time during their development and socialisation. Such extended kinship relationships served as a mechanism for making more suitable matches throughout a child's development and also provided a mechanism to address concerns

of abuse. In instances of household tension or abuse, children could be sent to other relatives or extended family members for support and even informal adoption.

Korbin's early work, however, pre-dates the communication innovations boom that has radically transformed opportunities for global social and cultural exchange, as well as the introduction of the UNCRC, the ACRWC and other regional, national and local child-focused initiatives meant to optimise and safeguard the health and wellbeing of children. Her clear relativist perspectives at that time would meet with questioning and possible criticism today in a time where there is growing recognition and consideration of children's rights principles and the value and role of children and their views. While Korbin's early work and insights should continue to be considered, they also pre-date the devastating impact of HIV/AIDS on so many communities across the globe. This global health crisis, which has so dramatically affected sub-Saharan Africa, served to disrupt many of the traditional care and support systems available for children. In my personal experience of living in East Africa and working at paediatric HIV care and treatment clinics in Uganda and Tanzania from 2003-2012, I saw how extended family members—typically grandmothers--were stretched to their limits in their ability to care for more and more orphaned children. This along with issues of urbanization, globalization and economic transition and deprivation, have greatly disrupted traditional social support structures that may have previously been in place to help address contextually defined situations of abuse or neglect.

The next section highlights the variety of global childhood experiences and the complexities of contextually relevant engagement with children's rights ideals.

1.6 African childhoods and children's rights in context

Conceptualisations of childhoods, responsible childrearing and child abuse are dynamic and vary between societies and across history. As earlier noted, the dominant global discourse of children's rights typically presents childhood and children's rights in a way that reflects bias toward Western ideals, socio-economic realities, and constructions of kinship relationships. While driven by the goal to ensure equal safety and opportunities for development for all children regardless of race, ethnicity, gender, language, religion, or ability, the singular childhood reality is not necessarily relevant, accessible, or even desired by all children and families across the globe. Rwezaura in his work exploring childhoods, law and rights in sub-Saharan Africa, discusses how rights in the global arena are often considered and presumed as an undisputed entitlement to the rights holder (1994). With regard to the dominant global discourse of children's rights, a child is defined chronologically as anyone below 18 years of age. However in African societies, historically the conceptualisation of a child is seen as a process linked with the completion of cultural phenomenon rather than a fixed chronological age (Raum, 1940; van Gennep, 1960; Omari and Mbilinyi, 1997; Montgomery, 2009). Rwezaura argues that this social construction of the child, along with values and philosophies that place the survival and prosperity of the group above the individual, may result in a denial of a child's individual rights if granting such rights violates, or is seen to threaten, community norms, values, and welfare (1994).

The ACRWC incorporates the definition of a child as anyone below 18 years of age and mirrors much of the language included in the UNCRC. It, however, adds an additional article (Article 31) that is not in the UNCRC. Article 31, "Responsibility of the Child,"

outlines duties of the child. These duties include the responsibility to work for the cohesion of the family and to respect parents, elders, and superiors at all times, and to work to preserve and strengthen African cultural values and social and national solidarity (OAU, 1990). (See Appendix 2 for the full text of ACRWC, Article 31.) This addition of responsibilities or duties of the child reflect a negotiation of the dominant rights discourse and an additional or uniquely African rights discourse. According to this distinct African child rights discourse, rights are not necessarily perceived as inevitable entitlements (Twum-Danso, 2009a; 2012a). As implicitly reflected in this regional rights discourse, a child is granted rights based on their fulfilment of their responsibilities to their family and society (Abebe & Tefera, 2014; Norman, 2014; Twum-Danso, 2009). Therefore, rights promoting children's voice and views can come into conflict with a child's responsibility to respect elders at all times if children do not present their views in a respectful or socially acceptable manner. Hence, in contexts where group welfare is paramount and meeting daily survival needs and cultural cohesion is supported by the contributions of children's work and responsibilities, children's rights may be realized in a different way.

An example of how local communities embrace and negotiate the use of global constructions of childhood and children's rights in ways that make sense in their context at a particular historical juncture is the work of Susan Shepler. In her work with former child soldiers in Sierra Leone Shepler describes how community members and former child soldiers adopted the dominant children's rights discourse and conceptualisations of children as "vulnerable innocents" to help them gain access to resources to build schools and provide other community support services that would

benefit the former combatants and the community as a whole (2004, 2012). While local community members were hesitant to accept the former child combatants back into the community and resented aid programmes' payment of the former soldiers' school fees while they could not afford fees for their own children, the community's ability to access some of the aid support served to more smoothly facilitate the re-entry of the former child soldiers into the community (Ibid). This example also illustrates the tensions between individual rights in a context where community or group welfare is at stake.

The next section discusses regional children's rights discourse and its engagement with promoted global rights ideals such as the elimination of physical punishments in childrearing.

1.7 Corporal punishment regulation and East African regional experiences

Since the introduction and adoption of the UNCRC and other regional children's rights charters and conventions, there has been a wind of change with regard to attitudes toward the use of physical punishments in childrearing and development (Twum-Danson Imoh, 2012c: 122). As of October 2019, more than 55 nations across the world have achieved full legislative prohibition of corporal punishment in all settings of children's lives, including homes (GIEACPC, 2019b). While these developments are typically viewed as significant accomplishments among children's rights advocates and policymakers, the realities of the acceptance and implementation of these legislative actions in communities needs closer examination and contextualisation. In the African regional context, eight nations have passed legislation prohibiting corporal punishment in all settings of children's lives. Two of those countries reside in East Africa—Kenya

and South Sudan (Ibid). Kenya banned the use of corporal punishment in schools in 2001 and passed legislation for complete prohibition of corporal punishment in all setttings of children's lives in 2010. South Sudan passed legislation calling for complete prohibition of the physical punishment of children through its 2011 Transitional Constitution.

These legislative bans have met with limited support and enforcement on the ground. In Kenya, physical punishment continues to be used in schools with the support of both teachers and parents, and as recently as 2016, national education officials debated the reintroduction of caning in schools to contain what some officials called "rampant indiscipline" by students (Ajowi & Simatwa, 2010; Kimengi & Mwai, 2014; Kindiki, 2015; Munene, 2016; Mwai, et al., 2014; Mweru, 2010; Okone & Makori, 2015). This response was linked to a rash of strikes by secondary school students that included setting fire to dormitories and other incidents of destruction of property.

South Sudan, a newly founded nation that experienced decades of instability, war and genocide, plummeted back into violent civil war in 2015 with on-going recruitment of child soldiers and women and girls at high risk of gender-based violence documented as recently as August 2019 (Twum-Danso Imoh, 2012c: 123; UNICEF, 2019). In light of historical events and the on-going instability, South Sudan's complete legislative prohibition of physical punishment of children in all settings of children's lives remains in policy only.

As Afua Twum Danso-Imoh points out in her work exploring the intersection of children's rights in the local and global spheres, the motivation and effectiveness of such wide-reaching legislative bans must be considered contextually. In the case of

South Sudan, the introduction of full prohibition of physical punishment came as this new nation was designing systems and policies for the first time and relied heavily on external support from foreign donors and international agencies in terms of finance, infrastructure, planning and services. Therefore, the dependence of many countries in the global south on aid from international development and donor agencies can arguably be a key incentive for some governments to pass such bans (2012c: 122-23).

With this in mind, the space between global rights and development agency-promoted ideals and discourse, national-level policies and the negotiated implementation of those policies in people's daily lives needs consideration (Pells, Pontalti and Williams, 2014). Few current studies exist that explore and represent emic perspectives and experiences of physical punishment of children from the global south. While many studies commissioned by international agencies and global rights organisations seek children's participation and voice in their work, these studies are typically designed and analysed using a dominant rights discourse lens (Soneson, 2005b, 2005a). One of the goals of this thesis is to provide a space for the documentation and representation of the views, concerns and experiences of children and families living and growing up in the global south.

1.8 Study design, aims and objectives

This thesis represents ethnographic work spanning a 14-month period (April 2016 – May 2017). This work primarily drew upon empirical data from a peri-urban town in northwest Tanzania with twenty-four (24), 8-12 year old school-going girls and boys and a wide range of adults responsible for the care and wellbeing of children in that town, i.e. caregivers, teachers, community leaders and members of the formal

government multi-sectoral VAC response teams. Additional interviews with representatives from national-level government, and organisations involved with the safety and wellbeing of children in Tanzania, were conducted in Mwanza and Dar es Salaam. These data were supplemented by observations and interactions with people throughout the fieldwork process, document and policy reviews, and a 12-month review of parenting columns appearing in Kiswahili and English national Sunday newspapers. Additional detail on the study context and data collections methods appear in Chapters 2 and 3 respectively.

1.8.1 Study Aim and Objectives

The overall aim of this study is to gain contextual insights into community perceptions and experiences of child discipline and physical punishment and the relationship with the discourse on children's rights in northwest Tanzania. The purpose of this ethnography is to provide contextual detail which will enhance the interpretation and use of Tanzania VACS findings on physical violence while highlighting the voices and experiences of children and the adults responsible for their care and upbringing. This broad study aim strives to illuminate the voices, ideas and experiences of the children and adults who live within the space between national-level policy and local community realities. In order to achieve this aim, the following study objectives were set:

> **OBJECTIVE 1:** To gain insights into how the Tanzania VACS and the discourse on children's rights at the national, continental and global levels have affected conceptions of childhood and child discipline in and around a peri-urban town in northwest Tanzania
>
> **OBJECTIVE 2:** To identify factors influencing people's use or non-use of physical

discipline as a child rearing strategy

OBJECTIVE 3: To gain insights into children's views on the physical punishment they experience in their daily lives

1.9 Study Conceptual Framework

To illustrate the guiding theoretical principles of my research, I developed a conceptual framework that combines a revised ecological model (Bronfenbrenner, 1993; Heise, 1998; Krug, Dahlberg, et al., 2002; Heise, 2011), embedded within the theoretical concept of liminality (van Gennep, 1960; Turner, 1964; Thomassen, 2009). Chapter 2 explains in more detail how I arrived at this particular conceptual framework. I dwell here on explaining what it represents. See Figure 1: Study Conceptual Framework below.

FIGURE 1:
"EXPLORING THE SPACE BETWEEN"
Study Conceptual Framework

GLOBAL

CONTINENTAL

NATIONAL

COMMUNITY

FAMILY

CHILD

PRE-
LIMINAL

POST-
LIMINAL

(van Gennep, 1960;
Bronfenbrenner,
1993)

LIMINAL
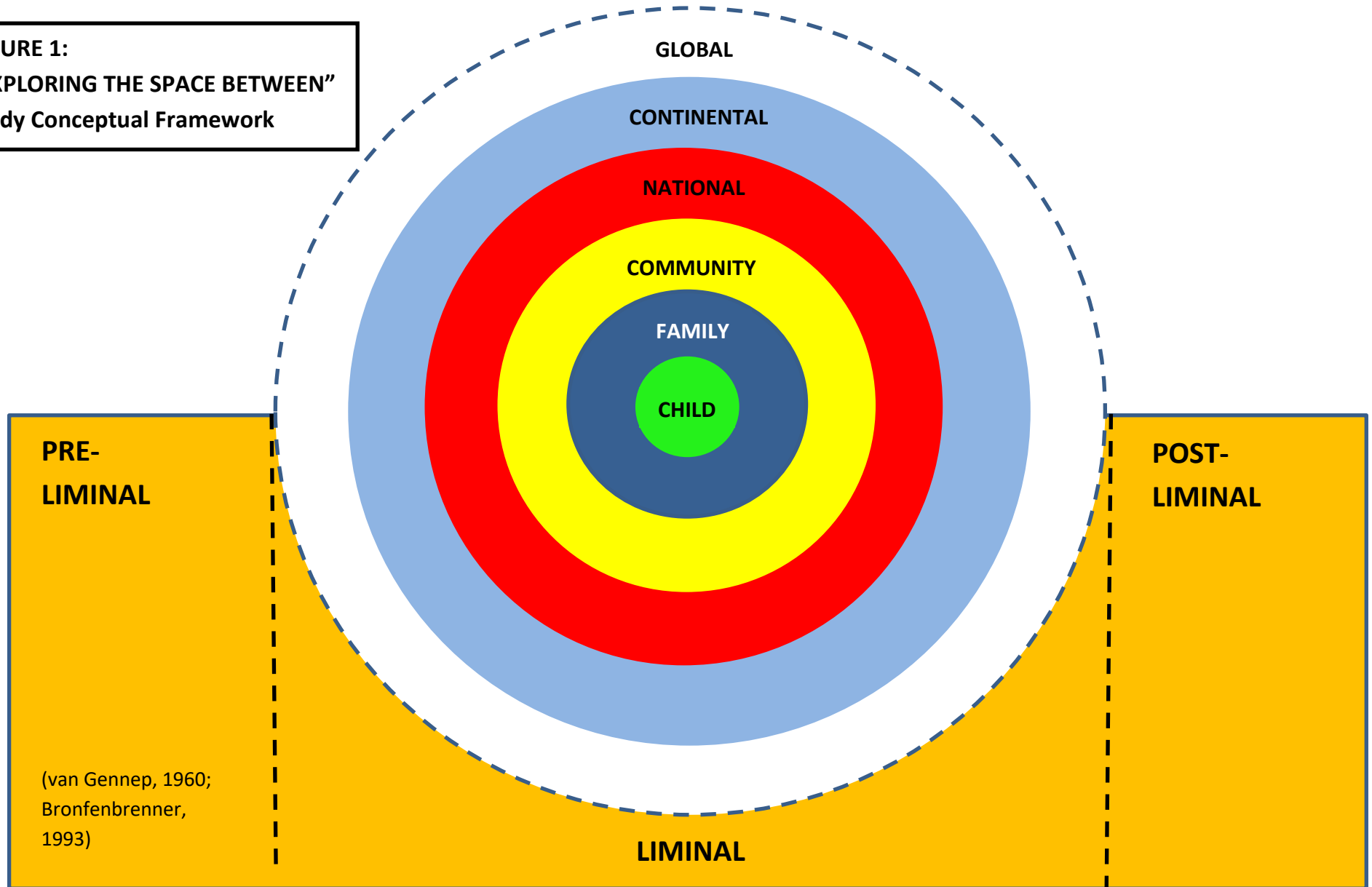
Based on Bronfenbrenner's ecological models of human development, my conceptual framework suggests that child development is influenced proximally by a child's immediate environment and on-going reciprocal interactions within their environment such as parent-child, adult-child, and child-child relationships and activities. As posited in Bronfenbrenner's work and later versions of his model (Rosa and Tudge, 2013), it is recognised that the impact of proximal processes and influences vary based on unique characteristics of individual children, environmental factors, and the developmental outcome/s under investigation. In this study, perceptions and experiences of child discipline and physical punishment are the developmental outcomes under investigation (Bronfenbrenner, 1993: 38).

In addition to ecological influences proximal to the child, distal influences which the child, and those proximal to the child do not regularly or directly interact with, also affect the child and their immediate environment, but in a much less direct way. These influences can include policies, programs and political and economic engagements. Such influences can indirectly affect the lives of children and families by promoting particular forms of knowledge, ideologies or practices which can help or hinder access to the means of development and growth.

1.9.1 Proximal influences

Within my conceptual framework, I place the child at the centre. Family and community surround the child at the proximal or micro-level of interaction and influence. Children directly interact with these proximal influences over extended periods as they live and grow within families and kinship units and interact with people, places and institutions within their communities and immediate environment.

These interactions and influences are not exclusively linear or unidirectional, and can include things like the influence of a parent's workplace or livelihood on family well-being and survival or children's understanding of and interactions with school rules.

1.9.2 Distal influences

Surrounding the proximal level influences, I've added three additional distal-level rings of influence. I suggest these distal or macro-level rings have influence on children's lives but that children and families do not directly interact with them in the same way they do with the proximal-level influences. In the case of this study's conceptual framework, a National dimension (the red ring, see Figure 1 above) represents Tanzanian national-level discourses and activities related to children's rights and child protection. This would include national policies and activities such as the mainland Tanzania Law of the Child Act, 2009, the 2009 VACS itself, various national-level children's rights and protection campaigns and statements and the 2017 combined national plans of action (NPA) designed to address violence against both women and children.

Another dimension (the light blue ring, see Figure 1) represents a distinct regional or African continental cultural and political voice suggested by charters such as the Banjul Charter and the ACRWC, which historically parallel global human and children's rights declarations respectively (OAU, 1986; OAU - 1990). While these regional rights declarations closely follow and parallel the UN conventions, they incorporate language and ideals that support shared African regional values distinct from those articulated in the dominant rights discourse. Figure 2 below illustrates the historical sequence of

various global, regional and local Tanzanian rights declarations, research, and

legislation.

Figure 2. Timeline of Rights Declarations, Research and Policies

1924
Declaration of Rights of Children

1948
Universal Declaration of Human Rights

1959
Declaration of Rights of Children

1989
UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC)

2006
UN Secretary General's World VAC Study

1981
African Charter on Human and People's Rights [Banjul Charter]

1990
African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (ACRWC)

2009
Tanzania VAC Survey

Tanzania Law of the Child Act, 2009

2011
Zanzibar Children's Act

2016
Tanzania National Plan of Action for Violence Against Women & Children

The third macro-level dimension (the outermost ring of dotted lines, see Figure 1)

represents the global or dominant discourse on children's rights which I propose

includes global policies, movements and research such as the UNCRC, the Global

Initiative to End All Corporal Punishment of Children (GIEACPC) and the United Nations

study on VAC 2006. This dimension is more uncertain and represented as dotted lines

suggesting that the global or dominant discourse on children's rights is not wholly

accepted nor integrated within Tanzanian society. Although it may have influence on

children's lives in northwest Tanzania at a policy level, as An-Na'im and Twum-Danso

Imoh suggest, the global discourse on children's rights is based on historical events and

socio-political and economic realities from Western Europe and North America (Abebe

& Tefera, 2014; An-na'im, 1994, 1995; Merry, 2003, 2006; Montgomery, 2007; Omari

& Mbilinyi, 1997; Twum-Danso Imoh, 2012b). It promotes a singular vision of

childhood based on ideals, norms and socio-economic realities not fully accepted,

desired nor perceived as attainable by many adults and children in the global south

(Omari & Mbilinyi, 1997; Twum-Danso, 2010; Frankenberg et al., 2010; Archambault,

2011; Twum-Danso Imoh, 2012; Abebe & Tefera, 2014; Norman, 2014).

1.9.3 Liminality and putting the ecological model in motion

To illustrate movement and transformation, I place my ecological model within the

theoretical concept of liminality. My goal in doing so is to illustrate that

conceptualisations of childhood, childrearing and violence are in a liminal or

transitional space between tradition and "modernity," i.e. pre- and post-liminal. By

placing my ecological model in the liminal space, it reflects the dynamic process of

change currently underway with its forward and backward movements and its

consideration, acceptance/rejection, and negotiation of former ideas and identities

into re-formed ideals and conceptualisations that make sense in the current context. Liminality thrusts the ecological model into motion so it is no longer an isolated snapshot of a moment anchored in time. Instead it becomes a moving and transforming model representing people's interactions, encounters and considerations of their own societies, policies, and practices with relation to the ideals, policies and practices of others. It is within this liminal space where local knowledge and practices regarding childhoods meet with global discourses and influences that I situate my work.

1.10 Conceptualising Violence

This study explores variations in conceptualisations of violence across age groups, histories, and geographical, socio-economic and political groupings. As further discussed in Chapter 4 Section 4.1, attempts to categorise and create consistencies in meaning and measures of violence within research and across human histories proves complex and challenging at best. While violence can take on act-based definitions that facilitate counting and forms of quantitative measurement and comparison across varying contexts and cultural groupings, such a narrow conceptualisation of violence de-contextualises the specific acts and neglects to acknowledge the contextual meaning attributed to those acts.

Recognition of violence in its act-based, symbolic (See Section 1.4 and Archambault's work with the Maasai in Kenya) and structural forms are acknowledged and considered essential to this ethnographic study and analysis. Similar to conceptualisations of violence espoused by Scheper-Hughes, Bourgois and others, I recognise violence as a multi-faceted concept which spans the continuum from direct physical assault,

symbolic and routinised *everyday violence*--such as persistent hunger and food insecurity, disease and humiliation--to historically designed and embedded structurally violent social systems that inadvertently and invisibly perpetuate and make these other forms of violence possible (Scheper-Hughes and Bourgois, 2004b, 2004a; Lockhart, 2008).

As Wells and Montgomery highlight in their work on *everyday violence*, an examination of routine, systematised and mundane or widely accepted non-extreme forms of violence facilitates exploration of the question "what is the purpose of violence?" in a particular setting, context or historical moment (Wells & Montgomery, 2014: 1). Examples currently taking place in this historical moment include acts of symbolic violence enacted as part of protests related to the Black Lives Matter movement in the USA and some European nations. Protest-related destruction of property and violent clashes between civilians and law enforcement officials and government institutions in the USA are enacted as symbolic objections to structural forms of violence that have resulted in ongoing and routinised inequality and racial injustices embedded in post-slavery and post-colonial social histories and systems.

Thomas and others (Kelley, Power and Wimbush, 1992; Thomas and Dettlaff, 2011; Mazama and Lundy, 2012) explore the use and role of physical punishments in African American families as legacies of slavery. They identify the role of this everyday form of violence by African American parents as historical relics of slavery and familial attempts to instil focused and obedient behaviours into children as a means of protecting them from heavy-handed punishments by slave owners, and now systemic racism and an unequal justice system that disproportionally imprisons and fatally

assaults black people. Such systemic violence is demonstrated through racially biased intolerance and punishment for minor social transgressions. A mild act of disobedience or acting out that is perhaps permissible within a White middle-class community can lead to much graver consequences within the African American context (Kelley, Power and Wimbush, 1992; Thomas and Dettlaff, 2011). Therefore, the history, motivation and meaning behind the use of harsh forms of punishments in African American communities must be considered in the historical and present-day contexts in which they occur.

Systemically and historically embedded symbolic and structural forms of violence are inextricably linked, and can shape normalisation of forms of *everyday violence* such as harsh physical punishments, emotional tormenting and high incidents of infant mortality in families and in entire societies (Pells, 2015: 176; Scheper-Hughes & Bourgois, 2004b). Poverty and its effects on children, such as missing school due to the need to contribute to household livelihood or wearing worn out or ill-fitting clothes, exposes children to physical and emotional abuses which are symbolic of their impoverished status (Pells, 2015: 176). Johan Galtung and later Paul Farmer implicate structural violence as systemic forms of violence that favour the interests, safety and even health of particular groups of people over other groups of people and individuals. Farmer describes structural violence as "social structures characterized by poverty and steep grades of social inequality, including racism and gender inequality" (Farmer, 2004). Through Farmer's recounting of French colonial history and the exploitive sugar trade in Haiti he posits that engagement with and recognition of contextual histories is necessary for understanding and unravelling the oppressive powers historically enacted to serve those invested in benefiting from oppressive systems. Farmer

suggests, not acknowledging or "erasing [contextual] history is perhaps the most common explanatory sleight-of-hand relied upon by the architects of structural violence" (Ibid).

The effects of structural violence on children and vulnerability are two-fold. Not only are children and their families affected by inequities built into biased social structures and systems, but children must also navigate their unequal position of power between themselves and adults. Children affected by poverty, racial and gender injustices and other forms of oppression resulting from biased social structures and dynamics are especially affected by these structural and individual power inequities (Pells, 2015: 177). Children born into poverty or into structurally determined subordinate groups, whether it be by virtue of their race, ethnicity or gender, are socialised—at least in part—for their prescribed position. This may manifest as being socialised for scarcity or for having to work harder to achieve success or assent into a higher social ranking than someone of another ethnic, racial or gender group.

With this in mind, this ethnography and its guiding conceptual framework are structured to explore not only individual community member's views and experiences of violence but place these individual experiences within the social, policy and political systems which have, and continue to, allow them to take place. Such an examination across space and time provides a means of better understanding "the purpose" and context of current understandings and use of physical punishments in childrearing in Tanzania. In response to the identified interest of the Anonymous Donor that funded the majority of this PhD research, this ethnography focuses on the physical punishment of children. While an exploration of community perceptions and

experiences of discipline and physical punishments is at the core of this thesis, the interconnected and embedded nature of the continuum of violence (i.e. act-based, symbolic and structural forms) is acknowledge, considered and explored throughout this work.

1.11 Thesis organisation and disciplinary approach

This thesis consists of seven chapters, including this first chapter. The others are outlined below.

Chapter 2 discusses the concepts of childhood and violence as social constructions and provides an overview of the history and uses of the concept of liminality. The chapter goes on to discuss how the liminal or "in-between" space is used as a frame to support discussions of childhoods and childrearing practices in Tanzania within a transformational space of rapid social change and economic transition. The chapter also provides a contextual description of the study field site.

Chapter 3 describes the research methodology and discusses why I chose ethnography as my overarching research methodology for learning about the lives of children. The chapter also present the study design, the fieldwork process, data collection methods and analysis process. This chapter also includes ethical considerations and reflections on the role of the researchers in the conduct of research with the children.

Chapter 4 is the first results chapter in this thesis. This chapter discusses local meaning and understandings of concepts central to this study and the field of violence research such as discipline, corporal punishment and violence itself. Local understandings are further discussed and contrasted with meanings and measurements ascribed to these

same concepts by global actors, agencies and rights advocates. Study participants' views and experiences as they dwell in the space between influences of global rights ideals and their own daily realities in a rapidly changing society are highlighted.

Chapter 5 is the second of the three findings chapters and presents study findings related to the interconnectedness of the settings in which children live. The interrelated nature of the settings of home, school, and community addresses how both the human and structural aspects of these settings influence adult-child interactions and people's use or non-use of physical punishment of children.

Chapter 6 is the final findings chapter and provides a review and analysis of 12-months of parenting columns that were followed during the period of active data collection in both English and Kiswahili national newspapers. Comparisons and discussions of column content between the different newspapers as well as contrasting of that content with views and experiences shared by study participants are highlighted. The emergence of a middle-class Tanzanian childhood and its implications for adult-child relationships, interactions and the use of physical punishments in childrearing are reflected upon.

Chapter 7 is the final chapter and presents a discussion of study findings as well as a discussion of the study conceptual framework and its potential for use as a tool in assessing complex social phenomena such as physical punishment and violence across time and space. The chapter reflects on ethical and methodological lessons learned, strengths and limitations of the research, and the implications of this study for future research, policy and programmatic endeavours related to child care, safety and wellbeing in Tanzania and other similar settings in the global south.

1.11.1 Disciplinary Approach

I place myself and this ethnographic research in the field of social anthropology, recognising that I also draw upon the literature, theory and methods of complimentary fields such as sociology and childhood studies. Based on my past work experience and more than a decade of programmatic field work in East Africa, my thinking and work is very much applied in its nature. My use of both classical and non-classical ethnographic methods such as participant observation, formal and information interviews and discussions, as well as less classical ethnographic methods such as participatory group activities and workshops with both children and adults allowed me to build rapport with formal study participants as well as people in the broader community. As a foreign researcher exploring a very personal and sensitive topic this long-term, embedded approach to the research created opportunities for in-depth and on-going engagement with people and their stories. It also allowed me to reflect upon, question and interrogate things people told me in interviews and discussion with field observations. Ethnographic and participatory methods were particularly useful in working with children as they allowed time for the children to become comfortable so that they could more authentically present their views and voice in what they came to consider as a safe and open setting.

1.12 Summary

The goal of this opening chapter was to provide background on the research topic, as well as provide an overview of the Tanzania VACS and the Tanzanian policy environment regarding children's rights and practices of physical punishment. The chapter also introduced the study objectives, conceptual framework and the overall

structure of this thesis. The next chapter addresses issues of context, and provides

contextual background on the transforming images of children and childhoods in

Tanzania in the face of a rapidly transforming society. Further discussion on liminality

as concept and context is also presented in Chapter 2.

Chapter 2.0 Tanzanian childhoods in the liminal space

> **"…African society is neither an isolated nor static entity. There are changes that have occurred in the past and are occurring now, which to some extent affect the child."**
>
> Omari C & Mbilinyi D (1997). <u>African Values and Rights: Some Cases from Tanzania</u>

This chapter starts with an introduction and discussion of the concept of liminality providing background on its history and evolving use as an explanatory framework in a diverse variety of fields. Liminality, and more specifically the liminal space, will be reflected upon as both an overarching conceptual frame for this study as well as a metaphorically descriptive tool to discuss and analyse transforming images of Tanzanian childhoods and childrearing as embedded in a rapidly transforming society. I will discuss childhood as a dynamic social construction and how socio-economic and politico-legal changes in society have, and continue to, affect children and conceptualisations of childhood in Tanzania. In an effort to not only describe the study context from a demographic perspective, I will draw upon relevant literature and my own fieldwork to illustrate how people interpret the transformations taking place in their own society and how these transformations are affecting children's upbringing. The chapter will close with a detailed description of my process in "finding" and settling into the field.

2.1 Liminality as concept and context

In this section I will provide background on the history and evolving uses of the

tripartite concept of liminality as a framework for describing and analysing processes of transformation.

2.1.1 Liminality as concept

As a concept, liminality refers to the tripartite concept or framework devised in the early 1900s by the French anthropologist/folklorist, Arnold van Gennep. Van Gennep suggested that his tripartite concept served as a meaningful way to universally classify all existing rites, and that transformation and transitional rites of passage all share a similar pattern or sequence. He used liminality to describe ritual change or ceremonial rites of passage in small-scale African societies. van Gennep suggested that all transformational rites include three distinct phases that are always performed in a specific order, often in varying degrees of time and complexity based on the ritual transformation of interest. van Gennep described his liminality framework as noted below:

> "…a complete scheme of rites of passage theoretically includes pre-liminal rites (rites of separation), liminal rites (rites of transition), and post-liminal rites (rites of incorporation), in specific instances these three types are not always equally important or equally elaborated" (van Gennep, 1960: 11).

van Gennep used his liminality concept to discuss symbolic rituals and ceremonial rites of passage such as puberty or initiation rites which included: Phase 1) (pre-liminal) a child's separation from their former responsibilities and identity as a child; this can include physical separation as well as symbolic separation; Phase 2) (liminal) seclusion for a period of time while the initiates undergo transformational training and experiences in preparation for their new role or identity; and Phase 3) (post-liminal) the final phase where all the initiates' training and experiences come together to allow

the initiates to assume and become socially recognised in their new state as adults. He theorised that this pattern of separation, transition and incorporation can also be seen in varyingly elaborated ways in other rites of passage such as birth rights which arguably include pregnancy, the process of delivery and birth, marriage rites and funeral rights.

Rumoured that his work was never widely acknowledged or built upon during his lifetime due to competition taking place in the social sciences and French academia in the early 20th century, van Gennep's liminality concept remained relatively obscure (Thomassen, 2009). Not until the British social anthropologist, Victor Turner, discovered van Gennep's work in the 1960s did liminality achieve recognition and widespread use as an accepted theoretical frame. Turner started adapting and using liminality in his own work on symbolism and ritual among the Ndembu people of Zambia and later recognised it for its utility in examining complex, large-scale civilizations (Turner, 1977).

Since that time liminality has gained recognition and use in fields as diverse as anthropology, sociology, literature and the performing arts, political science, economics, and business. From the standpoint of my work, I believe embedding my ecological model within the liminality framework allows me to more completely discuss and analyse how on-going social change influences the interactions between the various levels of the ecological model and the transforming conceptualisations of childhoods and childrearing more completely than if I were to use a framework which exclusively focuses on intersections, interfaces or points of transition. Change, whether ideological or behavioural, is a process that often includes confusion and struggle,

movement forward and backward and eventual reconsideration and re-formation if the transformation is to be lastingly realised (Tsing, 2005). This typically holds true whether that transition is taking place in individuals, organisations or whole societies.

The next section discusses how I use liminality, and more specifically the "in-between" or liminal space, as a metaphor for discussing changing conceptualisations of childhoods and childrearing practices in Tanzania as concepts embedded in a rapidly transforming society.

2.1.2 Liminality as context

The tripartite concept of liminality, and more specifically the "in-between" or liminal phase, highlights the dynamic elements of process, time and motion inherent in transitional experiences. The liminal phase embraces the complexities, messiness, and often ambiguous characteristics inherent in individual or societal transformation. Therefore, my intention of placing my ecological model within the liminal or transitional space is to reflect the on-going movement, friction, and dynamic re-thinking currently taking place in Tanzania regarding conceptualisations and enactments of childhood, childrearing and child wellbeing (Turner, 1964; Bronfenbrenner, 1993; Tsing, 2005; Thomassen, 2009).

In presenting liminality as the conceptual framing for my study, I primarily focus on the second phase of van Gennep's tri-partite process, that is, the transitional phase he referred to as the liminal or threshold phase. This middle or in-between phase is characterised by an absence of structure, or what Victor Turner called "anti-structure" (Turner, 1969). The boundaries of former identities or conceptualisations are thus

ground down and shed in this phase while possibilities for the re-structuring and re-forming of new conceptualisations are worked through (Turner, 1977).

I use the liminal space as a metaphor for describing and discussing the current state of Tanzanian society as it grapples with transitioning ideas, ideals and policies addressing children's roles, upbringing and wellbeing. Current debates within various subgroups of Tanzanian society about the necessity, acceptability and utility of physical punishment of children, and the applicability and implementation of children's rights and children's rights ideals, is the liminal context in which my research is grounded.

The next section reflects on on-going societal changes such as technological and economic transition, the introduction of formal education and national engagement with global discourses and how these are affecting children, families and conceptualisations of childhoods in Tanzania.

2.2 Tanzanian childhoods within a rapidly changing society

2.2.1 Technology and rapid economic growth

As a nation, Tanzania is experiencing rapid societal change and growing social stratification. Transitioning from its post-independence Socialist or *Ujamaa* foundation, Tanzania's current market economy has experienced an average annual GDP growth of 6-7% from 2009-2017 (CIA, 2020). Rapid technological innovation and growing access to mobile phone technologies such as various text messaging services, money transfer through mobile telephone networks (known as "mobile money"), and access to the internet and social networks has led to expanded communication possibilities and new ways of doing business. Use of such technologies has also

widened the scope of people's realities, opened up new employment opportunities and exposed technology users to global ideas, experiences and commodities. Childhoods and childhood experiences in Tanzania are changing in response to the engagement with these new technologies and access to global discourses and the global market economy. In informal discussions I had with adults in my peri-urban field site, when first introducing my study, many said the quest for money and possessions has caused many parents and caregivers to be away from home for long hours working. They suggested that former parenting and extended family childrearing practices have been affected. It was suggested that parents often leave early in the morning and return home late. They leave their children alone to prepare for school on their own, not supervising and following up on their self-care, dress and school participation and performance. In a conversation I had with a senior administrator of a teachers' training college when I first arrived to my field site, he said that television has replaced *shikome*. *Shikome* is the traditional Sukuma evening fire where older and younger men would sit to discuss the day's events and the elders would transmit wisdom and life experiences to the younger boys and men. Women and girls were said to typically exchange such daily news and life lessons while preparing meals. The administrator suggested children now learn about life (not always in positive ways) through television and movies shown in video halls scattered in towns and villages. People said caregivers are not around or are too busy "chasing money" to supervise their own children. This quest for making a living has caused a swift urban migration that is transforming the former typical extended family structure and both social and childrearing support that it offered (Tripp, 1989).

2.2.2 The introduction of formal education

Childhood training and children's roles in the kinship group and greater community have also transformed with the introduction of formal education. Similar to experiences in Western Europe, the introduction of formal educational systems and institutions have extended the duration and characteristics associated with childhood (Aries, 1962: 316). In Tanzania, primary school is now compulsory and primary and lower secondary school fees have been abolished. While government primary and secondary schools are now free in Tanzania, associated costs for school uniforms, school supplies and other fees can greatly stress household income and livelihoods especially if multiple children are attending school at the same time.

Just as economic contributions of children continue to decrease, children's consumer needs continue to increase especially in urban areas. Now children need school fees, school uniforms, clothing, transport costs, medical care, pocket money and (in a few cases), toys and other forms of entertainment. It becomes clear as Emelie Olson and others observed that "urbanization has increased the basic costs of raising children while at the same time the economic value of children is decreasing" (Olson, 1981: 115; Zelizer, 1981). Further, as the market economy continues to create new needs that call for larger expenditure, "the earlier positive relationship between costs and rewards of childrearing [reverses] into one in which children are major economic liabilities" (Ibid).

This compulsory and extended attendance at school significantly curtails and delays children's ability to contribute to household functioning and challenges former images of children as family assets (Bledsoe, 1980; Rwezaura, 1998, 2000). While children

previously represented a family means of production and a sign of wealth, this lengthening of childhood represents costs to families as children's work and reciprocal monetary and resource contributions are delayed or lost while a child completes their education. Rwezaura, in his work exploring what he refers to as "competing images of childhood" in the social and legal systems of sub-Saharan Africa, suggests in some families economic hardships can led to a reduction of the safeguards access to children's rights (such as the right to education) were meant to enhance (1998).

Wamoyi touches on this in her work discussing youth and parental perspectives on transaction sex in northwest Tanzania. Wamoyi loosely compares transactional sex with bride wealth as marriage of a girl child typically meant payment in cows, and more recently, payment with money, to the girl's family from the man's family (Wamoyi, et al. 2010, 2011). With the lengthening of childhood due to children's compulsory participation in formalised education and the promotion of education of the girl child, resources and monetary benefits to families are delayed. Therefore, in limited-resource settings such as the setting of my study in northwest Tanzania, global childhood ideals promoting extended academic participation can feel elusive and not necessarily desirable to many families, especially those reliant on children for their economic contributions to family livelihood and sustainability.

The next section discusses how the promotion of children's rights and the passing of national legislation focused toward protecting children and their rights has shifted children's care and wellbeing from a family and community matter to a matter of the State.

2.2.3 State regulation of childhood in Tanzania

National introduction of compulsory primary school education, engagement with international agencies promoting children's rights and the passing of the Law of the Child Act, 2009 represent shifts to State regulation and oversight of childhoods and childhood experiences in Tanzania. Through such legislative acts childhood and children's social roles become increasingly differentiated from adulthood (Boli-Bennett & Meyer, 1978). The care and wellbeing of children has moved from a family and community responsibility to a responsibility shared with and regulated by local and national government. Infringements of children's rights as outline and protected through the Law of the Child Act, 2009 are now subject to penalty through formal legal systems.

The definition of a child as anyone below the age of 18 as promoted by global and regional children's rights discourses and used in the VACS and the Law of Child Act, reflect national engagement with global rights ideals and images of childhood. This State regulation of childhoods and designations of who is a child challenges customary ritual and symbolic understandings of transitions from childhood to adulthood realised through social phenomenon such as menarche, initiation rites, and giving birth (Omari & Mbilinyi, 1997: ; Rwezaura, 1998; Varkevisser, 1973: 267-68).

The opening provisions of the Law of the Child Act outlines its legal intent to support the "promotion, protection and maintenance of the welfare and rights of the child." (United Republic of Tanzania, 2009: 10). With this, children's rights moved from abstract ideologies to concrete legal mandates for the provision of children's shelter, maintenance, education, and freedom from exploitive work and abuse. Mirroring the

ACRWC, the Law of the Child Act, 2009 also outlines duties of the child. These legally codified duties and responsibilities reflect a regional view of children and childhood which make rights, and potentially protection, conditional, based on an interpretation of a child's fulfilment of their responsibilities to family, community and nation (OAU, 1990; Rwezaura, 1994; United Republic of Tanzania, 2009: 16).

Within the backdrop of these transformational social realities, ideals and practices related to childrearing and socialisation have entered a space of questioning, revision and re-construction. Tanzanian society is becoming segmented on new social lines such as urban vs. rural, formally educated vs. non-formally educated and haves and have-nots (Tripp, 1989; Green, 2015). Parenting and children's opinion columns now appear in the leading national Kiswahili and English language Sunday newspapers, lessons on children's rights are included in the Tanzania national primary school curriculum starting in Standard 3, and there is radio and television programming for and about child development and children's wellbeing and safety on both local and national radio and television stations. It was within this contextual backdrop that I chose and entered into my field site.

The next section discusses my personal history in East Africa and my process of selecting my field site and entering the field.

2.3 Finding the field

2.3.1 Field site selection

At the time of planning my fieldwork, I had been living in East Africa for more than 12 years. Before pursuing PhD studies I lived in both Uganda and Tanzania working with a U.S.-based medical school to design and implement paediatric HIV care, treatment and

training programmes in collaboration with national and regional hospital teams. At the time of selecting my field site I had been living in Mwanza city on the shore of Lake Victoria for approximately 6 years. My supervisor advised me to conduct my research in an area outside Mwanza city so that I did not make assumptions about what I thought I knew.

Taking her advice, I considered several locations 2-3 hours from my home in Mwanza. One district called Shinyanga which has some of the highest rates of child marriage in the country, already had a parenting study taking place through the National Institute of Medical Research (NIMR). Another district I considered called Magu has a long history of UNICEF support. When I visited Magu to assess its potential as a field site I met with a young social welfare officer who had received training and support for the development of child protection systems from UNICEF. He was well versed in the VACS and the UNICEF language of children's rights and protection, and he explained that a "One–Stop-Centre" for the reporting and care of victims of violence was soon to be built there with support from UNICEF. In considering Magu as my district-level field site I was concerned that the dominant children's rights discourse promoted by UNICEF would too strongly influence the data and my experiences there.

The third and final location I considered as my field site was Sengerema town, a small-peri urban town which sits near to the shores of Lake Victoria in Sengerema district. After visiting Sengerema town and several of the individuals involved in child welfare and protection, I chose Sengerema town as the focal area for my work as I felt it represented an "Everyman's town." Sengerema town, or what administratively is known as Sengerema Urban, has a self-contained, small town feel with distinctive

geographic boundaries. According to the most recently available census data (2012) the district had a population of more than 660,000 people at that time; however, the town was known for its rapid growth. The estimated population in and around the town centre area was nearing 100,000 at the time of the study. Additionally, Sengerema town serves as the administrative headquarters for the district, and all district service sectors which make up the VAC Multi-Sectoral Response have a presence there. (See Appendix 3 – VAC Multi-Sectoral Response Framework.)

Another factor in my selection of this peri-urban community as the focal point for my work was the absence of national or international non-governmental organizations (NGOs) supporting children's rights and protection activities. As the majority of the districts in Tanzania do not receive NGO or donor support for child protection (only 35 of the more than 170 districts nationally received support from NGOs for child protection services[4]), I felt Sengerema represented the typical case for most of the districts in the country. In the absence of such organizations, I felt the community would be less consciously influenced by the activities, dialogue and funding such affiliations bring, allowing this work to complement the work that has already been done or was underway in the limited number of locations where such organizations operated in the country.

2.3.2 Entering the Field

I spent 14 months in the field (April 2016 – May 2017) observing, participating, interviewing and re-interviewing children and adults in various settings and strata of

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[4] Information regarding the number of districts receiving NGO support for child protection services was provided in a talk at the Tanzania National Plan of Action (NPA) planning meeting for the consolidation of NPAs addressing violence against women and children 30 May – 3 June 2016.

community life in and around Sengerema town centre. In and near town centre there are a variety of public, private, and religious primary and secondary schools as well as a central bus stand, markets, small businesses and even a local radio station. Town centre served as the primary location for business activities. Businesses included stationery shops, cell phone and airtime voucher vendors, *nyama choma* or roasted meat joints and other eating establishments, auto parts shops, car washes, several small grocery shops, beer and beverage wholesalers and retailers, construction materials shops, mattress shops, and of course, the all-encompassing "everything shops" which typically sells sugar, rice, school supplies, shoelaces, soap, cleaning detergents, match boxes, and much much more.

The town centre bus stand, radio station and markets are all built around the town's central roundabout which is the crossroads for the two major roads in and out of town.

Table 1: Pictures from Sengerema Town Centre	
1) Sengerema town centre central roundabout	2) *Uhuru* (Freedom) Torch monument on the parade ground of a government primary school in town centre
3) Sengerema town centre central bus stand and market area	4) Young boys resting and watching television in a video hall next to the town centre central bus stand

Additionally, there is a mix of people from different ethnic groups in this peri-urban town as it is a business hub for the district and a pass-through point for business and activities to the north, south, east and west. To the west there is a large-scale gold mining centre, as well as the Rwanda, Burundi and Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) borders. Northwestern destinations include Bukoka Town in northwest Tanzania, Uganda and beyond. East-bound roads connect to Mwanza city, the second largest city in Tanzania, and to the southeast, roads can take you as far as Dar es Salaam on the

Tanzanian Indian Ocean coast. Figure 3 below is a Tanzania regional administrative map with Sengerema indicated by the red star and Dar es Salaam, where I conducted national level interviews, indicated by the green star.

Once outside Sengerema town centre, the surrounding areas quickly become sparse and rural with few formal structures, large open spaces with jutting rock formations, farm lands, and the visible absence of people. Fishing, agriculture, small-scale mining, business, and trade make up the primary livelihood activities in town and the surrounding areas. Just outside the town centre, small fishing communities populate

Figure 3: Tanzania Regional Administrative Map – RED star indicates Sengerema field site and GREEN star indicates Dar es Salaam, site of national-level interviews and meetings.

the lake shares, and women – and often children—are involved in small-scale income-generating activities such as selling vegetables in the local markets or along the road sides.

The Catholic mission hospital which serves as the designated district hospital (DDH) is located approximately 1 kilometer up the hill from the town centre in an area called *Misheni.* DDH employs a significant number of people in the *Misheni* and Sengerema town areas. People working at the hospital, teachers, people conducting small-scale trade and other people working in the many primary and fewer secondary schools lived in and around *Misheni*. DDH was the focal point of this area. *Misheni* was less

densely populated than town centre and once off the main road quickly became semi-rural with many people farming and participating in agriculturally-based activities.

Sengerema was well known for its challenges with water supply, and collecting water was an on-going task with people lined up with their brightly coloured plastic water jugs (jerry cans) at the public taps sprinkled around town and the *Misheni* area. Some people started small businesses of collecting and delivering water, and children were often seen pushing bicycles with heavy jugs of water strapped to the bicycles. Collecting water was particularly challenging during the dry season, and this presented a challenge to children living in areas far from the public taps as they had to travel far distances to springs that still had water. Long queues to harvest water from nearly dry springs could present challenges to school attendance, especially for girls who collecting water was often one of their household responsibilities.

Table 2: Pictures from Misheni Area

1) Woman and children selling mangoes at the road side in *Misheni* market area

2) Young men herding cattle near *Misheni* market area

3) Adolescent girl collecting water from what is left of a small spring in a peri-rural area in *Misheni* ward

4) A boy helping his auntie bring in goats tied and grazing next to their home near to the *Misheni* market area

2.3.3 "Up the Hill"… "Down the Hill"

My base of operations was a small, self-contained room in a simple, modest guest house adjacent to the *Misheni* market area and DDH in an area called Soweto. The location worked well as the guest house was secure, had relatively consistent electricity and water, and was located such that my field assistant and I could walk to the various points of interest for the research, i.e. schools, homes, market areas, and local government offices and institutions. As luck would have it, the guest house

turned out to be just a 5-minute walk from the home of the young man I eventually

hired as my day-to-day field assistant.[5] This allowed us to easily communicate and

work together to plan our field activities. The guest house was also located near easily

accessible local public transport such as piki pikis (small motorbike taxis) or saloon car

taxis which parked next to the mission hospital. Piki pikis typically charged 1,000 TZS

(~.33 GBP) to take you down the hill from *Misheni* to town centre, while the public

saloon car taxis which snuggly fit 5-6 passengers plus the driver into the car for a ride

down the hill into town centre cost 300 TZS (~.1 GBP) per person.

Although I had a car in Mwanza I made a point to never bringing it to Sengerema.

People would see me arrive or leave on public transport, and typically saw me squeeze

into the saloon car taxi to go down the hill to town if I did not walk. Although I'm not

sure if people knew I could understand, people around the saloon taxi area outside the

hospital would say "Don't both troubling her, she has no money." I felt using public

transport rather than driving or being driven around in a private car allowed me to

reduce people's perceived distance from me as an outsider.

Before starting to regularly stay in Sengerema, I travelled there with my advisor from

the National Institute of Medical Research (NIMR) – Mwanza. My NIMR-Mwanza

advisor was an anthropologist and a senior Tanzanian NIMR-Mwanza researcher. He

was well known to local government officials in Sengerema district as he had been

involved in various NIMR research projects in the district. He and I visited the District

Administrative Headquarters or *Bomani*, where he introduced me and my research to

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[5] More information on how I met and came to hire Jerry as my primary day-to-day field assistant
appears in Chapter 3: Methods.

individuals in the health, education, and social welfare divisions of the district administration. These introductions by a recognised intermediary demonstrated our understanding and respect for local research protocols, as well as assisted in legitimising me and my research in the district. Such introductions serve to open doors for ethnographers who otherwise may be locked out due to their 'outsider' status (Fetterman, 1998: 33). I later returned to *Bomani* with official introduction letters from NIMR and the Region Administrative Secretary (RAS) to meet and introduce myself and my research to the District Administrative Secretary (DAS). I subsequently also received recognition and an approval/introduction letter from the DAS. I carried copies of all these introduction and approval letters, my work permit, as well as a copy of my passport with me as we conducted our fieldwork activities as proof of the support and recognition of me and my work in the district.

During my initial attempts at "finding the field" and clarifying rough boundaries for the research area, I moved around town attempting to find maps that clearly demarcated ward and village boundaries. Interestingly this proved much more challenging than originally anticipated. I went to *Bomani* and was told that I should try the District Lands office. The people at the District Lands office graciously showed me their maps, but I quickly realised that most of the maps were very large and not very current as much of the mapping was transitioning to electronic mapping or Geographic Information Systems (GIS). After checking in a few more places and hanging around town a bit longer, I realised that people did not naturally move or discuss the town based on formal ward and/or village boundaries. People seemed to create geographic boundary distinctions based on things like where they access resources, services, and

institutions. This included access to markets, water, trading centres, schools, health facilities and religious institutions. It also included natural geographic landmarks and boundaries as well as locations where people access public transportation, conduct livelihood activities such as farming, and engage with government services (e.g. Bomani).

One of the most frequently used ways of talking about the surroundings was "up the hill" and "down the hill." "Up the hill" represented the area up the hill from the central bus stand and town centre which was the *Misheni* and DDH area, while the "down the hill" area was *mjini* or the town centre. Once learning the more natural way people discussed their community I too adopted those reference points, left my quest to find a "good map" and moved on with my field work.

2.4 Summary

This chapter provided background on the historical and evolving recognition and use of liminality as a concept frame to discuss and analyse individual and social change. I presented how I will focus on the second phase of the liminality process, that is the liminal space, to explore on-going transformational changes in conceptualisations of childhoods and childrearing in Tanzania. This chapter also presented how socio-economic, policy and politico-legal transitions and engagements with global markets and discourse affect former images of children as family assets, both strengthening and weakening social safeguards children's rights were meant to enhance. This chapter closes with a description of the setting for this study, and highlights how Sengerema, as a district without support for child protection from NGOs and external donors, can

serve as a representative case study for the majority of the districts in the country that

do not have such support and influences.

CHAPTER 3.0: Methods

> **"The body of work known as the Ethnography of Childhood exists based on the premise that the conditions and representations of childhood are varied from one population to another based on population-specific contexts, and that they are not comprehensible without detailed knowledge of the social and culturally organized contexts that give them meaning."**
>
> Robert A. Levine (2007) Ethnographic Studies of Childhood: A Historical Overview, *American Anthropologist*, 109 (2), 247–260.

This chapter details the research methods and data creation and analyses processes used as part of this study. In this chapter I also describe my epistemological position as a researcher and reflect on how my background and own lived experiences may have influenced this work. As noted by Ulin and others, transparency and information detailing the way qualitative research has been created and by whom is critical for assessing the credibility and transferability of study findings (Day, 2012; Svensson, 2017; Ulin, et al., 2005).

With this in mind, I start the chapter by discussing why I chose ethnography as the overarching research methodology for working with and learning about the lives of young children in 21st century Tanzania. I then go on to present a summary of the range of data generated as part of this work, my field assistant identification process, ethical considerations, and information on the institutions (schools) and study participant selection processes. The chapter then details data collection activities, processes and procedures, and provides an overview of data management and data analysis. I close the chapter with a section on methodological reflexivity and

positionality, including reflections on my experience as an outsider conducting research on a topic as sensitive as child discipline and violence.

3.1 Why ethnography?

A primary goal of this work is to offer contextual insights into the complexities of community norms and values as they relate to Tanzania VACS findings on physical violence. Key to this is understanding how children and adults at the community level conceptualise discipline, punishment and violence. Contextual nuances often highlight the diversity and complexity of constructions of childhoods (Christensen & James, 2008: 4). As Robert Levine points out in his historical overview of childhood ethnographies, this body of work exists due to the fact that childhood experiences differ the world over based on context-specific historical, geographical, political and economic diversity between population groups (LeVine, 2007). From a social constructionist viewpoint, this diversity leads to differences in how varying groups of people create meaning from their lived experiences. Therefore, the embedded, naturalistic and iterative nature of ethnographic research practices allows for enhanced opportunities for gaining insights into insider perspectives and interpretations of their own social worlds (James, 2001; Whitehead, 2004; Christensen and James, 2008). I felt ethnography's respect for the lifeworld and viewpoints of local social actors (Atkinson, et al., 2007: 118) was an appropriate methodological choice for this work since this work focuses on the space between local and global discourses and realities.

Specifically focusing on conducting research with children, Prout & James point out that ethnography is a particularly useful methodology as it allows for longer-term

development of rapport and promotes children's participation and direct expression of their own voices more effectively than other research methods such as experiments or surveys (Prout & James, 2015: 7). My ethnographic work is grounded in an interpretivist epistemology that suggests our knowledge of reality and the world around us is subjective and socially constructed based on our interpretation of our on-going lived experiences (Green & Thorogood, 2014: 17). Through this work I employ ethnographic research methods including participant observation, semi-structured interviews and participatory methods. I turn to participatory, child-centred ethnographic research methods to provide a space for children to narrate and enact their own understandings of their lives and upbringing (Darbyshire, 2005; Cheney, 2011; Hunleth, 2011a; Mand, 2012; Fay, 2019). Participatory research methods recognise participants and their perceptions as expert as they relate to "their own needs, goals and suffering" (Grover, 2004). Participatory research methods further strive to acknowledge and support study participants' agency and transform the notion of research 'on' to research 'with' participants (Hunleth, 2011b).

The next section details the different types of data collection activities that I used in my fieldwork.

3.2 Data collection activities summary

I employed a wide variety of qualitative research methods under the umbrella of ethnography to create a holistic understanding of community views and experiences of children's upbringing practices and discipline (Buchbinder, et al., 2006; Cheney, 2011; Christensen & Prout, 2002; Darbyshire, 2005; Ennew & Plateu, 2004; Hill, et al. , 1996; Hunleth, 2011b, 2013; Law & Mann, 2004; Morrow, 2001; Twum-Danso, 2009;

Whitehead, 2004). This work primarily drew upon empirical data from Sengerema created with twenty-four (24), 8-12 year old school-going girls and boys and a wide range of adults responsible for the care and wellbeing of children including caregivers, teachers, community leaders and members of the formal government multi-sectoral VAC response teams. Additional interviews with representatives from national-level government, and organisations involved with the safety and wellbeing of children in Tanzania, were conducted in Mwanza and Dar es Salaam. These data were contextualised through participant observation during my 14-months of living in Sengerema and a 12-month review of parenting columns appearing in Kiswahili and English national Sunday newspapers. Table 3 below summarises the sequence and type of data collection activities undertaken. I started off with a wider, shallower lens of observations and then moved toward more in-depth, focused research activities and interactions as people gained trust in me and my research activities.

No.	Dates Collected	Data Sources	Audio	Textual	Visual
TABLE 3					
1	Apr 2016 – May 2017	**FIELD NOTES, PHOTOGRAPHS AND REFLECTIONS**		X	X
2	06 May – 06 Jun 2016	**BASELINE SCHOOL SURVEY** (10 Primary Schools)		X	
3	08 Jul 2016	**TRANSECT WALK – 1** Misheni Ward ("Up the Hill")		X	X
4	22 Jul 2016	**TRANSECT WALK – 2** Sengerema Town Centre ("Down the Hill")		X	X
5	14 Jul – 15 Oct 2016	**SOCIAL MOVEMENT SURVEYS (8)** *Misheni* Market & Town Centre Roundabout • Weekday Morning & Evening • Weekend Morning & Evening		X	
6	Oct - Dec 2016	**SCHOOL OBSERVATIONS** Five Selected Primary Schools (2-3 observation visits/school)		X	
7	27 Oct 2016	**TEACHERS' PARTICIPATORY GROUP DISCUSION (PGD) WORKSHOP**	X	X	
8	09 Dec 2016	**FEMALE CAREGIVERS' PGD WORKSHOP**	X	X	

TABLE 3: Sequence of Data Collection Activities
April 2016 – May 2017

9	12 Dec 2016	**MALE CAREGIVERS' PGD WORKSHOP**	X	X	
10	04 Mar 2017 – 08 Apr 2017	**CHILDREN'S PGD WORKSHOP (6 workshops)** (12 girls & 12 boys – 8-12 years old)	X	X	X
11	Dec 2016	**HOUSEHOLD DEMOGRAPHIC SURVEYS (4)** Home visit households		X	
12	Dec 2016 – May 2017	**HOUSEHOLD VISITS (4 households/5 children)** Minimum of 8 visits to all households Observation and themed drawing discussions	X	X	X
13	09 Aug 2016 – 18 May 2017	**SEMI-STRUCTURED IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS (27)** (See Table 6: Summary of interviewees)	X	X	
14	Apr 2016 –Apr 2017	**MEDIA REVIEW – 12 months** Parenting columns from three Sunday national newspapers (1 Kiswahili and 2 English)		X	X

The next section presents my field assistant identification process and how the field assistants and I worked together at various stages of the research process.

3.3 Field Assistant Identification and Support

The identification and hiring of a competent field assistant proved key to my effectiveness in the field. Although I had lived and worked in Tanzania since 2008, and more specifically lived in Mwanza city since 2010, my intermediate proficiency in Kiswahili and limited knowledge of Kisukuma--the language of the primary ethnic group living in Sengerema--made working with a field assistant essential. After finding a place to stay and settling in, identifying a field assistant proved a top priority. I developed a simple flyer advertising the position and posted it at the Education and Social Welfare departments at *Bomani* (the district government headquarters), at a local teachers' college and at the head office of a local private secondary school. The essential requirements for the post included: 1) proficiency in written and spoken Kiswahili, Kisukuma and English; 2) experience working with children or other vulnerable populations; and 3) excellent command of Microsoft Office packages and access to a computer.

Eight (8) men ranging in age from 26 to 64 years applied. To my disappointment, no women applied. I was hoping for a female field assistant as I thought children might feel more comfortable and open with a woman rather than a man. However, the field assistant's ability to relate and engage with children while providing an open and safe space for them to express themselves was my priority.

After a probationary period with three of the field assistant applicants, I hired Jerry as my day-to-day field assistant. Jerry was a young man in his late 20s, had a degree in Development Studies and was fluent in Kiswahili, Kisukuma and English. Jerry was highly motivated, lived with his family just a 5-minute walk from the guest house where I stayed and was very eager to learn and build skills and experience. Jerry and I worked together almost daily from the initial baseline school survey starting in May 2016 through the last formal study activities ending in mid-May 2017. Jerry was familiar with some of the research methodologies I planned to implement through his university studies and had worked with vulnerable communities as part of his university training.

Having lived in Sengerema, Jerry was familiar with the area and many of the local government and community leadership structures and people. All of the schools, households, and the district government headquarters we regularly visited were within a 5-kilometre radius of the guest house where I stayed so Jerry and I walked everywhere we needed to go. People in town became quite accustomed to seeing us walking together and often questioned "Where is your friend?" if we appeared out and about individually. Jerry supported me as an interpreter when needed and typically supported the conduct of formal interviews and workshop activities using semi-

structured interview guides and workshop activity guides that I prepared prior to specific activities.

Green and Thorogood emphasise the importance of acknowledging the contributions and influence of field assistants and interpreters in the creation and interpretation of data in cross-cultural research. These vital counterparts "both facilitate the ethnographer's data-gathering but also serve as a sounding board for exploring understandings of the local culture" and experiences (2014: 100). Although my proficiency in Kiswahili and my long-term work in East Africa gained me some credibility, Jerry became my cultural broker and interpreter and continuously helped me bridge the gap of my outsider status in Sengerema. He introduced me to people and provided me with humour and insights relevant to an insider lens. This proved invaluable and entertaining throughout my process of trying to "make sense of" experiences and observations encountered during our daily field work.

Several other field assistants were brought on later in the study to support Participatory Group Discussion (PGD) workshops. Marco, an Education and Linguistics major that I met at *Bomani* when I first arrived in Sengerema, joined us in October 2016 when we started to conduct PGD workshops with teachers and caregivers. Marco primarily took notes during activities and subsequently led some of the activities in later PGD workshops. Marco also provided transcription and translation support for audio recorded interviews and activities that were part of the study. The average in-depth interview was between 60-90 minutes in length, and I provided Marco with, and trained him on, a transcription and translation protocol that I developed based on a guide I had used in previous research I conducted (See Appendix 4). All audio recorded

interviews were first transcribed into Kiswahili and then translated into English. A sample of transcripts and translations were quality checked by an independent quality control reviewer from NIMR.

A female field assistant was later brought on to support the six children's PGD workshops. Emma who was introduced to me by Jerry during the initial stages of presenting the research to community leaders and representatives was a pre-school teacher at one of the private primary schools in town. Since the children's PGD workshops took place on Saturday mornings, Emma was able to join us for these activities. As a mature woman and someone with many years of experience working with young children, Emma proved an important addition to our team. Emma primarily provided support if any of the children wanted to talk to someone one-on-one, and she also visually monitored the group to identify and address any issues that might arise among the children while participating in workshops. For example, in our opening children's PGD workshop one of the children said they didn't feel well. Emma took the child aside and after chatting with him said she suspected that he might be a little nervous and hungry. We then organised for him to sit outside the room for a moment and take his tea earlier than the rest of the group. This acknowledgement of, and attention to, his discomfort seemed to help him feel much more comfortable, and he returned to join the group after that. With Emma's long experience working with pre-school children, she also had a vast knowledge of songs, energizing activities for children and strategies for helping children feel comfortable and engage in activities. So, Emma was also often called upon to energize the group with songs and dances familiar to the children.

Research with children does support children's rights to participation and having their voices heard, and it is not without its unique challenges (Baker and Weller, 2003; James, 2007; Gallacher and Gallagher, 2008). Working with a research team sensitive to the unique needs of children as a group and different children as individuals is key to an ethical and respectful research experience. (Ethical considerations are elaborated below in section 3.5.) The unique skills and experiences Jerry, Marco and Emma brought to the research as individuals helped us all to work together to provide a comfortable and familiar atmosphere for the children and adults who gave us their time as part of this study.

The next section describes and discusses the experience of working with an interpreter as part of cross-cultural research.

3.3.1 Help interpreting

The need for Jerry to support me as a language interpreter varied throughout the life of the study. My proficiency in Kiswahili improved over the course of my stay in Sengerema and most casual communications and interactions in the community were done without Jerry's assistance. All more formal activities and interactions, including interviews and communication with gatekeepers to set up appointments or meetings, were facilitated through Jerry. In most cases we did some back and forth translation during meetings and interactions when I felt I failed to grasp an important point. We typically had post-interview or meeting debrief discussions in order to process and develop meaning from actions, activities and exchanges experienced as part of the data generation process. These sessions were vital to the co-creation of meaning and insights related to the research.

Although my Kiswahili fluency was not at the level where I felt I could conduct interviews on my own, my proficiency and understanding was at the level where I could follow interviews, initiate follow-up questions, and re-direct discussion if I felt that the discussion was getting off track or questions were not interpreted correctly. Working with an assistant/interpreter is invaluable, and it is not without its challenges. At times I found myself becoming frustrated during interviews and interactions with people when I had trouble following the discussion and if I sensed that Jerry was perhaps getting off topic or using phrases or gestures that might lead study participants' responses in a particular direction.

It is acknowledged that researchers, and by extension their interpreters, are active producers of research (Temple, 2002). Details and potentially meaning can become compromised during the back and forth process of translation, especially when the interpreters preferred language is not the language of the lead researcher. On a number of occasions, I realised that my understanding of the meaning of a term was different than Jerry's and that some English words and phrases did not easily translate into Kiswahili. This made our continual discussions about observed interactions, terms and conversations essential to the minimization of misunderstanding and misinterpretation of information collected and analysed as part of this study. These discussions also served as opportunities to reflect on challenging issues and feelings that may have arisen during the course of an interaction. An example of this was the translation of the word "affect" as it relates to how does one thing affect another. I realised that Jerry was translating "affect" as "help" or "how does something help something else" during one of our PGDs workshops. I questioned it at the time and

discussed it with Jerry and Marco after the workshop. Jerry and Marco explained that the Kiswahili translation of affect (*kuathiri)* indicates "helping" and not the opposite ("hindering"). From that point on we ensured that when we were talking with study participants about how something "affects" them that we would make sure they understand we were interested in ways that something helped or hindered or what were positive or negatives effects, explaining what we meant exactly rather than relying on the word *kuathiri* on its own allowed for a fuller translation that was closer to the meaning of the English meaning of the word "affect".

In Chapter 4, I address the complexities of socially constructed meaning across different population groups and translational challenges that can arise in cross-cultural research.

3.4 Sampling, recruitment and building rapport

In order to gain the widest variety of perspectives and experiences across genders, generations, and socio-economic stratifications, I employed a purposive, maximum variation sampling strategy. As is typical with qualitative research, the goal was to achieve a representative sample versus a generalizable sample typical of larger survey and quantitative studies. The head teachers from the five primary schools that were selected for in-depth observational follow-up served as our primary sources for participant identification—especially for the PGD workshops. As we had already established a relationship with the head teachers of these schools during our initial baseline school surveys, the head teachers provided us with names of potential caregivers to contact regarding possible participation in the Caregivers' PGDs and later the possibility of their child's participation in the Children's PGDs. The Head Teachers

also identified and sent one male and one female teacher from their respective schools for participation in the Teachers' PGD workshop. Identification of key informants for in-depth interview was based on people's position within the community and at national level, e.g. community elder, local government representative from one of the government sectors involved in the VAC response, or national-level Ministry or non-government organization (NGO) representative.

The process of building rapport and gaining the trust of community gatekeepers and study participants is essential to facilitating the flow of information and gaining insights into insider views (Spradley, 1979: 78-83). As a foreigner researching a sensitive topic, gaining people's trust and reducing potential concerns of my perceived judgement and the risk of my misrepresentation of their views and lives in research reports, was key. Some initial contacts were met with a noticeable level of apprehension and guardedness, while others seemed open but not necessarily clear on the nature of ethnographic research. One district government representative appeared interested in my research, yet eager to have me leave a questionnaire and come back later to collect the completed document. The on-going, iterative nature of ethnographic research seemed surprising to many who seemed accustomed to having researchers come in with a survey or conduct a single interview and then go away never to be seen again. I let people know that I'd be in Sengerema for about one year and that I hoped I could come and visit them periodically throughout that time.

3.5 Ethical considerations

International declarations such as the U.N. Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) and the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (ACRWC)

highlight children's rights issues, including children's right to be heard--especially in matters affecting their own health and wellbeing (OAU, 1990; United Nations, 1989). The body of literature addressing the ethical involvement of children in research emphasizes issues such as the power dynamics between children and adults, harm and benefits, informed consent, confidentiality, compensation, and the need for contextually appropriate variations on all these issues (Clacherty and Donald, 2007; Graham *et al.*, 2013). In hierarchical societies such as is found in Tanzania, children's views are typically considered last, if at all (Twum-Danso Imoh, 2010). Research which solely elicits the views of children would be at great risk of failure and possibly place children at risk of harm, if it were not accepted by community elders and other adults who might wonder why their views and participation are not also being sought (Mann and Tolfree, 2003). Therefore, as well as gaining ethical approval for the study from LSHTM and the Tanzanian Commission for Science and Technology (COSTECH), I presented the study to key community gatekeepers such as local community leaders, local government officials, and school authorities in order to openly gain their consent and acceptance of the work. As Twum-Danso Imoh points out, respect for local leadership and community protocols can enhance community trust, support and involvement in research (2010).

The next sections addresses key ethical issues related to research involving children. These include the issues of harm and benefits, consenting processes, confidentiality and compensation.

3.5.1 Harm and Benefits

The most fundamental questions cited across the ethics of research with children

literature is the question of whether the research actually needs to be done at all, and if so, is the study designed in a manner which minimizes risk of harm to participants (Powell et al., 2012). As this research builds on findings from the Tanzania VACS and intends to offer insights that will support the development of locally applicable policies and mechanism focused on the enhancement of the health and wellbeing of Tanzanian children and families, I believe the answer to that question is, "Yes". As an outsider researching a sensitive topic that is often perceived as promoting a Western agenda, I remained vigilant and sensitive to local perspectives and responses to me and the research throughout the life of the project. Just prior to the phase of the study where we were going to begin working directly with children, I provided the field assistants with specialized training on conducting research with children on sensitive topics. The training included sessions on children's rights, ethical considerations in research involving children, building skills in communicating and developing rapport with children, as well as recognizing and appropriately responding to verbal and non-verbal cues that signal distress in children and other study participants (Clacherty and Donald, 2007; Graham *et al.*, 2013).

In an effort to address child/adult power dynamics in the research setting, we repeatedly assured and reminded the children that they were free to withdraw from the study, stop an interview, or not answer a question at any time without any consequences to them or their families. They were also encouraged to ask questions or share any concerns, and contact numbers and names for myself, Dr Nnko and the ethics board were provided. As a result of my relationships with district social welfare and law enforcement officials through their awareness of me and the study, an

arrangement for onward referrals for follow-up services and support if needed was established (Child et al., 2014; Clacherty & Donald, 2007; Graham et al., 2013). No children were identified for referral during the period of field research. Additionally, regular communication and ethical guidance from LSHTM supervisors and NIMR collaborators was also maintained throughout the fieldwork phase of the study (Powell, Graham, Taylor, Newell, & Fitzgerald, 2011).

3.5.2 Consenting processes and children's participation

Informed consent and assent in the case of children was obtained from all adults and children formally interviewed or who participated in formal research related activities such as the PGDs or home visits. Study information was provided verbally as well as in writing in the form of an information sheet that was written in Kiswahili on one side and English on the other. As the study involved children between the ages of 8-12 years, study information was provided to parents or guardians and if caregivers approved and signed the consent for their child's participation, study information was explained to their child and the child was asked to sign an assent form before formally being invited to participate in the study and the children's workshops. Both consent and assent forms indicated that quotes and photographs might be included as part of reports or presentations resulting from the research; however, every effort would be made to anonymise and keep confidential identifies of study participants. (Both English and Kiswahil versions of informed consent and assent forms are included as Appendix 5.)

Adult and child-specific information sheets were designed in an effort to provide study information at age appropriate levels. As Christensen and James point out in their

work on perspectives and practices in research with children, the authenticity of children's consenting processes must not be taken for granted (2008: 263). When initially explaining the study to individual children after their caregiver provided consent for their participation, the children general did not ask questions about the study after it was explained to them. When we asked if they had any questions some children shyly said they had no questions while others appeared excited about participating and their only question was when would we start? The children's consenting process is an institutional ethical requirement, and we as researchers must stay alert to upholding children's right to safety and participation while making the consenting process as meaningful and ethical as possible.

The need for researchers' recognition and appreciation of the two-fold differential power dynamic of the adult/child and researcher/participant relationship is essential. We had an example of the recognition and response to power dynamics when visiting the home of one of the mothers who participated in the female caregivers PGD workshop. The woman was familiar with us and the study, and she wanted her son to participate in the children's workshops. When Jerry asked the boy if he'd like to participate, the boy nervously stayed quiet. His family members who were around at the time and wanted him to participate chanted (in Kisukuma) "Accept, Accept, Accept!" As a result of Jerry's good instincts and the field assistant training I provided on conducting research with children, which included recognising children's' non-verbal communication cues of discomfort, Jerry recognised that pursuing the boy's assent for participation in the study was not appropriate. Although the boy's family was very keen for him to participate, we recognised and respected the boy's

demonstrated fearful reluctance and did not further seek his participation. Likewise, in recognition of consenting as an on-going process, children and adults alike were continually reminded that their participation was voluntary and that they could discontinue their participation in the study at any time (Clacherty and Donald, 2007; Alderson and Morrow, 2011).

3.5.3 Confidentiality

Anonymising codes and pseudonym lists were developed in order to maintain confidentiality of participant and institutional identities. Documents, drawings, and other written materials produced as part of the study used these coding systems to maintain confidentiality. In some cases of quote attribution, descriptive markers such as gender, role or agency association where generalised or not used at all in order to respect the anonymity of study participants. The master coding list was stored separately from all other study documentation and all study documentation was stored in locked cabinets or password protected in electronic storage systems on my computer and backed up. While in the field site I kept my computer in a locked cupboard in my room at the guest house whenever I was not in the room. Only designated members of the research team were given access to research documentation, and all study related personnel such as the field assistants and the translation and transcription quality control reviewer were required to sign a confidentiality and non-disclosure statement before providing any services or participating in study activities (Alderson and Morrow, 2011).

3.5.4 Compensation

Appropriate compensation to study participants for participation in the study was

discussed with my local supervisor at NIMR-Mwanza and Jerry. As Clacherty and

Donald suggest, in a context of extreme poverty, resentment against children and

other individuals who participate in research and who gain material benefits from it

can be very real (2007). Therefore, the need to carefully consider the compensation

provided to ensure that it neither coercive nor draws retaliation from those who were

not given an opportunity to participate in the research, is vital (Clacherty and Donald,

2007; Alderson and Morrow, 2011). Compensation for time and participation in the

PGD workshops took the form of the provision of refreshments and a transport stipend

equalling the amount of approximately 1 GBP for the adult workshops. In the case of

the children's workshops children's costs for traveling to the workshop venue were

paid and a special bus was hired and staffed by Jerry and Marco to escort children

safely back to their homes following each week's workshop. Children were provided

with refreshments at the workshop and at the final children's workshop, each child

received a special tote bag with school supplies and a certificate acknowledging their

participation.

As an embedded part of the ethnographic research process I continually had to reflect

on my role in the situations and experiences I encountered living in the community

where I was conducting this research. Several experiences are presented in findings

Chapters 4 and 5. In addition, a situation that arose while conducting home visits

raised specific ethical questions in my mind. At times compensation and interactions

during household study visits proved complex as the households we visited had

children other than those who participated in the study. As part of the household visit

activity, Jerry and I would regularly visit 4 households and discuss themed drawings

with the participating children in the household. One household was a family of 11 with 9 children under 18 years of age living at home. Two of the girls in the household directly participated in the themed drawing and discussion activity, while the other 7 children did not. We gave the two participating children a special opaque coloured folder containing coloured pencils, two lead pencils, an eraser, and sheets of white drawing paper. There were other children in this household who also wanted our attention and who hoped to benefit from our visits too. On one visit the 7-year old brother of the girls asked if he could also get a special folder and their 16-year old sister asked me for a sweater to go with her school uniform. Resources were limited in this household, especially with so many children and these requests made me reflect on the ethical impact of selecting one or two children in a household for special attention.

Reflecting on my uncomfortable feelings, Jerry and I discussed these requests and how best to handle them. As all the children in this particular household seemed to want and enjoy our attention when we visited, we decided to prepare two additional folders for the household. One folder we thought could be shared by the two younger brothers and one by the two older sisters. When asked about the sweater by the 16-year old sister, I sensed that she was testing me to see if I would be willing to buy her the sweater. My feeling was that this would become a slippery slope so I instead explained that I would not be able to buy her a sweater, but on the next visit I would bring her some pens and pencils to supplement her school supplies. Was this a child exercising agency? She appeared satisfied with that answer and did not make a similar request again.

Generally, as a way of involving and showing appreciation to the households we visited, I would print out pictures taken during visits and provide them to the families as keepsakes. People loved receiving the picture prints. The household with 9 children loved the pictures so much that our visits often turned into a photo shoot for at least part of the time Jerry and I were visiting. I felt this form of compensation was personalised to the household and might not cause as much confusion with neighbours as it might have if people learned we were providing sugar or other food stuff. On our final visit to each home to say goodbye when I was completing fieldwork in Sengerema, I did provide each household with a gift of home staples such as sugar, flour, soap and matches. As I was no longer going to be regularly visiting I felt this gesture served as a special farewell and thank you to the families for opening their homes to us.

3.6 Data creation activities, processes and procedures

3.6.1 School survey

A baseline survey of ten (10) purposively selected primary schools which took place in May 2016 served as the first formal data collection activity. Ten primary schools were selected from a list of more than 100 district primary schools which was obtained from the acting District Head of Primary School Education. This data collection exercise assisted in further introducing the research to the wider community, while at the same time allowing me to identify a smaller sample of schools for future in-depth observation visits.

The baseline survey collected basic school demographic information such as number of students attending the school; student/teacher ratio; school type (public vs. private or town vs. semi-rural, religious vs. non-religious, etc.); language of instruction; school day start and finish times, etc. The survey also explored school disciplinary philosophy,

rules and how children, caregivers and teachers learned about school rules and policies; knowledge of the government policies on discipline and corporal punishment; typical discipline or behaviour issues, discipline strategies used at the school, children's rights activities available at the school, and children's responses to various discipline issues and punishments.

The selection criteria for the ten (10) baseline schools included general proximity (i.e., less than a 30-minute public transport ride) and maximum variation in the types and locations of the schools. We included government and private schools, religious schools, as well as schools located in or near the town centre and several that were more rurally situated. We also used this exercise to help identify the five schools for future follow up (i.e. observation visits) based on the maximum variation criteria mentioned above and the school staffs' openness to us and the research. Nine of the ten survey interviews were conducted in Kiswahili and one in English, and were typically conducted with the school Head and Discipline Masters. Sometimes the Head Master designated other members of the teaching staff to provide survey input. Table 4 provides a summary of demographic characteristics of the 10 Baseline Survey schools.

TABLE 4: BASELINE SURVEY - DISTRICT PRIMARY SCHOOLS					
SCHOOL NO.	SCHOOL TYPE	LOCATION	NO. STUDENTS	NO. GIRLS / BOYS	†TEACHER / STUDENT RATIO
SCH-1	Government (Two shifts - AM / PM)	Town	969	582 / 387	1 : 24
SCH-2	Government (Two shifts - AM / PM)	Town	1588	822 / 766	1 :42
SCH-3	Government - Special Needs Unit	Town	168	69 / 99	Depends on disability classification

SCH-4	Government (Two shifts - AM / PM)	Semi-Rural	809	401 / 408	1 : 32
SCH-5	Private – Religious (Catholic)	Town Centre	689	358 / 331	1 : 40
SCH-6	Private – Religious (Muslim)	Town	502	244 / 258	1 : 45
SCH-7	Private – Non-Religious	Semi-Rural	195	93 / 102	1 : 35
SCH-8	Government (Two shifts – AM / PM)	Town Centre	1686	889 / 797	1 : 42
SCH-9	Government (Two shifts – AM / PM)	Semi-Rural	1008	496 / 512	1 : 90
SCH-10	Government (One shift)	Semi-Rural	1186	631 / 555	1 : 45

†Classroom observations indicated that in most cases student to teacher ratios appeared significantly higher than those reported for the survey.

3.6.2 Transect walks and social movement surveys

3.6.2.1 Transect walks

Following the completion of the School Surveys, Jerry and I conducted Transect Walks with community leaders in the "Up-the-Hill" and "Down-the-Hill" areas of the field site. Based on these two distinctly described and discussed areas of town, we decided to conduct one Transect Walk with community leaders in each of these areas. In order to identify appropriate individuals for participation in the walks, we introduced the research and the specific Transect Walk activity to the Ward Executive Officers (WEOs) of the wards that fell within the "Up the Hill" and "Down the Hill" areas. The "Up the Hill" walk traversed only *Misheni* ward, but the "Down the Hill" or *Mjini* (town centre) walk ran through sections of four different wards. For the *Misheni* walk the Ward Chairman provided recommendations of different community representatives to include in the walk. These ranged from street leaders or what is known as Ten Cell Leaders—elected community leaders who serve as the primary community contact and liaison to local government leadership for 10 homesteads—the ward security

officer, a former village chairman, and a pre-primary school teacher living in the area. (The pre-primary school teacher was Emma who later served as a field assistant supporting the children's PGD workshops.) For the "Down the Hill" or *Mjini* walk we liaised with four (4) different WEOs who designated one or two representative community leaders from their ward to participate in the walk. See Table 5 below for a list of walk participants.

TABLE 5: "Up the Hill" and "Down the Hill" Transect Walk Participants			
"Up the Hill" - Misheni Transect Walk			
NO.	**GENDER**	**AGE**	**ROLE**
1	Female	52	Street Leader / Ten Cell Leader
2	Male	48	Former Village Chairman
3	Female	60	Street Leader / Ten Cell Leader
4	Female	45	Pre-Primary School Teacher
5	Male	42	Ward Chairman Representative – Ward Head of Security
"Down the Hill" - *Mjini* (Town Centre) Transect Walk			
NO.	**GENDER**	**AGE**	**ROLE**
1	Male	23	Representative -Ward Executive Officer (WEO)
2	Male	50	Secretary and Chairman
3	Male	42	Chairman – Town Centre
4	Male	52	Chairman - Geita Road
5	Female	60+	Street Leader / Ten Cell Leader
6	Male	35	Community Development Officer

In the case of both walks, we met at a designated location and provided an overview of the study to all the community leaders and then also provided an overview of the goals of the walk. We asked them to take us to the locations in their community that they felt were important to children. After the walks we returned to the initial meeting location and asked them to draw a map of the walk including locations we visited. We then had a discussion where the community leaders explained why those places were important to children and what roles they felt those locations play in children's upbringing and discipline.

As well as helping to identify physical locations the community leaders felt were important to children's upbringing, these walks served to help Jerry and me build rapport and gain recognition and acceptance of ourselves and the research in the community. By having people see us walking and interacting with their own community representatives and leaders, I hoped to demonstrate our respect for community leadership structures and our desire to openly work respectfully within them (Spradley, 1979). Allowing time for people to observe and learn about and research me and my research was especially important as my work focuses on and involves children. As Twum-Danso Imoh highlighted in her work exploring children's perspectives of physical punishment in Ghana, including adults, especially caregivers and teachers, in the research is important for developing a deeper understanding of the context within which physical correction occurs as part of the socialization process (Twum-Danso Imoh, 2010, 2013).

3.6.2.2 Social movement surveys

In addition to Transect Walks, we also conducted Social Movement Surveys where we counted the incoming and outgoing movement of people by gender and approximate age from key field entry and exit points in both the "Up the Hill" and "Down the Hill" areas at different times of the day and on different days of the week. This exercise helped us gain insights into the way people used and interacted with each other and the natural, institutional, and economic resources and people in their community. It also helped us better understand children's activities, roles, presence or absence in these shared community spaces and complimented the information provided by the community leaders during the transect walks.

3.6.2.3 In-depth interviews

Following the completion of the School Survey and the Transect Walks, we began the conduct of face-to-face, audio-recorded in-depth interviews (IDIs). A total of 27 in-depth interviews were conducted using semi-structured topic guides. (See Appendix 6 for sample IDI guides.) Adults were purposively sampled based on their role within the community or involvement with government or NGO child protection and wellbeing activities. Although one of the study's primary goals was to feature children's voices and perspectives regarding the physical punishment they experience in their daily lives, inclusion of adults' voices as the primary gatekeepers of children's socialisation experiences was necessary in order to develop a deeper understanding of the context within which children's socialization occurs (Twum-Danso Imoh, 2010). IDI participants included elders, parents, primary school children between 8-12 years old, government officials involved in the Tanzanian multi-sectoral response to VAC, religious leaders, and representatives of national and international non-government organisations (NGOs). A generic in-depth topic guide reflecting questions relevant to the three primary research objectives was continuously modified to address the background of the individual participants and our goal for interviewing them. As the conduct of the IDIs spanned the full length of the study, the tool used for later interviews reflected new concepts and areas of inquiry that arose from earlier interviews and study activities. Early on we added additional questions that explored definitions and participants' conceptualisations of key terms such as violence, discipline, punishment, and corporal punishment as it had quickly become clear in the first IDI I conducted that the understanding of these terms varied—sometimes greatly—between individuals

and groups. Table 6 below provides a descriptive summary of the individuals

interviewed as part of this study.

NO.	CATEGORY	GENDER	AGE	ROLE / OCCUPATION
	TABLE 6: IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS (IDI)			
	Participants Interviewed			
1	**Community Elders**	M	84	Retired Primary School Teacher
2		M	83	Farmer
3		F	68	Farmer
4		F	70	Retired Primary School Teacher
5	**Children**	F	12	Primary School Student – Private Religious School – Town Centre
6		F	12	Primary School Student – Government School – Town
7		F	12	Primary School Student – Government Primary School - Semi-Rural
8		M	11	Primary School Student – Government Primary School - Semi-Rural
9	**District Government Representatives – VAC Multi-Sectoral Response**	F	34	District Community Development Officer
10		F	36	District Social Welfare Representative
11		M	48	District Community Development Representative
12		F	30s	District Police – Gender and Children's Desk Representative
13		F	34	District Police – Gender and Children's Desk Representative
14		M	54	District Police – Gender and Children's Desk Representative
15		M	41	District Medical Office Representative
16		M	40	Head, District Primary School Education
17	**Religious Leaders**	M	59	Roman Catholic Catechism Teacher
18		M	30	Sheik - Madrassa Teacher
19	**National Level NGO/INGO Representatives**	F	45	International Child Welfare NGO – Tanzania Country Office Representative
20		M	36	National Education Advocacy NGO Representative
21		M	33	National Peace Advocacy NGO Representative
22		M	33	International Child Welfare NGO – Tanzania Country Office, Child Protection Specialist
23		M	~40	National Children's Advocacy Group Representative
24		M	35	International Child Welfare NGO – Tanzania Country Office, Child Protection Specialist
25		F	39	International Child Welfare NGO – Tanzania Country Office
26	**Regional and National Level Government Representatives**	F	54	Regional Police – Gender and Children's Desk Representative
27		M	54	National Community Development – Children's Section Representative

3.6.2.4 Participant observation – selected primary schools

Five (5) primary schools were selected from the ten surveyed schools for repeated in-depth observation visits (See Table 7 below). These schools were selected with the goal of maximum variation in school type as well as the openness of school leadership to our presence and the study in general. We returned a minimum of 3 times to each of the schools. During our observation visits we primarily sat quietly in the back of the classrooms and observed the children's interactions with teachers and each other. We also observed children at morning and evening parade and on the school playgrounds during class breaks. We minimized our direct engagement with the children as our focus was more on observing and documenting their normal interactions between each other and school teachers and staff rather than their engagement and interest in us.

It is acknowledged that mine and Jerry's presence at the schools and in the classrooms had an effect on the teachers' and students' interactions with each other. On one occasion during a school observation visit a teacher came around the corner of a building carrying a thin branch similar to those used to administer strokes. When she saw me she casually dropped the branch and somewhat embarrassedly greeted Jerry and me - (Field notes 29 November 2016). While our mere presence undoubtedly altered people's typical behaviour and use of physical punishments, leading to the assumption that the use of physical punishments is higher than what we observed, both adults and children appeared to become less self-conscious as we repeatedly visited their schools. This research activity did allow me to gain more accurate knowledge on student to teacher ratios in classrooms and types and occasions when

physical force was used in schools both between teachers and students, and between the students themselves.

		TABLE 7: OBSERVATION SCHOOLS		
NO.	SCHOOL CODE	SCHOOL TYPE	LOCATION	LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION
1	SCH-3	Government - Special Needs Unit	Town	Kiswahili and Swahili Sign Language
2	SCH-4	Government	Semi-Rural	Kiswahili
3	SCH-5	Private – Religious (Catholic)	Town Centre	English
4	SCH-6	Private – Religious (Muslim)	Town	English
5	SCH-8	Government	Town Centre	Kiswahili

3.6.2.5 Participatory group discussion (PGD) workshops

The workshops were based on methods used by Jean Hunleth in her work with children as caregivers of TB patients in Zambia (Hunleth, 2011a, 2011b, 2013a, 2017). Like Hunleth, these workshops served to create a dedicated private space for discussion outside of the distractions of school, work or home. Multiple participatory group activities such as listing and ranking, focus group discussions and in the case of the children's PGD workshops, activities such as role play and drawing were also incorporated. Unlike Hunleth, I conducted what I have come to refer to as "Participatory Group Discussion" or PGD workshops with both adults and children. As well as facilitating data generation, the PGD workshops served to build social relationships and include participatory research activities beyond the typical focus group discussion (FGD). As local gatekeeper adults, such as teachers and caregivers, participated in adult PGD workshops prior to the children's PGD workshops, these adults became very interested and open to the research and were eager to support us in the identification of children to participate in the children's PGD workshops.

A total of nine PGD Workshops were conducted--three with adults and six with children. For the adult PGD workshop we conducted one workshop with primary school teachers, and two with caregivers—one workshop with female caregivers and another with male caregivers. As field work progressed it became clear that the observation schools would serve as our primary points for identifying PGD workshop participants as school leadership were already familiar and open to us and our study. Additionally, they could provide us with names and contacts for a variety of caregivers, and they could also vouch for us if anyone had questions about us and our activities. This was useful as several caregivers did contact the Head Teachers to confirm that the Head Teacher had given us their name and that we were actually who we said we were. The next sections detail the structure and methods used for the various PGD workshops.

3.6.2.6 Teachers' PGD workshop

For the Teachers' PGD workshop, invitation letters were hand delivered to the Head Teachers of the observation schools requesting that they identify and send two teachers—preferably one male and one female teacher—to the workshop. As the Head Teacher for the Special Needs Unit and the government primary school the unit is attached were the same, we invited two teachers from both the Special Needs Unit and two more from the host primary school. A total of twelve (12) teachers were invited to participate, and twelve (12) teachers attended and participated in the workshop. Once all participants arrived, we reviewed the Study Information Sheet and Informed Consent form, which were provided in written Kiswahili and English. As was stated in the invitation letter, the workshops ran from 8:30 a.m. – 2:00 p.m. No

monetary compensation was provided, but we did provide morning tea, lunch, and a small transportation stipend of 3,000 TZS (~1 GBP).

We conducted two activities with the teachers. First, a listing and ranking exercise where we asked the teachers to individually list on post-it notes the most common disciplinary issues they face at their primary schools, as well as the typical disciplinary strategies used in primary schools. The teachers were then asked to group and then rank the disciplinary issues and strategies. We asked them to rank the disciplinary issues from most common to least common and the disciplinary strategies from most harsh to least harsh. Variations of the Listing and Ranking exercise were used with caregivers and children as well, and allowed us to better understand the preferences and priorities of these different groups of people (Ennew & Plateu, 2004; Korbin, Coulton, Lindstrom-Ufuti, & Spilsbury, 2000; Wessells, 2011).

The second activity was a Focus Group Discussion (FGD) addressing discipline and punishment in schools and the relationship to children's rights. In general, we used FGDs as a means of gaining insights into understandings, perspectives and experiences of our research topic at a group level and triangulated these data with participant observation and individual interviews also conducted as part of the study (Morgan, 1988). In addition to an audio record of the proceedings, we took written notes documenting observations regarding participation and interactions between participants. FGD questions explored perceptions and experiences of how a disciplined pupil behaves, at what point does punishment become violence, what the role of children's rights in school is, and how have children's rights affected teacher/student relations. A lively discussion that arose between the teachers

regarding the relationship between "fear" and "discipline" provided insights for further exploration in subsequent study activities.

3.6.2.7 Caregivers' PGD workshops

As noted above, we held two (2) Caregivers PGD Workshops—one workshop with female caregivers and one with male caregivers. I use the term caregivers as some children lived with grandparents or other extended family members who were responsible for their care. As previously mentioned caregiver participants were identified through the help of the observation schools. The Head Teachers from each observation school (including the primary school associated with the Special Needs Unit) provided us with the names of five (5) female and five (5) male caregivers with children at their school. Caregivers from the lists provided by the Head Teachers were selected for contacting using a closed-eyes "point and pick" method. If the caregiver's telephone line was not available or the caregiver was not interested in participating, another caregiver was selected from the list. Twelve (12) female and twelve (12) male caregivers—two female and two male caregivers from each observation school plus the primary school associated with the Special Needs Unit--were identified for participation.

Initially I was not sure whether to have one joint caregivers' PGD workshop or have separate workshops for men and women. After some thought, I decided to have separate workshops for men and women based on issues such as the typical gendered power dynamics between men and women, i.e. women's customary yielding of communication to men, and the difference in men's and women's experiences in childcare and childrearing, i.e. women typically spend more time with their children.

Based on the interactions and information gained from the two workshops, I was pleased with this decision to hold separate men's and women's PGD Workshops as it became clear that the women talked about day-to-day experiences raising children and managing their household while many of the men's responses reflected more of what they thought ought to happen.

Similar to the Teachers' PGD Workshop, we provided the caregivers with written copies of the Study Information Sheet and Informed Consent in both Kiswahili and English. These were read aloud in Kiswahili and caregivers were given an opportunity to ask questions before signing and confirming their interest in participating. Morning tea, lunch, and the same small transport stipend of 3,000 TZS was provided to the caregivers. Unlike the Teachers' PGD, we did not have 100% attendance at the Caregivers PGD Workshops. For the male caregivers' workshop eight (8) men attended, and for the female caregivers' workshop, ten (10) women attended of the 12 who were invited.

A Listing and Ranking activity and a FGD were the primary activities conducted with the caregivers. As we were not certain of the literacy level of the various caregivers, we decided to conduct the listing process as a group activity with people offering answers and Marco writing the responses on flipchart papers posted on the wall. We asked the caregivers to list common disciplinary issues and discipline strategies for different age groups of children, i.e. 0-5 year olds; 6-12 year olds (primary school children); and, 13-18 (secondary school age children) year olds. While learning about the different discipline issues and strategies used with different age groups proved interesting, in retrospect I think simply asking about the issues and strategies for our studies age

group of interest, i.e. 8-12-year olds, may have been sufficient. The process of listing the information for all three age groups took a long time and people seemed to tire. The process did, however, yield information that revealed changes in both disciplinary issues and consequences over time. For example, stealing was an issue mentioned at both the 6-12 and 13-18-year age group with consequences for stealing in the older age group including severe beating and even being burnt to death as a potential community consequence of stealing in the older age group. Such information revealed the increasingly severe consequences resulting from misbehaviours such as stealing as children grow older. These findings are discussed in more detail in Chapter 4 which explores the complexities of creating meaning including the children's rights concept of 'best interest of the child'.

Following the listing exercise, we broke the group into two and asked each group to rank the disciplinary issues and strategies. As with the teachers, we requested that they rank the disciplinary issues from "Most Common" to "Least Common" and then disciplinary strategies from "Most Harsh" to "Least Harsh". If I were to do this again, I might suggest that they rank the top five rather than the entire list. In some cases, the lists included more than fifteen items and the ranking seemed to become somewhat arbitrary as participants tried to make very minor distinctions between one behaviour and another.

We started the FGD with the Caregivers with an animated video that was created by one of the International Non-Government Organizations (INGO) working in Tanzania for the Day of the African Child. The video featured a song specially written for the day by a popular *Bongo Flava*—Tanzanian Hip Hop—artist

[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6AzjD3RbFZ8]. The video illustrated different types of children, i.e. children who appeared to be in school, children with albinism, children that seem to be from poorer backgrounds and possibly not in school, along with caregivers, teachers, and other people in the community like police, businessmen, and shopkeepers singing the song. The song talked about children being the future of the nation and that adults should teach children with stories, games and song rather than *fimbo*—the stick for beating—or harsh words. We asked the participants to give their general impression of the video and used it to lead into our discussion of child discipline and the relationship with the discourse of children's rights. We emphasised that we were not promoting any particular methods of child training or *mlezi*—upbringing—but rather showed the video to promote discussion and gain insights into their ideas on the topic.

3.6.2.8 Children's PGD workshops

In total, I conducted six PGD workshops with children. Twenty-four 8-12 year old, in-school children—12 girls and 12 boys participated. The children selected for participation studied at the observation schools. In order to identify children for potential participation in the Children's PGD workshops, we first assessed the age and gender of the children of the caregivers who participated in the Caregivers' PGD workshops. Those caregivers were already familiar with us, were familiar with the workshop venue and had a sense of how the workshops were run. Our goal was to have at least two girls and two boys from each of the observation schools. We did not include children from the government school's Special Needs Unit as we did not have

ethical clearance for participation of children with special needs. We also strove to have a variety of children who covered the age range of our study (i.e. 8-12-year olds).

Caregivers who participated in the Caregivers' PGD Workshops who were approached for participation of their child in the Children's PGD Workshops were open and eager to have their children participate. As we were not able to identify all twenty-four children through caregivers from the caregiver's workshop, we once again returned to the Head Teachers to request names of potential participants. Based on the gender, age, and school that we needed more children from, we asked the respective Head Teachers to provide us with names of several caregivers who we could approach about potential participation of their child in the children's research workshops. If there was more than one child within a household who fell into the desired age and gender bracket, we would write each child's name on a small piece of paper, fold and shuffle the papers and then select one child. Table 8 below is a summary description of the children who participated in the Children's PGD Workshops.

TABLE 8: Participants – Children's Participatory Group Discussion (PGD) Workshops					
No.	Child Code	Gender	Child Age	School Location	School
1	B-1	Boy	8	Town	Government - (Two shifts - AM / PM)
2	B-2	Boy	10	Town	Government – (Two shifts – AM / PM)
3	B-3	Boy	9	Town Centre	Private - Religious (Catholic – One shift)
4	B-4	Boy	10	Town Centre	Private – Religious (Catholic – One shift)
5	B-5	Boy	9	Town Centre	Private – Religious (Catholic – One shift)
6	B-6	Boy	11	Town	Private – Religious (Muslim – One shift)
7	B-7	Boy	10	Town Centre	Government - (Two shifts - AM / PM)
8	B-8	Boy	12	Semi-Rural	Government - (Two shifts - AM / PM)
9	B-9	Boy	11	Semi-Rural	Government - (Two shifts - AM / PM)
10	B-10	Boy	10	Town Centre	Government - (Two shifts - AM / PM)
11	B-11	Boy	10	Town	Private – Religious (Muslim – One shift)
12	B-12	Boy	11	Town Centre	Government - (Two shifts - AM / PM)
13	G-1	Girl	12	Town	Government - (Two shifts - AM / PM)
14	G-2	Girl	9	Town	Government - (Two shifts - AM / PM)
15	G-3	Girl	12	Town Centre	Private – Religious (Catholic – One shift)

16	G-4	Girl	9	Town Centre	Private – Religious (Catholic – One shift)
17	G-5	Girl	9	Town	Private – Religious (Muslim – One shift)
18	G-6	Girl	8	Town	Private – Religious (Muslim – One shift)
19	G-7	Girl	11	Town	Private – Religious (Muslim – One shift)
20	G-8	Girl	8	Town Centre	Government - (Two shifts - AM / PM)
21	G-9	Girl	8	Town Centre	Government - (Two shifts - AM / PM)
22	G-10	Girl	12	Semi-Rural	Government - (Two shifts - AM / PM)
23	G-11	Girl	11	Semi-Rural	Government - (Two shifts - AM / PM)
24	G-12	Girl	9	Semi-Rural	Government - (Two shifts - AM / PM)

Caregivers provided written consent for their child to participate in the PGD workshops and child participants provided written assent for their participation. Once both the caregiver and child provided consent for participation, we delivered invitation letters to the home of each child which outlined the plan and full schedule for the Children's PGD workshops. Two of the six children's PGD workshops included all twenty-four children together—they were the Sports Day introduction workshop and the Closing Day workshop. The other four (4) PGD workshops were separate girls' and boys' workshops. (See Appendix 7 for detailed program outlines for the PGD workshops.) One week we held a boys' PGD workshop and then the following week we conducted the same workshop activities with the girls. Twelve children attended each of the single-gender workshop, and each child was to attend a total of four (4) of the six (6) workshops. This provided us with an opportunity to see how children's responses changed over time as they grew in familiarity and comfort with each other and the research team. We had 100% attendance at all the workshops except for the research introduction Sports Days workshop where two of the children did not attend--one due to a school obligation and another due to caregiver confusion regarding the date and time of the workshop. A summary of the workshop schedule and activities is below as Table 9.

TABLE 9: ACTIVITIES SUMMARY – CHILDREN's PARTICIPATORY WORKSHOPS		
WORKSHOP NO.	**WORKSHOP THEME & ACTIVITIES**	**PARTICIPANTS**
Workshop 1 – Sports Day	THEME: Meeting Each Other, Rapport Building, and Introduction to the Study METHODS: Organized Play & Writing on "Views Wall"	Boys and Girls
Workshop 2 – Boys' Workshop 1	THEME: Discipline and Punishment in the Contexts of School, Home, and Community METHODS: Listing, Role Plays & Dice Game FGD	Boys Only
Workshop 3 – Girls' Workshop 1	THEME: Discipline and Punishment in the Contexts of School, Home, and Community METHODS: Listing, Role Plays & Dice Game FGD	Girls Only
Workshop 4 – Boys' Workshop 2	THEME: Discipline and Punishment in the Contexts of School, Home, and Community METHODS: Drawing, Ranking, Body Mapping Drawing & Discussion	Boys Only
Workshop 5 – Girls Workshop 2	THEME: Discipline and Punishment in the Contexts of School, Home, and Community METHODS: Drawing & Gallery Walk, Ranking, Body Mapping Drawing & Discussion	Girls Only
Workshop 6 – Closing Day	THEME: Children's Rights and Study Wrap-Up METHODS: Handful of Rights Drawings, Gallery Walk & Discussion, Free Play, & Closing Ceremony	Boys and Girls

As suggested by Darbyshire et al. using multiple methods in researching children's experiences is a valuable approach that does not merely duplicate data but also offers complementary insights and understandings that may be difficult to access through reliance on a single method of data collection (2005). I found this to be true as our multiple methods and types of data generated during the children's PGD workshops were able to be compared and triangulated with data we created during other study activities and allowed for identification of perspectives of different groups of people as well as differences and similarities in responses when children were in a group or expressing views in individual discussions or interviews. Table 10 below provides a

visual summary of the various types of data generating activities we used during the

Children's PGD Workshops.

TABLE 10: PICTURES – Children's PGD Workshop Activities		
Children's PGD 1 - Opening Sports Day & Study Introduction	**Boys PGD Workshop - Writing on the Children's Views Wall**	**Girls PGD Workshop - Drawing pictures of punishments they listed in previous workshop**
Boys PGD Workshop - Ranking lists of children's mistakes and punishments	**Dice and baskets of questions for Dice Game FGD**	**Boys PGD Workshop - Body Mapping discussion**
Girls PGD Workshop - Gallery Walk and impressions of punishment drawings	**Closing Children's PGD Workshop - Certificate of Participation**	**Closing ceremony for Children's PGD Workshops**

All the workshops incorporated child-friendly research methods designed to engage

the children in the discussion and research process. While there remains considerable

debate within the field of childhood studies regarding what can be considered

authentic children's participation, I strove to provide opportunities for the children to reflect on their experience of the research process and make recommendations on how we conducted the workshops (Hart, 1992; Grover, 2004; Schenk and Williamson, 2005; James, 2007; Powell *et al.*, 2012). We continually emphasized from the first workshops that "We are all researchers" and that we (the adults) were there to learn from them (the children) as they were the experts on the lives of children in Sengerema. From the start of the workshops we continually encouraged the children to provide inputs and feedback on the workshop activities and methods. I originally intended to only conduct five (5) children's PGD workshops; however, when we asked the children for feedback after our first single-gender workshop, one of the boys clearly stated that he liked it when all the children were together. Other children agreed, so we looked at our budget and our time schedule for completion of data collection and decided to add a Closing Day workshop. The additional joint workshop was an excellent suggestion as the Closing Day workshop provided an opportunity for all the children to meet one last time as a group and afforded us time to conduct an additional activity which explored children's knowledge of and experiences with children's rights. This additional meeting also allowed us to conduct activities that provided clear closure to our research work with them. We even had a closing ceremony where each child received what we called a "Junior Researcher" certificate with their name on as well as their tote bag containing school supplies.

3.6.2.9 Household visits: participant observation and themed drawing

To assist in gaining insights into childrearing and disciplinary practices in homes as well as in schools and in the community, home visits were incorporated into the data collection activity plan. Four households were identified for home visits and themed

drawing and discussions with selected children. A total of five children participated in

the home visit and themed drawing and discussion phase of the research. (See

Appendix 8 for a list drawing themes.) Each household was linked to one of the

observation schools by having the participating child or children attending that school.

Three of the households had one child participating, and the fourth household had two

children participating. Three girls and two boys directly participated in themed drawing

and discussions. (See Table 11 below for demographic details of the four observation

households.) Once again, the households were selected with maximum variation in

mind. The households varied based on characteristics such as location, school

affiliation, head of household type and number of people and children living in the

household. (A copy of the household demographic survey questionnaire is attached as

Appendix 9.)

The head of household consented for the household, and we obtained separate verbal

approval and written assent for participation from each of the children directly

participating in the study. All five home-visit children also participated in the children's

PGD workshops. Home visits, included observation, informal discussions with

household members, and drawing assignments and discussions with child participants.

TABLE 11: DEMOGRAPHIC DESCRIPTION OF HOME VISIT CHILDREN AND HOUSEHOLDS								
Household # and Child's Name	Child		Head of Household	Schools Children Attend	Owns Home (Y/N)	# People Living at Home	# Rooms in Home	Shared Toilet (Y/N)
	Age	Sex						
Household 1 • Diana	12	F	Grandfather	Private Religious (1) In-Town	Y	7	7	N
Household 2 • Carolina • Flora	11 9	F F	Father	Government Semi-Rural	Y	11	7	N

Household 3 • Innocent	10	M	Grandmother	Private Religious (2) Near-Town	Y	7	5†	N
Household 4 • Julius	11	M	Mother	Government In-Town	N	8	3	Y
†There were three (3) additional rooms in a separate annex building on the plot.								

While the household visits were based around the themed drawing activity, this activity allowed us to visit, interact with, and observe household activities in general. It also enabled us to obtain empirical data that was not available through our other data collection activities including observations of interactions between household members and also how the structural set up of a child's home environment can affect parental use of physical forms of correction and children's exposure to physical punishments. This is discussed in more detail in Chapter 6.

3.6.2.10 Media Review

From the start of the study I knew I wanted to keep a log of relevant media coverage associated with current issues and public discourse around child discipline, children's upbringing, punishment and violence. After discovering that several of the Sunday national newspapers ran children's upbringing or *malezi* columns, I decided to keep a log of these columns and the topics covered as an indication of discourse associated with parenting and childrearing at the national level. This source of data tied back into my study conceptual framework and the goal of gaining a sense of views and perspectives on child discipline, physical punishment and violence at a national level. Three of the national Sunday newspapers available in Sengerema ran parenting columns, the Kiswahili newspaper, <u>*Mwananchi*</u>, and two English newspapers, the <u>Sunday News</u> and the <u>Citizen on Sunday</u>. Jerry and I collected these three Sunday

newspapers each week and kept a chronological log summarising the articles featured in the parenting columns. In addition, the Kiswahili newspaper and one of the English-language newspapers ran weekly children's opinion columns soliciting the views of children on various topics and questions relevant to their daily lives. A chronological log was kept in Excel, extracting the following variables from the columns tracked: 1) date; 2) newspaper name and publisher; 3) column and article titles; 4) page number; 5) article summary/abstract; 6) author; and 7) any associated graphic/illustrations. Hard copies of the articles were retained and subsequently scanned and stored in the study associated Nvivo 11 project file.

Separate chronological lists of the titles of the articles appearing in each of the tracked columns were compiled for comparison with titles and topics discussed in other columns. We kept the weekly media log from April 2016 – April 2017 as an indication of the national level discourse around parenting and child socialisation issues in Tanzania. Many of the articles, especially those in the English language newspapers, reflected a more urban and financially resourced perspective with references to international experts, ideals and commodities. Chapter 6 details an analysis and findings associated with the media review and how it relates to the primary data collected as part of this study.

3.6.2.11 Document review, field notes, and reflections

In addition to collection and review of relevant regulations, policies and official documentation, I kept regular field notes from the start of my entry into the field throughout the life of the study. In addition to observations and interactions which took place in Sengerema, I also captured observations and proceedings of impromptu

meetings and conferences that I attended in the role of researcher in other locations

such as Dar es Salaam, Tanzania and Kampala, Uganda. These notes primarily served to

document observations, informal discussions and interactions and my personal

reflections on day-to-day experiences. I use the term "The Field" in an extremely wide

and far reaching manner. The Field means Sengerema. The Field also represents

meetings, interviews and discussions I participated in while in Dar es Salaam and even

through virtual online forums. The Field ended up representing any relevant

interaction, observation or thought that I had during the entire period of active data

collection and even into the period of writing up as it is arguable that due to a social

scientist's personal engagement with their research they never leave the field as their

subjective lived experience are continually brought to their work.

3.7 Data management and analysis

As noted in Table 3: Sequence of Data Collection Activities April 2016 – May 2017

above, a wide variety of audio, textual and visual data were generated as part of this

study. The following sections provide detailed description of the data management,

analyses and interpretation processes of these data.

3.7.1 Data management

The wide range of data collected and created as part of this study were stored and

managed using Nvivo 11. Internal source data folders were created for each data

collection activity including a folder where I stored electronic versions of field notes

and reflections. I also used the Nivo 11 Memos function to create analytical memos

where I reflected on the data as I was reading through transcripts and other source

materials. These memos sometimes linked with specific transcripts or pieces of data

and at other times were broad reflections on a range of data. I used the Nvivo 11 Node function to create a tiered system of categories, themes and sub-themes within which I linked data excerpts associated with those categories and themes. This Nvivo 11 project file was kept secure by using multi-layer password protection. Hard copies of study-related documents and materials such as interview or activity notes, informed consents, field note diaries and drawings were stored in a secure cabinet to ensure participant privacy and confidentiality. A participant coding and pseudonym list was developed in order to maintain confidentiality as it relates to study participant identity and their link to quotes, drawings and other possibly identifying materials. The next section details how these data were explored, analysed and interpreted.

3.7.2 Data Analysis

In line with an on-going, iterative-inductive approach, data were analysed throughout the life of the study. This flexible analysis strategy allowed for the pursuit of new lines of inquiry which arose during the field work process (Green et al., 2007). I primarily employed what Green and Thorogood refer to as an 'emic' level of analysis. Such an analytical position assumes that the researcher serves more as a conduit through which individual subjective experiences may be represented (Judith Green & Thorogood, 2004: 205). Green and Thorogood suggest that "the task of presentation of the raw data to a wider audience may be more akin to editing than analysis" (Ibid). Therefore, my analytical goal was to explore the data drawing on the thematic content analysis approach and the constant comparison method of grounded theory while maintaining the integrity of representations of participants' worldviews. As most of the research and literature on child discipline and punishment comes from a Western

perspective, representation of these views and experiences of children and adults from the global south serve to fill a gap in the current literature on the topic.

Transcription and translation of recorded interviews progressed throughout the period of time I spent in Sengerema and for several months following my departure. This on-going process allowed me an opportunity to read through transcripts and gain deeper insights and familiarity with the details of interview discussions while still in Sengerema. Review and cursory analysis and comparison of translated transcripts, field notes and reflections, and other forms of data collected while in the field such as the Sunday parenting columns and regulation and policy documents allowed me to make adjustments to interview tools and to follow new lines of inquiry as they arose within early data review and analysis. This facilitated reflecting on initial interpretations and subsequently place into question our initial ideas and theories. An example of this was the incorporation of questions regarding the relationship between Fear and Discipline into our discussions and activities as these concepts were introduced by and debate among teachers during our Teacher's PGD Workshop.

3.7.3 Coding, categories and themes

Once I had completed active field work in Sengerema, I began to conduct more in-depth and systematic analysis of data. A coding framework based on my study aims and objectives, semi-structured interview tools and study conceptual framework was created in Nvivo 11 and tested by coding five (5) sample documents. This exercise allowed me to assess the appropriateness of the initial draft coding framework and identify themes and redundant or infrequently used codes. I then revised the framework, collapsing some nodes into each other. As I read through and coded more

data I added additional "child nodes" which were relevant and appeared frequently within the text of the transcripts and other data. Looking horizontally across my coded data set using Nvivo node summaries I compared cases (e.g. IDI, PGD, and field note data) and further compared and contrasted data vertically by drilling down with cases.

My analysis of the parenting columns which appeared in the Sunday Kiswahili and English language national newspapers draws upon newspaper content analysis practices used to promote and assess public health campaigns (Brownson et al., 1996; Granner, et al., 2010; Hubbell & Dearing, 2003; Viljoen, et al., 2016) as well as Foucauldian approaches to discourse analysis. Foucault discussed discourse at a macro level, and for him all social practices have a discursive element which constructs, allows and limits how we understand an object, topic or practice at a particular historical moment (Hall, 1992: 291). Foucault further discussed discourse and knowledge in the context of power arguing that knowledge and discourses are created and controlled by the dominant political and institutional powers at a given historical time period and used to regulate people's conduct. He did, however, reject the notion that discursive power only constrains and limits, but he went on to suggest that discourse has the power to enable, create knowledge and produce reality (Foucault, 1980). With this in mind I explored the visual and textual representations and discussions of parenting and childrearing practices across the three national newspapers considering how they relate to knowledge creation, power relationships and the promotion of particular parenting practices at this time in history. I considered and compared who provided the content and visual representations, which target audience the content was likely targeted, and what social rules may be in place in

order to permit identification of particular ideas to be seen as true or false (Cheek, 2004; Graham, 2005). Chapter 6 presents a detailed discussion and analysis of findings as they relate to the media review of parenting columns.

The next two sections address issues of reflexivity including reflexivity as it relates to my position as a researcher and reflexivity as it relates to methodology.

3.8 Reflexivity and positionality

Transparency and reflexivity in the research process with regard to a researcher's positionality and theoretical perspectives is necessary for assessing the quality and reliability of qualitative research processes and findings (Day, 2012). By its very nature, qualitative research methodologies incorporate the researcher as a data collection tool. The life experiences, socio-cultural background, and beliefs about the world that a researcher holds as part of their conscious or unconscious identity are important variables that have an effect on the research process (Bourke, 2014). In this regard, making explicit and reflecting on my positionality within this research voyage will help enable the reader to understand who I am and how my background, beliefs and experiences have influenced the process and findings of this research. Below is a detailed description of my background, experiences and journey to arriving to this topic.

I am a 50+-year old, single white American woman with no children who grew up in a working-class family on the northeast coast of the USA. In my Irish/Italian 1960s household a spank on the bottom was sparingly used as a childrearing strategy for correcting errant children. As the 1960/70s were a pre-"timeout" era, the physical

correction that was used in our household at that time, primarily by our mother, was not considered extraordinary in the community where I grew up.

My father was a union carpenter and very active in union and workers' rights issues. I believe Dad's engagement with local politics as an advocate for his union instilled in me a recognition of the need for people to advocate for themselves and engage with local political and institutional bodies to achieve social justice. Mom was an operating room nurse and always demonstrated dedication to both her work and her family. As a university undergraduate I studied English Literature and minored in Sociology, and in line with the community health and social justice values instilled by my upbringing, I started work with the U.S. National Institutes of Health (NIH) AIDS Clinical Trials Group (ACTG) in the early 1990s. While with the ACTG I worked with AIDS activists serving as a bridge between the activists and ACTG clinical research teams working to develop clinical knowledge and treatments to combat HIV. I worked with the ACTG until 2001 when I returned to school to complete a Masters in Global Public Health specialising in health education and behaviour change.

Since 2003 I have been living and working in East Africa. I was first in Uganda from 2003-2008 and then Tanzania from end of 2008 to the present. From 2003-2012 I worked with Baylor College of Medicine, a U.S.-based medical school, to collaboratively design, develop and manage large-scale paediatric HIV care, treatment and training programmes with government authorities and local health professionals through national referral health facilities. My interest in VAC and children's health and wellbeing issues in East Africa stemmed from my work and experiences in our programme's clinics.

On many occasions I struggled to reconcile in my mind the disparities in healthcare access between my own country and that of the children and families our clinics served. I regularly recognised how the well-intentioned and very political support and guidance of international donor programmes such as the U.S. Presidents Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) often did not acknowledge or consider local realities and knowledge, inadvertently leading to unintended consequences as a result of imposed programme goals and requirements. These issues were complex as without international donor funding HIV treatment would likely not have become widely available at all. I regularly had to adjust my expectations and understandings of "normal" and how I thought interactions should play out so that I could be of most use to the children and families our programmes served. I recall an occasion when I was working with our clinic counsellors to develop our clinic's HIV status disclosure protocol. When I discussed promoting the mothers' disclosure of their HIV+ status to their partners, the counsellors told me that the mothers typically resisted this Western-model of infection network disclosure saying "Can I come to live with you when he beats me or throws me out after I tell him I'm HIV positive?" The limits of my knowledge and experience of local systems and strategies for handling day-to-day challenges continually humbled me, and I grew to recognise and question my own Western paternalistic versions of right realities. Many similar instances throughout my years living and working in Uganda and Tanzania have made me sensitive to assumptions that Western or outside models of doing things are best or better than locally constructed solutions to locally understood issues. I believe my sensitivity to these typically well-intentioned notions has shaped my research focus and led to its

intention to create a space for voices from the global south to be heard as experts on their own changing social worlds.

I cannot overlook the influence of having been spanked, or as defined by the VACS—having experienced violence (UNICEF Tanzania et al., 2011), as part of my own upbringing and how that experience has shaped this work. Views on spanking as part of childrearing in the USA have change dramatically since the 1960/70, including a large body of literature debating its use and detrimental effects (Straus and Kantor, 1994; Vlasis-Cicvaric *et al.*, 2007; Gershoff, 2010; Lansford *et al.*, 2017; Miller-Perrin and Perrin, 2018). While I am not an advocate for physical punishment of children, I do recognise that transitions in the views and practices on its use are grounded in historical, geographic, social-cultural, and economic realities that have taken place in the global north over time. This recognition and my personal experience of seeing the transition in my own family across generations influenced my inclusion of a time element in this exploratory work and the incorporation of the concept of liminality as a component of my studies conceptual frame. Therefore, based on my own life experiences and exposure to the different lived realities of others through my work and travel, my research is applied in nature and designed, conducted, and analysed using a social constructionist epistemological lens.

I recognise that it is not only my life experiences and views on the world that have influenced this research. My physical characteristics and position of privilege as a mature white outsider woman researching child discipline and punishment in East Africa must be acknowledged. Based on these characteristics contributing to who I am and who I am perceived to be, I had to stay aware of assumptions people might make

about me, including assumptions that I was there to judge and to promote an agenda of Western styled childrearing.

3.9 Methodological Reflexivity

As presented earlier in section 3.1 of this chapter, the embedded, iterative nature of ethnographic methods and the democratising characteristics of participatory research practices allow for enhanced opportunities for building rapport and gaining insights into insider perspectives and interpretations of their own social worlds (Cornwall and Jewkes, 1995; Nespor, 1998; Savage, 2000; James, 2001; Whitehead, 2004; Buchbinder *et al.*, 2006; Christensen and James, 2008; Hunleth, 2011b, 2013a). While these methodologies can support a 'bottom-up' approach and create spaces for participants to enact and speak their own stories (Mand, 2012; Wessells, 2015), they are not without their limitations.

A mounting body of work cautions researchers of the potential pitfalls of research methods claiming to be participatory and facilitators of children's voice and agency (Christensen, 2004; Gallacher & Gallagher, 2008; James, 2007; Pells, 2012). Christensen and James in their work on conducting research with children emphasise the need for researcher reflexivity and an acknowledgement that the individual researcher's conceptualisation of children and children's agency shapes the research they carry out (2008: 3). In this work I recognised that simply due to my physical size and my contextually recognised place as an adult in the social hierarchy, it was impossible to achieve complete recognition as a "native insider" of children's lives and culture. Christensen in her discussion on power and representation in children's involvement in ethnographic research recommends that researchers see children simply as other

human beings, and that researchers do not need to become like children or behave childishly to engage with them. She suggests that engagement with children is achieved by building relationships, fostering dialogue and that the research practices used should reflect the children's interests, values and everyday experiences (2004).

We did take steps to minimize the perceived and real power differentials between the research team and the children. Emma and Marco, two of the field assistants supporting the children's PGD workshop activities, were trained teachers. We agreed that they would not introduce themselves as teachers as we felt that the children's identification with the teacher / pupil relationship might limit the children's freedom of expression (Hunleth, 2011b). On several occasions while conducting the workshops, I needed to remind the field assistants that we were not there to teach the children, rather we were there to learn from the them and that we needed to resist temptations to guide or correct responses and ideas expressed by them (Ibid).

As a social researcher and through the experiences I encountered throughout the process of conducting this research, the need for methodological reflexivity in research has moved from an academic recommendation to a lived experience that will shape my future research endeavours.

3.10 Summary

This chapter presented an overview of the methodological rationale and epistemological position in which this study is situated. While ethnography serves as the study's overarching methodology, this chapter demonstrates how this work draws on a wide variety of classically ethnographic as well as participatory research methods in order to gain insights into both children's and adults' perspectives and experience of

child discipline and punishment over time (liminality) and across space (the layers of the ecological model). I illuminate the details of my research activities and processes and my subjective influence on them, as well as present how the data was co-created, considered and interpreted so that the readers of this work can critically assess its credibility and transferability.

CHAPTER 4.0: Creating and Measuring Meaning – Ambiguity and Resistance in the Liminal Space

> **"Global measurement systems cannot avoid using categories for enumeration and analysis that cover wide swaths of meaning and practice, but this makes it difficult to capture the complexity of local conditions. To apply global categories to local conditions requires translating particular words and concepts into another language and converting cultural ideas such as notions of parenting and kinship from one cultural space to another."**
>
> Sally Engle Merry & Summer Wood (2015) Quantification and the Paradox of Measurement: Translating Children's Rights in Tanzania,
> *Current Anthropology, 56(2):205-229*

This chapter presents varied conceptualisations of violence-related terminology and traces how these conceptualisations shape both individual and collective beliefs, actions and experiences in Tanzania. The chapter draws on data generated as part of my fieldwork experiences, as well as a review of relevant policy documents and literature associated with children's rights and resistance. In this chapter I present voices and enactments of children's upbringings by different actors from their various positions within this study's socio-ecological model. As presented in the previous chapters, I take the standpoint that my socio-ecological model is embedded within a liminal space where social actors consider, negotiate and enact their imaginings of Tanzanian childhoods, children's rights and childrearing practices as rooted in a rapidly transforming society. The negotiation and friction within this transformational space is represented through participants across the socio-ecological model's reflections on and understanding of terminology associated with children's upbringing and safety,

including discussions and diverse understandings of terms such as discipline, corporal punishment and violence.

This chapter opens with a presentation of the literature on the challenges of measuring complex social phenomena such as violence, including the challenges of translating the methods and definitions associated with measurement transnationally. As an illustration of the frictions and negotiations associated with the development of meaning and measurement, especially when transnational funders are involved, I go on to present the views of a national-level Tanzanian child rights activist regarding his experiences of involvement in planning and development of national VAC initiatives. The chapter goes on to illustrate and discuss variation and interplay between study participants' understandings of key violence-related terms such as discipline, corporal punishment and violence and how these subjective imaginings relate with Tanzania VACS findings on physical violence. The chapter goes on to discuss the utility of the term corporal punishment as spoken in English, and presents how enactments and conceptualisations of the term are linked with justice throughout Tanzanian society. The chapter closes by arguing for bi-directional creation of meaning and measures, presenting as an illustration children's and adults' use of the term *kudekeza* or "pampering" when discussing childrearing without the use of physical punishments.

4.1 The Complexities of Measurement and Meaning

Interest in developing means of quantifying, assessing and comparing various aspects of social life in fields such as health, education and governance has grown in recent years. The field of violence studies has grappled with challenges in developing techniques and measures suitable for learning about and comparing research on this

complex social phenomenon for decades (Brown, et al., 2018; Fraga, 2016; Guedes, et al., 2016; Heise, 2013). Initial research on violence as a public health issue began with investigations of intimate partner violence (IPV). Early means of violence measurement in the 1980s relied on what were referred to as "gateway questions" such as "Does your husband beat you or otherwise abuse you?" and the 1990s introduced "act-based" surveys and measurement tools (Heise, 2013). Act-based violence measures have both advantages and limitations in they can allow comparison across settings, they do not require respondents to self-label as abused, and they can facilitate estimation of the frequency and prevalence of different acts, e.g. punching, slapping, sexual assault. Limitations of such measures include de-contextualisation of the acts and the privileging of physical acts over emotional acts as they are more visible and easier to quantify and measure (Ibid).

Engle Merry and Wood discuss the challenges and paradoxes of attempts to quantify, measure and compare social phenomena cross-culturally in their case study of the pilot test of indicators developed to assess compliance with the UNCRC in Tanzania. Through this case study they demonstrate how global standards and measurement systems face challenges of translation and commensuration when applied to the wide variety of local systems of governance, community and social life around the world. They point out that "some of the measures constructed at the global level are unfamiliar or inappropriate to local communities" (2015). They suggest that conceptual translation and commensuration, especially when attempting to measure things that previously were not perceived as countable or even worthy of measure or notice, reveals the paradoxes inherent to such global measuring systems. Further, the

decisions regarding what to count or measure is often controlled by governments and experts. This makes visible those things or issues perceived important to these groups while overlooking other issues that might have great importance to local communities (Ibid).

The next section applies Engle Merry and Wood's perspective to study findings and the friction described by one study participant regarding his experience of the process of development of the Tanzania VACS and the Tanzania Law of the Child Act, 2009. This key informant illustrates the power hierarchies inherent in processes of law making, research agenda setting and meaning making, especially in the global south when external funding organisations are involved.

4.2 The Transformation of VAC in Tanzania

In February 2017 I interviewed a Tanzanian national-level child rights activist in Dar es Salaam. During our discussion, the activist told me that prior to 2006 and the launching of the U.N. independent expert's world report on VAC, VAC was not recognised as an issue by many nations including Tanzania. Similar to the process described by Engle Merry and Woods whereby governments and identified experts create the priorities for measurement, the child rights activist described how he and others working with vulnerable children at the community level felt they were not meaningfully included in early national VAC planning efforts. They perceived early efforts as only including urban elite specialists and being controlled by international organisations with funding.

> "The process from the beginning was like... those with the money they were driving. So for you... the rest of you, you have to sit in the back. The cockpit was full of specialised, specific organizations that had funding, and they were the ones deciding which direction the NPA [the Tanzania VAC National Plan of Action] would work and how it should flow. So in the back we were not very

comfortable. In the lab [the first NPA working meeting] it was excellent. It was nourishing. But after the lab nothing was happening. The process was controlled by the cockpit and they locked themselves inside. So we had to go and bang there. You need to open this cockpit. We need to be involved and need to be informed. We need to know what is going on. …and that is when things changed."

IDI: Tanzanian national-level child rights activist – man in his 40s [KI-21]

He went on to explain that from his perspective, grassroots organisations working in the field of protection and care of vulnerable children were not involved in the development of the Law of the Child Act nor the design of the VAC survey. He further explained that these groups were, however, involved in supporting the promotion of the Law of the Child Act, 2009 and the dissemination of VACS findings which were launched in September 2011. This illustrates the hierarchical power dynamics involved with the codification of law and the development of the global measures as described by Engle-Merry and others (Lister, 2000; Engle Merry & Wood, 2015; Tomm, 2011).

Engle Merry in her anthropological work exploring transnational human rights and global justice refers to people in positions similar to the child rights activist as "rights translators." These rights translators support the vernacularisation of transnational rights ideas and discourses, adapting them to local institutions and communities. Engle Merry describes the complexities and double-edged nature of the roles these translators play:

"Translators are both powerful and vulnerable. They work in a field of conflict and contradiction, able to manipulate others who have less knowledge than they do but still subject to exploitation by those who installed them. As knowledge brokers, translators channel the flow of information but they are often distrusted, because their ultimate loyalties are ambiguous and they may be double agents…. Translation takes place within fields of unequal power. Translators' work is influenced by who is funding them; their ethnic, gender, or other social commitments; and institutional frameworks that create

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opportunities for wealth and power…. Moreover, translators work within established discursive fields that constrain the repertoire of ideas and practices available to them." (Engle Merry, 2006)

The frustration and protest of the grassroots activists as they demanded to be part of the law making, research agenda setting and measurement creation processes illustrates the tensions inherent to these translational or vernacularisation processes (van Gennep, 1960; Turner, 1964, 1977; Tsing, 2005; Engle Merry, 2006).

The Tanzania VACS was a product of collaboration between UNICEF Tanzania, the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) and the Government of Tanzania's Muhimbili University of Health and Allied Sciences (MUHAS). UNICEF Tanzania coordinated the survey with MUHAS carrying out the survey and CDC's Division of Violence Prevention, National Center for Injury Prevention and Control providing guidance and technical assistance (UNICEF Tanzania, et al., 2011: 1). As noted in Chapter 1 of this thesis, the Tanzania VACS has served as a model for other African nations to design and conduct their own VACS. These national surveys are in response to the UN Secretary General's global call to action for nations to assess the prevalence and magnitude of VAC in their own countries and reflect an act-based approach violence measurement strategy that allows for transnational comparison, but is limited in its ability to capture the contextual meaning ascribed to the individual acts (An-na'im, 1994; Boyden, 2015; Engle Merry & Wood, 2015; Fraga, 2016; Heise, 2013; Krug, Dahlberg, Mercy, et al., 2002; Twum-Danso Imoh, 2012a).

The Tanzania VACS and subsequently other regional VACS used a three-pronged approach to defining violence. This approach groups violent acts into three categories:

1) emotional; 2) physical; and 3) sexual. Table 12 below outlines the definitions used

by the Tanzania VACS for these categories or forms of violence.

TABLE 12: Tanzania VACS Definitions of Emotional, Physical andSexual Violence (UNICEF Tanzania, et al., 2011: xi)
Emotional Violence: emotional abuse such as being called bad names, being made to feel unwanted, or being threatened with abandonment.
Physical Violence: physical acts of violence such as being slapped, punched, hit with a fist (referred to as "punched" throughout the report), kicked, or whipped, or threatened with a weapon such as a gun or knife.
Sexual Violence: Sexual violence is any sexual act that is perpetrated against someone's will and encompasses a range of offenses, including a completed non-consensual sex act (i.e., rape), attempted non-consensual sex acts, abusive sex contact (i.e., unwanted touching), and non-contact sexual abuse (e.g., threatened sexual violence, exhibitionism, verbal sexual harassment).

My work specifically focuses on physical violence and the disentanglement of Tanzania

VACS measurements of physical violence and community perceptions and experiences

of the specific acts attributed to that category of violence in the VACS. The next section

describes the complications I experienced in discussing and trying to make sense of the

diverse understanding of key violence-related terminology among different actors at

different levels in Tanzania.

4.3 Defining Discipline, Corporal Punishment and Violence

Very soon after settling in Sengerema and starting my formal interviews, I realised that

the translations of violence-related terminology in my study tools were an issue. In my

first in-depth interview, which was with a retired primary school teacher, I realised

that the term "corporal punishment" was not well translated in my interview guide.

The initial translation of my interview tools was done by an independent local

translator who had translated corporal punishment as *adhabu ngumu* and *adhabu kali*. The literal translations of *adhabu ngumu* and *adhabu kali* are "strong punishment" and "severe punishment" respectively. While listening to the discussion with "*Mwalimu*" (meaning teacher) and hearing Jerry read out the questions regarding corporal punishment, I realised these translations were laden with value judgements based on their assignment of the descriptive qualities of "strong" or "severe." I realised that these translations would misinform my work if I continued to use them throughout my data collection process. This initial interview experience sharply reminded me of the complexities of conducting research in a foreign language and the contested and subjective nature of definitions, especially in cross-cultural exchanges. This experience emphasised to me how interpretive work begins from the point of designing informed consents and other study documentation, i.e. before starting to talk with people during the data collection process (Esposito, 2001; Temple, 2002).

I discussed identification of an appropriate translation with my NIMR-Mwanza advisor, my Kiswahili language teacher and consulted several Kiswahili-English dictionaries to identify the best translation of corporal punishment as spoken in English. "Corporal punishment" was not listed in the dictionaries but the word "corporal" did appear and was listed as a rank in the military or being "about the body". I finally decided to use *adhabu ya kimwili* ,which literally translates in English to "physical punishment". The Kiswahili versions of the Education (Corporal Punishment) Regulation, 1978 and 2002 use the translation of corporal punishment *adhabu ya viboko* which translates to punishment with strokes or whipping. Although this is an official government document, I did not want to use this translation as it assigns a specific type of

punishment to the term. As the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child links corporal and physical punishment in their 2006 definition, and similar research in Ghana used the term physical punishment to describe punishments of the body (Twum-Danso Imoh, 2013), I decided to use *adhabu ya kimwili* as I felt it was a less leading and restrictive translation. This early fieldwork linguistic experience underscored the need for me to first establish how key terms relevant to my research topic are locally defined and used by different social actors. The next sections present my findings on people's understandings and enactments of the key VAC-related terms discipline, corporal punishment and violence.

4.3.1 What is discipline?

As a term, discipline can carry multiple and vastly different meanings whether you use it as a noun or verb. When study participants were asked "What is discipline?" they all defined it in terms of a noun related to specific behaviours such as respect, obedience and adherence to socially agreed upon norms. Both boys and girls participating in the study defined discipline in terms of behaviours such as showing respect by greeting parents, elders, teachers and even siblings and other children regardless of age and by obeying rules and directives from parents and other adults. One elder in the community, a farmer and herbalist, described a disciplined child as one who performs their responsibilities without complaint.

Although the practice of formally greeting elders with the Kiswahili greeting of "*Shikamoo*", which means "I give you my respect" repeatedly came up, some adults went further to suggest that discipline is much more than a greeting. It was said to be reflected in the way a person dresses, their time management, cleanliness or hygiene

as well as in their language and the words they choose and their personal interactions with others.

> "[Discipline] it is implementation of the action which is correct to be implemented. For instance greeting, that is discipline. To bypass a person is not correct. Dressing style, you need to wear [clothing] properly and clean. That is discipline. Also some people think discipline is all about greeting only. Even the way you are is about discipline. The way you talk with people. We don't take this just for the children, even we elders it is discipline…"
>
> IDI: Grandparent and retired primary school teacher – [KI-14]

Obedience was cited by a number of adult participants as a characteristic of discipline. There were, however, varying opinions on the relationship of obedience to discipline. The child's rights activist who talked about "the cockpit" described a relationship between fear, obedience and discipline. He suggested that in teaching children about harm, children might learn to have fear of things that might harm them. However, he went on to clarify:

> "Fear does not lead to discipline. It leads to obedience…. Discipline is about learning… Discipline is about understanding, contextualizing, adopting. Having it inner…. It's you and [it] empowers you to make an informed decision about what you can and what you can't [do], and why. That is discipline."
>
> *IDI: Tanzanian national-level child rights activist – man in his 40s [KI-21]*

Similar to the comments of the child rights activist, one of the teachers from the Teachers' PGD workshop who studied in Europe for his advance degree in education, reflected on the relationship between fear and discipline during the Teachers' PGD workshop. He felt that if fear is required for a child to have discipline then what that child has is "fake discipline" as he called it [T-01]. He was the only teacher who openly vocalised this stance, while the other teachers who expressed opinions identified fear as a necessary ingredient for discipline. His experiences of studying education in

Europe may have influenced his perspectives. The child rights activist's perspectives, too, may have reflected the close work he does with international children's rights organisations like Save the Children and UNICEF. Their exposure to and experiences with international ideas may have influenced their thinking and offering of alternative perspectives.

One teacher from the Teachers' PGD workshop described discipline as "the ability to follow instructions" [T-01], and a district police officers I spoke with regarding VAC said "discipline is obedience" and that it is demonstrated by a person's "obeying the laws and regulations set out by the community" [KI-09]. These links with obedience and discipline, especially from individuals in the education and law enforcement professions reflect the structure of their respective fields. Law enforcement is based on the understanding and adherence to the law, while an essential part of classroom education depends on a child's ability to follow lesson instructions.

Discipline used as a verb is more about disciplinary measures such as beating with *fimbo* (a stick), slapping, pinching and the like. The child rights activist suggested that clarifying the term "discipline" in the public consciousness is one of his organisations advocacy goals. During my interview with him, he pointed out that he was purposefully not using the word discipline in our discussion. "Did you notice I'm avoiding using the word 'discipline'?" He said his organisation was concerned with the Kiswahili translation of the word discipline, *nidhamu*. He said that people sometimes use the words *nidhamu* (discipline) and *adhabu* (punishment) interchangeably. When people reference the word *adhabu* in relation to disciplinary acts such as those associated with physical punishment, they are typically referring to discipline as a verb. He

suggested that his organisation is promoting the use of the qualities associated with discipline such as respect rather than using the word discipline due to its confusing linguistic twist. This linguistic twist also occurs in English and acknowledgement of the different linguistic uses of the word is endorsed by those who promote to the Positive Discipline movement (Durrant, 2013; Durrant and Stewart-Tufescu, 2017). The comments of the activist regarding the ambiguous nature of the term stuck with me as I found myself and others using it in these interchangeable ways throughout the course of my active data collection.

4.3.2 Corporal Punishment … "Let us come up with some consensus"

On the second day of the Tanzania National Plan of Action for Violence Against Women and Children (NPAVAWC) planning meeting I attended in Dar es Salaam (30 May – 3 June 2016) the European consultant facilitator said to the group of more than 200 people, "Let us come up with some consensus this week about corporal punishment... Let's not avoid that this week." And the group did just that… avoided it! In a facilitated exercise where each table of meeting participants were asked to identify and discuss different forms of VAC and determine if they were social norms, the people at the table where I sat discussed early marriage and female genital cutting as social norms that were carried out in various parts of the country. When I questioned whether corporal punishment was a social norm, people at the table became quiet and seemingly uncomfortable as discussion slowed down and some averted eyes. A woman who appeared a bit more mature than others at the table spoke up and firmly said corporal punishment is not a social norm rather it is a "harmful traditional practices." Meeting attendees at the table briefly debated her assessment of corporal punishment

and whether it was a social norm, then slowly broke into individual side conversations while waiting for the meeting facilitators to reconvene the full meeting discussion.

In another instance, we were broken into groups of about 30 people. The group I participated in was asked to identify drivers of the different forms of VAC that were identified during the full group session. Group members discussed experiences and reflected on different acts identified as VAC. Again issues such as early marriage, sexual abuse, and female genital cutting were discussed and again the group kept avoiding talking about corporal punishment. Corporal punishment was left as the last form of violence on the list to discuss with little time left in the breakout session. When our group's chosen facilitator asked about corporal punishment, the group stayed quiet. A young man working with a faith-based NGO supporting children finally said that he felt misinterpretations of biblical text promoted corporal punishment of children. There was nothing further said as the session ended, and the topic of coming up with consensus on corporal punishment never came up again during the NPA meeting – *Fieldnotes* – 31 May – 03 June 2016.

4.3.3 Negotiating Meaning and Demonstrations of Resistance

James Scott and others in their work exploring peasant protest and "everyday resistance" view resistance as a struggle with power and the powerful. Scott argues that resistance exists on a continuum and that by solely focusing on forms of resistance that involve organised protest or participation in broad social movements with collective identities, daily forms of individual resistance are overlooked. "Everyday resistance" is described as the ways people act in their daily lives in order to undermine power. Everyday resistance is often quiet and disguised and includes

enactments such as foot-dragging, sarcasm, misunderstanding, passivity and avoidance (Scott, 1987; Vinthagen and Johansson, 2013). The hidden nature or everyday resistance makes it challenging to research. The avoidance of participation in discussions of corporal punishment by those who are aware of and involved with rights translation demonstrates how people may be using everyday resistance and the strategy of avoidance to push back against and simply maneuverer within a transforming societal terrain that is more and more entangled with global children's rights discourses and ideals.

The NPA meeting was attended by several hundred local and international NGO representatives, representatives of global agencies, academics and invited experts. Most attendees were Tanzanian. This group of people constituted the influencers and the "rights translators" of the nation with regard to child development, wellbeing and protection (Engle Merry, 2006). In many cases their careers and their incomes were linked in some way with global conceptualisations of children's rights principles, rhetoric and ideals. As noted in Section 4.2, Engle-Merry describes the precarious position of rights translators, "translators work within established discursive fields that constrain the repertoire of ideas and practices available to them" (Ibid). The silence or avoidance of discussing and "coming up with consensus on corporal punishment" could reflect a hesitance to discuss the complexities of the variety of understandings of the term, especially if local consensus does not align with global measurements and conceptualisations.

The fact that the NPA meeting facilitators and many of the meeting organisers and invited expert were foreign nationals, my added presence as a foreigner at the table

and in the breakout session likely contributed to people's reluctance to openly discussing their views and experiences of corporal punishment. Although consensus on a working definition of corporal punishment among specialists would have been a significant achievement, a practical definition, applicable in communities and people's out-of-work daily lives, would have been quite another (Engle Merry, 2006; Engle Merry & Wood, 2015; Ripoll-Núñez & Rohner, 2006;Twum-Danso Imoh, 2012b).
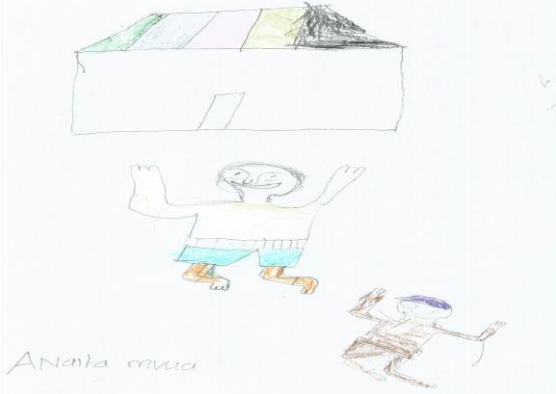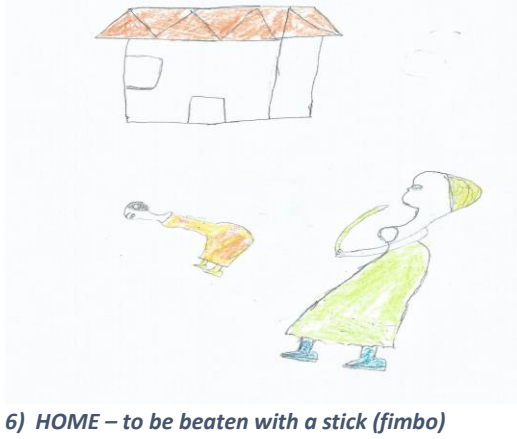
A similar demonstration of resistance by avoidance took place in the Teachers' PGD workshop. When I asked the teachers to provide their understanding of the English language term corporal punishment, the teacher who had received his advanced degree in Europe re-directed the question back to me and asked if I could provide a general definition of the term "because we are getting some troubles in understanding the term corporal punishment in our Swahili language." I suspected this was an attempt to understand where I stood on the topic, so I attempted to reassure him that I recognised there are a variety of understandings and that I wanted to learn about the teachers' understanding of the term as spoken in English. He jokingly responded with "so we should not answer like we are in the exam room," and then remained quiet about the matter. I believe his question, follow-up comment and lack of further participation in the discussion about the term reflected his exposure to Western conceptualisations of global children's rights discourse during his studies abroad and his assumption that I was a promoter of global children's rights ideals and rhetoric.

The next section summaries and discusses the variety of understandings of the term corporal punishment as expressed by actors across this study's ecological model.

4.3.4 What is corporal punishment?

When I asked children during in-depth interviews "What is corporal punishment?" none of the children recognised the term when spoken in English. When asked if they knew the term *adhabu ya kimwil*, i.e. physical punishment*,* the children said they knew it and listed examples such as strokes (beating with a stick), pinching and slapping. One girl also mentioned "boxing" or to be punched. When the children were asked to list punishments they experienced at school, home or in the community during their respective boys' and girls' PGD workshops, they gave a wider range of responses with regard to physical punishments. Below is a representative sample of drawings of the physical punishments the boys and girls listed during the Boys' and Girls' PGD Workshops. Getting beaten with f*imbo* or sticks featured prominently across the three settings of home, school, and in the community. Staying in uncomfortable positions for extended periods of time such kneeling, "holding ears" (bending over and wrapping arms through the legs and holds on to ears), and "calling rain" (kneeling while holding hands in the air and opening and closing the hands) was common in both schools and in some homes. These punishments are illustrated as drawings 1, 3, 4 and 5 in the below Table 13. Non-physical punishments, such as warnings, social isolation, removal of privileges (for example, not being allowed to go out to play), and cleaning the bathrooms at school were also listed by the children as punishments given in the different contexts of their lives. As illustrated by both girls and boys the most severe punishments typically take place in the community with being tied and beaten, cut or burned reported among the most severe of community punishments (See drawings 9 and 10).

TABLE 13: Boys' and Girls' Drawings of Physical Punishments In the Settings of Schools, Homes and Communities	
Boys' PGD Workshop #2 (25 March 2017)	**Girls' PGD Workshop #2 (01 April 2017)**
1) SCHOOL - to be made to kneel down	*2) SCHOOL - to be beaten with a stick or fimbo*
3) SCHOOL & HOME – "to call rain"- to kneel and hold up your hands and wave your fingers up and down for a long time	*4) SCHOOL - to be made to kneel down*
5) SCHOOL & HOME: to hold ears and be beaten with a stick (fimbo)	*6) HOME – to be beaten with a stick (fimbo)*

7) HOME - to be beaten with a stick (fimbo)

8) HOME - to be denied food

9) COMMUNITY – to be tied with rope and beaten

10) COMMUNITY - to be tied with rope and have hands cut

11) COMMUNITY - to be beaten by the community police

12) COMMUNITY - to be hit on the head with the knuckles of a fist

The avoidance of discussing the term corporal punishment by the teacher and attendees at the NPA meeting, and the children's complete lack of recognition of the term as spoken in English raises into question the utility of this term when discussing children's lives and upbringing. This demonstrates how corporal punishment as a term

as spoken in English is used and recognised within academic and global policy and rights discourses, but can present challenges in translation and meaning outside these groups. Table 14 below summarises other study participants' responses to the question, "What is corporal punishment?" I did not directly ask caregivers during their respective caregiver PGD workshops about their understanding of the term corporal punishment as spoken in English and the Family level response is thus limited by this.

TABLE 14: Defining Corporal Punishment Across the Socio-Ecological Model
GLOBAL
UN Committee on the Rights of the Child - 42 Session - Geneva, Switzerland **GENERAL COMMENT No. 8 – Section 11 - 15 May-2 June 2006** "The Committee defines 'corporal' or 'physical' punishment as any punishment in which physical force is used and intended to cause some degree of pain or discomfort, however light. Most involves hitting ("smacking", "slapping", "spanking") children, with the hand or with an implement - a whip, stick, belt, shoe, wooden spoon, etc. But it can also involve, for example, kicking, shaking or throwing children, scratching, pinching, biting, pulling hair or boxing ears, forcing children to stay in uncomfortable positions, burning, scalding or forced ingestion (for example, washing children's mouths out with soap or forcing them to swallow hot spices). In the view of the Committee, corporal punishment is invariably degrading."
NATIONAL
Education (Corporal Punishment) Regulations, 2002 – Government of Tanzania "...'corporal punishment' means punishment by striking a pupil on his hand or on his normally clothed buttocks with a light, flexible stick but excludes striking a child with any other instrument or on any other part of the body." (See Appendix 1 for the full, detailed regulation.) **MoHCDGEC Representative – [KI-26]** "Corporal punishments by definitions it is not something that is done at community level. It is done in fact in prisons. You see? Mostly prisoners are being given corporal punishments but now that has confused people thinking that maybe caning is a corporal punishment.... So by using that definition it makes it difficult now to address the issue of corporal punishment unless we clearly define it, especially when it comes to the African environment. Because corporal punishments it is not necessarily caning. You can give a person very hard work. Those are corporal punishments. But not caning…. Hmm… it is difficult [to define] because the magnitude of that *adhabu* (punishment) you cannot explain to people that when you say corporal punishment. How much should we give? How much work should we call it corporal punishment? Or, how much hard exercise should we call it corporal punishments? So it is very difficult sometimes to understand that magnitude. That's why now it is even confusing to the planners, the policy makers and mentors. Everybody is confused on the term. So we better now, call it *adhabu* (punishment) instead of using corporal punishment. Maybe let's use another word."

District Law Enforcement Representative– [KI-9]

"Corporal punishment… it is just strokes. Some other punishments are given in the court by looking at the age of the child…. But for the children, they are sentenced to six strokes and that is after the doctor has confirmed the health status of the child. So a child is given six strokes and the punishment ends there, and they go to continue with studies…. It [corporal punishment] is only on buttocks and the punishment is given by Correction Officers."

District Primary School Education Representative – [KI-12]

"Corporal punishments are those which are not done in a proper way. You know, children are late to the class. They have to be beaten. They have to be given other physical exercises more than what they can do. Those are corporal punishments…. [The Education (Corporal Punishment)] regulations talks about if children make a mistake they are supposed to be caned… not more than four sticks for girls on their hands, on their palms, for boys on their buttocks. So what is happening is sometime the teachers are not doing it. They are doing interchangeably [other punishments] here and there. So they are breaking that regulation."

Teacher – Government Primary School – Teachers' PGD Workshop - [T-03]

"This language has been brought in from Europe because they don't strike their children at school. So they may think that striking a school child is the same as corporal punishment because in their country it is strictly prohibited to use that form of punishment.… In our African perspectives we can say that... I'm thinking corporal punishment is a very severe punishment that exceeds the child's age and sometime does not relate with the mistake committed…. But in case it happens and a child is pinched a little, that is not corporal punishment. Therefore, I think the definition according to African culture we can say that corporal punishment is a severe punishment which may not turn the child back to the right track."

Teacher – Government Primary School – Teachers' PGD Workshop – [T-07]

"According to my knowledge, corporal punishments are those punishments as my fellows here have said, they are those punishments which are heavy. Yeah and many times these kinds of punishments have bad effects to the child because you can hurt the child. The child can either hate you forever or count you as a great enemy. So these punishments are quite different from the normal punishments like using a single stroke. Because even at home they normally get one stroke or only two."

Teacher – Government Primary School – Teachers' PGD Workshop – [T-11]

"Personally I had a different view of the term corporal punishment which is different from the contributions given by my fellows here. This term was commonly used in the military camps. I was asking myself what is corporal punishment? I came to realize that corporal punishment were those punishments which were normally given to the soldiers, they were simple and could take a short time and also we were used to them. Corporal punishments needed no discussion since when you were given it must be finished within a given period of time. So, that's my understanding about corporal punishment they were just simple and quick punishments that a corporal in the army was supposed to perform."

FAMILY
IDI - Elder – Grandparent and Retired Primary School Teacher – [KI-14]
"Corporal punishments I think its strokes or to give a hard job, for instance carrying stones. That is corporal punishments. It's military."
CHILD
None of the children I spoke with as part of the study knew the term corporal punishment. Children did, however, recognise the Kiswahili translation used for the study, i.e. *adhabu kimwili* or physical punishment.

As demonstrated through the data in Table 14, adult participants in Tanzania who recognised the term corporal punishment as spoken in English associated it with strokes or caning or with punishments they considered excessive. Some associated it with the penal system or the military. This is in contrast to the Global level and the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child (UN CRC) definition which identifies corporal punishment as any punishment that includes physical force and is intended to cause pain or discomfort, no matter how light.

As noted in the red National level, the Ministry of Health, Community Development, Gender, Elderly and Children (MOHCDGEC) representative acknowledges the confusing nature of the term corporal punishment among planning and policy makers as well as among the community at large. His identification of the need to clearly define this and other violence-related terminology in order to address the issue "especially when it comes to the African environment", illustrates the confusion, friction and negotiation taking place in the liminal space regarding the use of physical punishments in childrearing. His final recommendation to come up with an alternative term to corporal punishment signals a desire for the creation of VAC terminology and measures that are more recognisable and consistently meaningful within Tanzania society.

Outside of the Government of Tanzania's Education (Corporal Punishment) Regulation, which exclusively links corporal punishment with strokes (*adhabu ya viboko*) (red National level) and the reportedly highly regulated use of corporal punishment in law enforcement, study participants defined corporal punishment as spoken in English as

an undesirable practice. This is in line with the spirit of the corporal punishment definition outlined by the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child, which rejects the use of corporal punishment declaring it degrading. This contrasts with study participants who link corporal punishment with magnitude or degree of force implying an acceptance of physical punishments to some degree.

This was particularly evidenced by the responses provided by the actors at the community level of Table 14. The district law enforcement representatives recognised corporal punishment as a tool of their profession, which was acceptable when administered in accordance with the regulation. One of the three police officers, however, did acknowledge the range of meanings the term carries:

> "Maybe it depends on the department how you work on it. Therefore, everyone has a different understanding [of corporal punishment] depending on the department."
>
> IDI - District law enforcement representative – [KI-10]

For the law enforcement officials there was no grey area regarding the purpose and rightful administration of corporal punishment. As the focus of their profession, or their "department," is the understanding, obedience to, and enforcement of the laws of Tanzania, corporal punishment in accordance with the justice system falls within the boundaries of the law and the court sentencing process.

As illustrated in Table 14, responses from the teachers who attended the Teachers PGD workshop and the district education representative illustrates challenging complexities within the education sector as corporal punishment is codified and approved as part of the Tanzanian educational system. Teachers questioned the origin

of corporal punishment, and as the data reflect, had a range of understandings of what construes corporal punishment. The district education representative did acknowledge that teachers are not following the regulation and are exchanging different forms of punishment for the punishment of strokes as outlined in the regulation. This was confirmed during school observation visits where I saw a wide range of punishments administered by teachers, such as pinching one facial cheek while slapping the other cheek, slapping with an open hand around the shoulders and making children kneel on the cement floor of the classroom.

Only one teacher in the group of twelve participating in the teachers' PGD workshop referenced the corporal punishment regulation. While this demonstrates her awareness of the regulation, it also demonstrates confusion of what corporal punishment is as defined by the regulation. She suggested that when teachers fail to follow the accepted guidelines for punishing school children is when punishments become corporal punishment.

> "We must follow the accepted regulation in punishing the school children--though I don't know where they are coming from maybe the government or international community? We must strike the school children without violating the accepted regulations. If you strike a child on the head or on the legs, that's corporal punishment because it is outside the accepted regulations for punishing the school children."
>
> Teacher – Government Primary School - Teachers' PGD Workshop - [T12]

Reflecting the wide variations and understanding of corporal punishment by and within "departments," the MOHCDGEC representative clearly acknowledged and articulated the challenge of the term corporal punishment as spoken in English. He admitted that the term even confuses planners and policy makers as people ask for

guidance on how much hard work or physical punishment constitutes corporal punishment. Such questions illustrate people's confusion and attempts at negotiating and reconfiguring their understandings of acceptable levels and styles of child punishment. The MOHCDGEC representative even states "Everybody is confused on the term. So we better now, maybe call it *adhabu* (punishment) instead of using corporal punishment. Maybe let's use another word." Based on these data, this is clearly a recommendation academics, policy makers and planners should consider based on the range of meaning and the level of confusion this term carries at community levels.

The next section presents data on study participants' understandings of the term violence and how it relates to conceptualisations and measurements of corporal punishment.

4.3.5 What is violence?

In my informal and formal discussions and workshop activities I asked people to provide their understandings of the term violence. Table 15 below is summary of definitions of violence as described by the WHO and the study participants from all levels of the study socio-ecological model.

TABLE 15: Defining Violence Across the Ecological Model
GLOBAL
World Health Organisation (WHO) – (WHO, 2016: 14**)**   "the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, which either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment, or deprivation."
NATIONAL
IDI - MoHCDGEC Representative – [KI-26]   "Violence is anything that is done against a human being. Sometimes it is physical. Sometimes it is psychological violence. Sometimes it depends. But violence is something that you do against the rights of the children. Maltreatment of children, that's violence. Yeah like beating or caning or abusing a child, you see? Or using nasty language. All those things those are violence against children."   **IDI - Regional Law Enforcement Representative [KI-25]**   "In child protection a child is supposed to be warned, and if possible to be beaten a little bit. That means it should not be more than three strokes, and the part of the body is the one that will not bring troubles. For instance, a boy on the buttocks and girls on palms of hands. The punishment should not exceed and cause troubles. In this way you can say that you are bringing the child back, but otherwise you will have committed violence over that child, and that's against the ways. it's a criminal offence, and you will be responsible for that."
COMMUNITY
IDI – District Community Development Representative [KI-07]   "…violence it can come… it is quite different from corporal punishment. For example, those who are supposed to go to school at a certain age…. Maybe a parent doesn't send them to school. Definitely in one way or another, what you are doing is violence…. When there is one who dictates. There is no two way traffic communication in the family. You expect this can be violence…. What we are looking to is to be more diplomatic."

"…Violence is the action which is done to a person which may cause effects maybe, physically or mentally or economically. It is an action which is done to a person and it causes effects maybe stress or physically and mentally a person may get affected. Just like we said before, burning a child is a [violent] action, chopping a child's ears it is an action, being pinched until bleeding. If a child is raped that also is an action. Even action like talking roughly to a child. Like… "You always come here just to eat my food." Denying child some food [is violence]."

IDI – District Primary Education Representative [KI-12]

"Violence is abusive… It's something interfering with somebody's rights. If you don't let children play you are violating their rights. If you threaten somebody or don't do this and while I'm supposed to do this for the children yeah you are doing violence…. [Me - "So in school, at what point does physical punishment become a concern?"] Yeah if it is excessive. If it hurts somebody."

FAMILY

IDI – Elder – Grandparent and Retired Primary School Teacher [KI-14]

"Violence is to commit an action which is forbidden by the law. So you commit an action which is forbidden by the law."**Woman 39 years – Female Caregivers PGD Workshop [P-10]**"According to my understanding when you talk about violence it's a situation where a person does something to a person that is legally unacceptable. Also morally unacceptable for instance we heard a lady here she took that child and punished until the child died. Therefore, if you do that action to a child which is not accepted by the community members directly we say that is violence."

Woman 36 years – Female Caregivers PGD Workshop [P-03]

"For my thinking the way I understand it, when a person does something abnormal without mercy. That is violence. Without mercy for instance to throw away a child. Killing that means a person who does those issues has no mercy and it puts him into violence. …[punishment can become violence] when it exceeds the normal way. For instance, if you have punished a child and cause bumps on the buttocks. Maybe you have punished the child until the child faints. You have punished a person to death. That's means you have committed violence."

Man 38 years – Male Caregivers' PGD Workshop [P-15]"Even prohibiting your child from going to school is violence because it is the right of the child but you are trying to deny the children from getting it. That is violence. There are so many issues maybe some one's born with physical challenges. When you hide that child because of shame still it's the same… violence. Sometimes people do it because of fear of shame. Therefore violence is doing things that the national laws are strictly prohibiting and when you try to legalize it you will be doing violence."

Man 35 years – Male Caregivers' PGD Workshop [P-19]

"I think according to my understanding violence is a punishment but those kinds of punishments are divided into several categories. Pinching a child is allowed, but violence begins after the community members are surprised of the action. 'Is it true that the child has been burnt?' You may think that was just a punishment to change the behaviour of the child but you have gone too far for burning the child. The whole community is watching that you have tied the child in order to burn him. So the people will be asking 'What if he could be his own child?' Even if he is your own child can you do that to your own child? This is real violence. Therefore violence is a punishment which is more severe.

Man 55 years – Male Caregivers' PGD Workshop [P-20]

"Violence is action which is done to a person and that may hurt the child. That is to say that you do something to a person which aims to hurt that person. Therefore if you do something which may hurt, It might be talking with a rough mouth to a child, may imply violence. You will be hurting the child. That is a direct violence. I mean that if you do something which may hurt the child internally [the heart] that is violence."

CHILD

IDI - 12-year old girl attending private religious primary school [KI-13]

"Violence is something which a person is subjected to that we can say someone forces you to do, something that you don't like. That one will be violence already…. Like gender violence. A person does it without being willing. That's how I understand it…. Hmm maybe female genital mutilation that's all I know about it. Huh."

IDI – 11-year old boy attending semi-rural government primary school [KI-16]

"…to do something to a person or some actions that aims to make that person suffer."

IDI – 12-year old girl attending town government school [KI-24]

"…it's like killing somebody or to put them on fire… or burning someone with a hot spoon on the hands… or you put his or her hand on the fire".

The subgroup of children I conducted IDIs with were asked to provide their understanding of violence. As indicated above in Table 15, the children primarily included physical acts that are forced such as FGM or burning. One child associated violence with making someone suffer. His response connected violence with intentionality, which is actually similarly reflected in the WHO's definition of violence cited at the Global level of the table (Krug *et al.*, 2002; WHO, 2016). When asked if punishments can become violence children suggested that punishment(s) are not typically violence, but can become violence. One girl said beating a child all over the body without restraint was an act of violence and not "normal punishment".

> "You find that some parents beat a child without limit everywhere… wherever the stick falls…. The whole body that means wherever the stroke falls. The parent doesn't care about some of the places that don't need to be beaten. They beat anywhere."
>
> IDI - 12-year old girl attending a private religious primary school – [KI-13]

Some of the children talked about how they felt angry when they were punished without having made a mistake, and one boy said that when you are punished without having made a mistake, this is violence.

As indicated at the red National and yellow Community level of Table 15, representatives of the VAC prevention and response sectors discussed violence in ways similar to the Tanzanian VAC study by suggesting that violence had emotional and physical forms, including sexual violence and abuse.

I also interviewed several European child protection specialists from the Tanzania country offices of international NGOs in Dar es Salaam. They acknowledged the challenges of reconciling their organisations' definitions of VAC with the understandings of violence currently held by those outside the Tanzania child wellbeing and protection sectors.

One of the European international NGO representative suggested that their organisation is supporting a wide view of violence and is "trying to take a case of humiliation in schools as seriously as a case of sexual harassment or sexual violence." The representative said that many "child protection agencies have strong focuses on sexual violence because it is easier in a way." She went on to say:

> "So we do try, but it's not easy… It's a learning process for our own staff in the community too. As I have said, I mean if you see a child with some blue bumps or some scratches… then, okay, it is easier. I can see something. Or, if the girl is bleeding, whatever… then you know something has happened. But if it is a kind of on-going everyday humiliation in home, in school or something… it's hard to measure and also much more difficult for a child to understand."
>
> IDI - European Child Protection Specialist – Tanzania Country Office - International Child Rights and Protection NGO– [KI-17]

Reflecting back on the definition of corporal punishment, which suggests that corporal punishment is the point at which a child gets hurt, punishing a child to the point of getting blue bumps or scratches would fall within this definition and also categorise corporal punishment as violence.

The MoHCDGEC representative suggested that people's level of education influences their understanding of violence. This notion was contradicted by views expressed at both the community and national levels. At the community or district level in Sengerema several educators told me that not all parents approve of their children

being beaten in school. When I asked "Who are these parents who do not want their children beaten in school?" a teacher from one of the private religious primary schools, as well as the district primary education representative, suggested that these were people with low education levels. When I probed the educator at the private school about his statement, he said these are "people with money but low education," and said that such people do not recognise that "*fimbo* (the stick) is used to nurture." The district educationalist, like many people I informally spoke with on bus rides, around town and in professional meetings where I presented my study's preliminary findings, talked of how they believed they would not be where they were today without being beaten in school. High ranking members of government, including the current President, have also been known to make similar statements. Therefore, the views on physical punishment, especially as they relate to education were complex and divided with many highly educated people linking the use of physical punishments during their education to their achievements.

These intertwined and contested imaginings and enactments of corporal punishment and violence are reflected in a point made by another of the international NGO representatives I interviewed in Dar es Salaam:

> "Tanzania is one of the Pathfinder countries for the Global Partnership to End Violence Against Children. So we also have this encouragement to follow these conventions and packages and show how we can end violence against children and how we can prevent it. So the pressure on Tanzania is multiple. That is the struggle. Also with the corporal punishment as we were discussing before, on the one side the government of Tanzania is proud, and it has been doing a lot of work and has been making a lot of achievements in ending violence against children. But at the same time there is this small pocket, if we can say that is untouched, that the use of violence as a corrective educational method for children is not considered violence."

These findings illustrate the complexities of Tanzania's national commitments and resistance to selected global ideals and measures of children's rights and VAC. The government has signed and ratified the UNCRC, the ACRWC, now has the Law of the Child Act, 2009 in place and is one of the charter Pathfinder Countries with the Global Partnership to End Violence Against Children. However, when it comes to identifying physical punishment as violence, there is a clear departure from global standard and ideals of child rights and protection.

The next section provides contextual details regarding the current use of physical and verbal forms of correction in children's lives.

4.4 Mistakes and Consequences

It is important to keep in mind the consequences of dangerous behaviours in the current context of many of the children's lives in my study when considering people's views on physical punishment. To draw on a daily example, many families cook over open fires with pots and pans precariously balanced atop three cooking stones. For a small child these objects balance at just the height of arms reach. This makes the opportunities for a small child to get dangerously close to fire and/or to tip pans of hot oil or other hot foods and liquids onto themselves extraordinarily great. Mothers, older siblings or other caregivers were seen smacking hands or bottoms and heard giving the warning *"Ehh, nitakuchapa,"*(Ehh, I will hit you [typically referring to hitting with a stick, i.e. *fimbo*]) *"Nitakufinya"* (I will pinch you) or *"Nitakupiga"* (I will hit you

[typically referring to slapping, kicking, hitting with a slipper, etc. when *fimbo* is far away]) if the child had not yet learned the dangers of these behaviours.

During the course of my time in Sengerema, a 3-year-old girl of one of the people who worked at the guesthouse where I stayed pulled a pan of hot oil down onto herself and was severely burnt on her legs. These occurrences are so common that a local artist created a greeting card with a picture of a pan atop an open fire, a child running toward the fire and a guardian angel hovering above the scene. The angel presumably hovers to protect the child from this common childhood danger (See Figure 4).

Figure 4: Greeting card made by a local artist in Mwanza, Tanzania – 2017

It is not uncommon to see *Mama Lishe* ("Nutrition Mother"), women who cook and serve food in market areas, carrying babies on their backs while cooking and serving food. The household livelihood needs of these women's work and the growing lack of home carers as older siblings attend school make bringing small babies and children to these work places necessary. It's also not uncommon to see a very young child sitting very still and quietly while mother works cooking.

Children are taught to sit still in a place they can be observed as the surrounding dangers such as hot fires and pots and sharp knives are all around and can appear very tempting for a small child to touch and examine. In most cases, these strict rules of

behaviour are not meant to be abusive or overly harsh, rather their intention is to train children to keep safe and to avoid the many hazardous situations that surround them (Raum, 1940; Frankenberg, Holmqvist and Rubenson, 2010).

4.4.1 Consequences and the Habit of Stealing

A behavioural issue ascribed to primary school-aged children and youth by male and female caregivers and the children themselves during PGD workshop listing and ranking exercises and children's role plays was stealing. Both the girls and boys in the study portrayed stealing in their role plays as a behavioural issue at home and in the community. The girls depicted children at home stealing money their mother had hidden under the carpet at home, as well as stealing small bits of meat from the family cooking pot. In the boys' workshop, the boys also portrayed children stealing *hela* or small amounts of money and food from the home cooking pot. The boys also enacted a child being caught and locked up by the police for stealing money in the community. In both the girls' and boys' role plays the children also portrayed punishments of denial of food, slaps around the head and shoulders with

Figure 5: Themed Drawing: "Mistakes Children Make at Home" A child taking meat from the cooking pot. (Drawing by a household visit child participant)

open hands and whipping with a stick on the bottom or on the back or shoulders if the children refused to lie down to receive their punishment.

This habit of pilfering small bits of things like food, sugar, or money from people you know within the household is referred to as *udokozi.* The habit is strongly discouraged due to limited household resources and caregivers' fear that the behaviour will continue and lead to the child becoming a thief. It is also discouraged because in a setting of limited resources someone's *tamaa* (strong desire or greed for more than their share) has a direct impact on others within the household or community.

4.4.2 Stealing, Justice and Violence

While *viboko* is often the consequence of stealing as a child, stealing as a youth carries severe penalties and punishments in the community. Adults and children who participated indicated that the most harsh and common penalty for stealing as a youth or adult in the community is being severely beaten and then burned to death. During the time of my fieldwork, an increased number of burglaries and even two murders took place in the "up-the-hill" Misheni area where I stayed. Based on these increasing security incidents a community meeting was called. During the meeting someone reminded the group of a time in the not so distant past when there was a great deal of thieving taking place in the area. When three thieves were caught in the community they were beaten and burnt to death. People seemed to recall this incident as an act of justice and agreed that such actions serve as strong deterrents to people contemplating thieving.

Below is a case study from my field experience of two boys caught in the community for allegedly stealing chickens.

> ***A crowd of about 50 people,*** men, women and children, encircled the spectacle--a public beating of two (2) boys allegedly caught stealing chickens. The boys were deaf. One boy appeared to be about 16 years old and the other about 10 years old.
>
> The village Chairman and two other men wielding *fimbo* took turns hitting the boys on their buttocks and around the top of the boys' legs with the long flexible sticks while the boys laid face down on the ground. As the boys could not hear nor speak, they continuously rolled over and tried to look their disciplinarian in the eyes and plead with hands raised and folded begging them to stop the punishment. The older boy received more than 30 strokes, while the younger boy whose squealing cries sounded like those of a baby received nearly 40 strokes.
>
> The Chairman said in the local language while beating one of the boys with the *fimbo*, "You will talk today." Some members of the crowd erupted into laughter, while others stood silently watching.

Someone who knew what my research was about brought a mobile phone video of the incident to me. They had secretly recorded the video and then brought it to me at the guest house where I stayed. They told me their version of what happened. I cried and could not finish watching the video the first time I saw it. I've asked myself, what was going on there? A crowd of 50 or more people—men, women and children--watching as two deaf boys were being harshly physically punished. No one spoke up or objected. Was there anyone in the crowd who felt this punishment was too much? Did anyone feel these actions were in violation of the law or the rights to protection and care of these two boys? Did anyone think they were witnessing acts of violence?

The person who brought the video to me said that some members of the crowd saw the beating of the boys as justice being served for the boys' offense of stealing rather than violence. Similarly the comments made by members of the crowd at the community meeting saw the burning of the thieves as justice and not violence or

actual murder. Whether members of the crowd were seriously prepared to repeat such actions or whether it was recounted as a message for the thieves currently disturbing the area, it was unclear. It does, however, clearly show that the two boys harshly beaten for allegedly stealing chickens could meet with a much worse fate if their stealing habit continued.

As noted in Chapter 1, this concept of physical punishment as a social control and deterrent to socially objectionable behaviour is reflected in the Government of Tanzania's 2016 response to the UN OHCHR UPR comments recommending the abolishment of corporal punishment. The national government response stated that the majority of citizens are in favour of corporal punishment as it is seen to plays a significant deterrent role in the society (United Nations Human Rights Council, 2016: 7). The use of physical punishments as a deterrent was further illustrated by a story told by one of our home visit children.

During one of our visits, we asked if he had ever seen or experienced punishment in the community, he replied, "Yes". He said his mother showed him a video on her phone of a young boy being beaten by the street leader for stealing. He said the young boy in the video looked about 12-13 years old according to what he saw. He said for issues "like stealing you can be chased and when they catch you, they beat you" (H3-C1-Visit4). Although I did not directly discuss this story with his mother, it seemed she used the mobile phone video as a visual or virtual warning or deterrent to misbehaviour in the community.

This next and final section highlights the need for acknowledgement and valuing of bi-directional creating of meaning and measure.

4.5 Pampering and Spoiling

Recognising that understanding definitions and measurements should work bi-directionally, I also listened for terms and phrases people repeatedly used during our discussions. A term which repeatedly came up in IDIs and and PGD workshops with both children and adults was *kudekeza* or "to pamper or spoil someone". *Kudekeza* was used when referring to what was perceived as a permissive parenting style which among other things would not include physical punishments. It was also suggested that children who are brought up by pampering often are not given many responsibilities at home, and thus are not well prepared for independence and later life. The term was used in a derogatory manner suggesting that children who are used to pampering grow to become arrogant, disrespectful, and as one girl insistently suggested, not very intelligent. *Kudekeza* appeared to relate to the acceptance of physical punishments as children suggested that if children are not beaten then they are being pampered.

Boys and girls in their respective PGD workshops as well as one girl who I also conducted an IDI with spoke of *kudekeza.* When the question of what would happen if parents no longer used physical punishments at home came up during the first boys' PGD workshop, the boys expressed agreement with two boys' opinions that children who are *wanakudekezwa* or "they are pampered" at home and never receive physical punishments for misdeeds become arrogant and disrespectful.

> "For instance, these children who are pampered they might be told 'Don't repeat that mistake again' [said in a mockingly polite way] [group laughter]. They become arrogant and their head becomes so big like this [boy motioning toward and wagging his head around as the group of boys laugh]. When they are told to do something they don't listen."

10-year old boy attending private religious primary school – Boys' PGD Workshop #1 (Dice Game) - [B-11]

A second boy gave an example of a child raised by pampering who throws a stone at someone walking in the street. He suggested that when the person attempts to verbally scold the child the mother will intervene and defend her child while the child has made a mistake. Overall, there was much agreement among the children with the suggestion that pampering could lead to children becoming arrogant and disrespectful.

These responses suggest at least two things. First, that the boys question their fellow children's ability to maintain discipline and good behaviour in the absence of physical punishments; and second, the boys question the competence of caregivers who do not use physically punish with their children. The example of a child throwing a stone at a passer-by and the parent's unquestioning defence of their child suggests a potential lack of respect by the boys of parents who they perceive to bring their children up by pampering. Although the boys did not explicitly express it in the PGD workshops, it seems they currently have difficulty conceiving of a parent or caregiver effectively correcting or training a child without physical punishments. The same two boys were asked in individual interviews if they felt they could learn their responsibilities without physical punishments and both replied they could. The fact that the two boys who said children who are brought up by pampering in the group discussion would become arrogant, but later said that they personally could learn their responsibilities without physical punishments in individual interviews may reflect the effect of the group dynamic on the boys' responses.

Kudekeza came up again during the same focus-group style activity in the first girls'

PGD workshop when the question of how do physical punishments affect your learning

arose. The same girl who talked about *kudekeza* in the group discussion brought it up

again during our in-depth interview with her. She associated the absence of some

physical punishment of children at home with lower intelligence and over sensitivity.

> "You find that some of the parents have raised their children in that way
> [*kudekeza* or by pampering]. So if you find the child who is used to pampering
> when he goes to school... first, most of these children who don't get punished
> at home, just few of them are intelligent. You find that many whom at home
> they are encouraged and sometimes get punished they become--I mean many
> of them--are more intelligent. But for those who don't get punished mostly
> they are not intelligent… many of them."
>
> IDI: 12-year old girl attending a private religious primary school –[KI-13])

When speaking with district government representatives involved in the VAC response

about what they think people would say about a home or school that does not use

physical punishments, several suggested that people would say you are "pampering"

your child or you are "caring for them like an egg". They went on to say, however, that

most people do not understand a family that can live together in harmony. One of the

district law enforcement officers went on to say that people who would say

wanakudekezwa or "they are pampering the child" are those people do not

understand child rights. He told a personal story of his child coming home and telling

his mother that they were not teaching well at school. The law enforcement

representative said after listening to their child he and his wife decided to change their

child's school. He reflected that many would say that they are pampering or spoiling

their child, but he explained that children have a right to be listened to. District

representatives, like this law enforcement representative, would have received

training or exposure to children's rights principles as part of their introduction to the Law of the Child Act, 2009. Whether his views reflect an influence of these trainings and an enhanced understanding of rights through his professional experiences, his example demonstrates a shift in adult/child power dynamics that is taking place within some families.

4.6 Summary

In this chapter I have demonstrated how my study findings illustrate the complexities inherent in the measuring and valuing of meaning as it relates to the study of children's upbringing and violence in cross-cultural settings. The findings presented in this chapter illustrate how various forms of resistance, from documented and clear rejection by the Government of Tanzania, to what Scott and other calls "everyday resistance," is being used to negotiate, avoid and outright reject commitment to the adoption of global conceptualisations of childrearing as they relate to the use of physical punishments. The findings further illustrate how children and adults measure the relationship between physical punishment and violence in levels of degree or magnitude with a clear acknowledgment that physical punishments can become violence. If a child gets hurt that is when the physical punishment becomes "corporal punishment" or violence. This runs counter to global understandings of corporal punishment and violence, which deem any form of physical punishment of children degrading and unacceptable.

The final section introducing and discussing the term *kudekeza* or pampering illustrates children's current valuing and acceptance of physical punishments as part of their own upbringing experience. The children's acceptance and valuing of the role these

punishments plays in their upbringing challenges rights-based visions on children's

agency especially since their views runs counter to global children's rights ideals and

promoted principles. These findings further demonstrate the need for the recognition

and valuing of vernacularized children's rights discourses which reflect local social,

political and economic realities within the context of on-going processes of social

change even when they run counter to global rights ideals.

CHAPTER 5.0: School, Home and Community - The Inseparable Triad

> **"We went to [a particular region] and we were visiting there. We saw how parents were convinced about positive discipline and non-violence... no corporal punishment. And then we saw how teachers were convincing parents that corporal punishment was necessary. So even when you convince parents, then teachers... the teachers are respected in the community. So they influence how the norms are changing in a group, and you have somebody like a teacher come in and make them go back in the norm. So I think that was interesting in a way how we need to work at all these levels and that the changes have to be kind of the same process."**
>
> IDI – European Child Protection Specialist – Tanzania Country Office of
> an International Children's Rights and Protection NGO – [KI-22]

During my interview with a European child protection specialist working in the Tanzania country office of an international children's rights organization, he discussed the current opportunities and challenges in shifting norms and attitudes toward the use of physical punishments in Tanzania. He acknowledged the interconnectedness of the settings in which children live and how settings and actors within and across settings influence each other. He shared the anecdote above of how teachers in one particular region convinced parents that physical punishments are in the best interest of their child's education even after the parents were exposed to Positive Discipline principles. Throughout my fieldwork and data collection at national and district levels, connections and relationships between childrearing, children's behaviours and child disciplinary strategies between homes, schools and within communities continually arose. The connections between settings were sometimes described as necessary, beneficial and harmonious, while at other times presented as troublesome, fractious and even undermining. This chapter presents and explores the interconnections,

relationships and tensions between the settings in which children live and experience their daily lives, drawing on a range of methods and respondent types including data from IDIs, PGD workshops and participant observation from within the school, home and community[6] environments.

The chapter opens with a case study focusing on study participants' re-collections of the Mwanza-based NGO *Kuleana* Centre for Children's Rights which operated throughout the 1990s and into the early 2000s. *Kuleana* serves as a central case study for this chapter that highlights the interconnectedness of the settings in which children live. The chapter builds on the case study to then present and discuss both children's and adults' perspectives and experiences of the use of physical punishment within and across the settings of homes, schools and communities, including insights from actors across the various levels of my ecological model. Children's views on how physical punishments affect their learning and how children can imitate the behaviour of others across settings, including the use of aggression as a problem solving technique, are incorporated.

5.1 The case of kuleana – "Beat the Drum Not a Child"

> "One thing you can learn from *kuleana*, and which we are learning today, is that… if we remove corporal punishment in school, children will perform better. The only obstacle is that they [*kuleana*] did not involve parents and community."
>
> IDI – Tanzanian national-level children's rights activist – [KI-21]

Kuleana Centre for Children's Rights, known locally as *kuleana*, was an organization and resource centre in Mwanza city that focused on the promotion of children's rights,

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[6] When I refer to community, I refer to the people, places and institutions children interact with outside of their homes and schools.
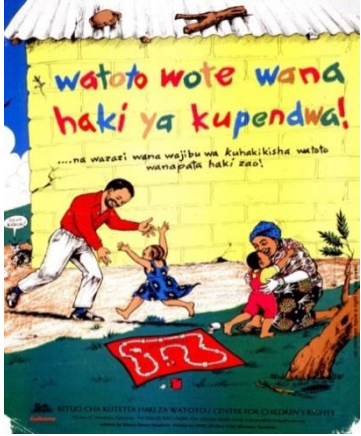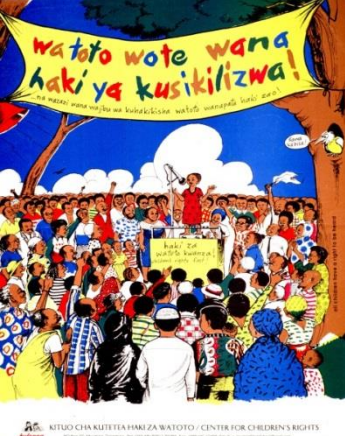
especially in support of street children. *Kuleana* was founded by two young Tanzanian men of Indian descent who had returned to Mwanza city after completing university studies in the USA. Their work started in 1992 with a situation analysis focusing on street children in Mwanza. They reflected in their situation analysis report that after their exposure to human rights principles and their volunteer experiences at centres for at-risk youth during their time abroad, they felt compelled to investigate and address the growing population of children living in the streets of Mwanza city.

> "Our study's [their situation analysis] most important conclusion is this: the well-being of children is inextricably linked with a respect for the rights of children. Welfare and piecemeal approaches outside the rubric of children's rights only go so far and ultimately fail. Project planning cannot afford to ignore the larger issues. We need to learn to listen to children and to build genuine partnerships based on trust and respect. The task is enormous. It will take no less than challenging and unlearning the debilitating relationship of hierarchy between adults and children." (Rajani & Kudrati, 1994: 3).

Throughout the 1990s, the work of *kuleana* gained wide international recognition with financial support from UNICEF and other international donor organizations such as the Ford Foundation and Hivos, and in 1999 won a UNICEF Maurice Pate Leadership for Children Award. As suggested by Rajani and Kudrati's self-described most important study conclusion (see above quote), they recognised the potentially controversial and enormously transformational nature of their organization's goal of shifting the existing hierarchical dynamics in adult and child relationships.

Kuleana Centre for Children's Rights was opened in Mwanza city in April 1993 and provided information and education activities, health care and legal advocacy primarily for street involved children (Rajani & Kudrati, 1994). As *kuleana* evolved, it continued its work with street children and grew in its work and expertise in supporting and

promoting children's rights in general. Throughout the 1990s they developed public

information booklets, posters and public service messages including large murals

promoting various children's rights. These murals and public information style posters

promoted children's rights and discussed issues such as violence, education and equal

rights for the girl child (Africa Journal - kuleana, 1997). Table 16 below includes

samples of *kuleana* public information, education and communication (IEC) posters

and billboards that could be found in Mwanza city and throughout Tanzania during the

years *kuleana* was active. Some such *kuleana* banners and posters can still be found

displayed in Mwanza city until today.

TABLE 16: *kuleana* Public Information, Education and Communication (IEC) Posters and Billboard†

kuleana IEC Poster (*kuleana*, 1996): All children have the right to be loved	*Kuleana* IEC Billboard found in a Mwanza city café (2014)	*Kuleana* IEC Poster (*kuleana*, ~1996): All children have the right to be heard

†*Kuleana* IEC Posters were accessed through the U.S. National Library of Medicine digital archives. Photo of the banner is from a traveler's blog from 25 May 2014. http://jeux-et-enjeux-des-recreations-du-monde.over-blog.com/2014/05/mwanza-la-tanzanie-a-un-incroyable-talent.html.

Kuleana support and services changed and slowly dwindled after the two co-founders

left the organization in 1999. Drawing on Anna Tsing's theory of "friction" and global

connections which describes how "the awkward, unequal, unstable and creative

qualities of interconnection across difference" can lead to new arrangements of
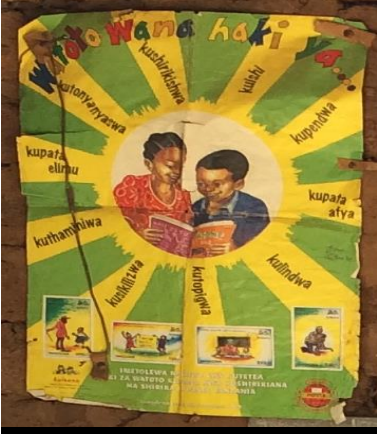
culture and power (2005: 4-5), *kuleana* served as a metaphorical stick that when rubbed against another created heat, spark and eventual light. *Kuleana* served to create friction that helped to introduce, promote, and spark children's rights debates and the questioning of historical power dynamics in adult and child relationships in northwest Tanzania and beyond at that time (Behnam, 2011; Tsing, 2005: 14).

5.2 Local recollections of kuleana on the ground

Before starting my fieldwork, I knew of *kuleana* from my time living and working in Mwanza since 2009. There were several NGOs working with street children in Mwanza and one of them was a direct descendant of the original *kuleana* project. Until today there is a local pizzeria in Mwanza town centre that was the original office, training centre and restaurant of *kuleana*. Although the location is no longer officially affiliated with *kuleana*, the walls outside "pizzeria" are still decorated with *kuleana*'s murals about children's rights and people often refer to the venue as *kuleana*. My NIMR-Mwanza advisor, and several other researchers at the research institute told me *kuleana* had conducted research on physical punishment in schools in the late 1990s. I was, however, not able to locate documentation on the study.

Shortly after getting established in Sengerema and recruiting Jerry as a field assistant, Jerry brought me a copy of the *kuleana* physical punishment in schools study report that his 84-year old retired primary school teacher neighbour brought to him! This retired teacher (referred to as *Mwalimu*, which means teacher in Kiswahili) heard about my research through Jerry's father and he began slowly sharing documentation on the *kuleana* physical punishment in schools study and *kuleana*'s work in general.

When Jerry and I visited *Mwalimu* at his home for an interview, the set-up of *Mwalimu*'s home reflected his background as an educator. His home was comprised of two simple mud brick structures, with a small wooden table and chairs set up in an alcove in front of a doorway entering the rear structure. On the wall next to the door hung a small chalkboard with the date and some questions such as "How many people are there in Tanzania?" and "Where is the Tanzanian headquarters of government?" In that same small alcove hung a poster promoting immunization and a *kuleana* poster on children's rights (see Table 17 below) which he said he received at a training sponsored by *kuleana* some 16 years prior.

TABLE 17: *Mwalimu*'s Home and *kuleana* Materials and Children's Rights Poster		
kuleana "Nidhamu Bila Viboko" (Discipline without Strokes) curriculum and kuleana research reports	Table and chairs set up in the small alcove where Mwalimu had his chalkboard and posters	*kuleana* children's rights poster from training Mwalimu attended in 2000

Mwalimu told Jerry and me about his training and experiences working as a primary school teacher from 1949-1979. *Mwalimu* said he did not learn about the use of physical punishments during his teachers' training, but found *viboko* or punishment by strokes (hitting with a stick) in the schools when he reported for duty. He suggested that German colonization brought punishment with sticks to schools as the colonizers brought formal education to Tanzania. *Mwalimu*'s comment and the comments of

other study participants, especially teachers, as presented in Chapter 4 illustrate a complicated linkage between physical punishments and external entities. On one hand physical punishment--specifically beating with sticks or corporal punishment linked with the penal system and the military as noted in Chapter 4--is cited as being brought to Tanzania from the original colonizers. While at the same time the international community is identified as an oppressive force promoting the discontinuation of physical punishment of children.

These complicated perceptions of externally imposed beliefs and practices serve as fodder for various enactments of resistance demonstrated by study participants. Chapter 4 illustrated examples of resistance by avoidance when "rights translators" at the NPA meetings and the teacher who received his advanced degree abroad decided to stay quiet during discussions of corporal punishment. In Section 5.4 of this chapter, I present examples of resistance by outright rejection, as caregivers refuse what they identify as Western or outsider suggestions of elimination of physical punishments in children's upbringing as contextually inappropriate, at least at this time.

Mwalimu went on to explain that he was invited to participate in a children's rights training hosted by *kuleana* in 2000, and that was when he received his *kuleana* children's rights poster and all the other *kuleana* materials he had been sharing with me. After completing the training he described moving with a team around Mwanza region providing training on children's rights and the curriculum:

> "We began moving to different places providing seminars. In village schools we met the people of the ward and school committees, as well as the village governments."

When asked if he knew of any schools that implemented the *kuleana* curriculum he said, with a soft chuckle:

> "No, they continue until today. The society was not aware and the teachers at the college were not taught discipline without physical punishments. The teachers should be given seminars at the college. They should be taught at the college discipline without physical punishment and children's rights."

While *kuleana* and its then ground breaking work on the introduction and promotion of the UNCRC and children's rights in Tanzanian communities were lauded by the global children's rights community through its recognition by UNICEF and other global rights and development agencies, during my fieldwork people continually suggested that *kuleana*'s work and messages came up against challenges due to strong resistance from many adults and the community at large.

This could have been a reflection of an ineffective organizational strategy and/or resistance to the introduction of a new social ideology perceived as being promoted from outside. An educationalist working at the district education headquarters reflected on this. He worked as a primary school teacher at a school just behind the *kuleana* center in Mwanza city in the mid-1990s and explained that *kuleana's* work and promotion of messages such as "Children's Rights First!" and "Beat the Drum not a Child" caused a great deal of confusion among homes, schools and communities at the time.

> "Through the home environment we were not raised with that knowledge. We were coming across it. So to change abruptly… it can take some time because first of all the society has to know in detail. They have to know another alternative instead of corporal punishment. They have to know a lot of things. But if you only tell the child you are not supposed to be [physically] punished and when the child goes back home and his parents don't know about that, yeah, they are going to [physically] punish. Then he [the child] runs and goes there [to *kuleana*]. So *kuleana* destroyed a lot of children's behaviours in Mwanza."

IDI - District Primary Education Representative – [KI-12]

Although potentially unpopular with some adults at the time, *kuleana* served as a catalyst for questioning society's historical valuing of children and introduced the possibility of alternative power dynamics in adult child relationships (Rwezaura, 2000). While children's rights and the use of physical punishments in schools continues to be a point of debate and scrutiny in Tanzania, especially since the use of strokes remains part of the national Tanzania education regulations, further comments by the district primary education administrator suggest that friction between parents and teachers over the use of physical punishment of children in schools has been going on since the 1990s.

> "It [*kuleana*] was a very big centre there [in Mwanza city], and we were telling the parents who were coming [to the school to object about the physical punishment of their children].... *Basi, mchukue mtoto wako mpeleke kuleana. kama sisi unaona tunamwadhibu.* Ok, if you think we are treating your children badly, take your children to *kuleana*. *Kuleana* will teach your children. We were telling them… the parents. Yeah, so some chaos came between the parents, society, and children."

References to *kuleana* in IDIs with adults in Sengerema currently or formerly involved with the education of children such as *Mwalimu,* another retired primary school teacher, the district primary education representative and a local religious leader and educator, highlighted the confusion caused by inconsistent messages and ideologies between homes, schools and in community institutions regarding expectations for children's behaviours and consequences across settings. Ellen Peisner, in her early work exploring child development and historical-cultural use of the rod or stick in child socialization, discusses the role of continuity across settings where children live their lives. Peisner argues that if discipline is viewed as a means of allowing caregivers to communicate their values to children, a child's development is influenced by those

values and how consistently those values and expectations for behaviour are communicated (1989: 113). She emphases that for children, discontinuity of expectations and disciplinary actions between parents and teachers makes children's discernment of expected behaviour and the underlying values associated with them difficult (Ibid).

While friction and discord can arise between settings, the findings of my study demonstrate how the various settings can also serve as checks and balances to each other. To illustrate, the district primary education representative shared an experience he had during his classroom teaching days where a child came to school with severe bruises on his hands and back after a beating at home by his uncle who was a soldier. Another child came to the teacher to say that his friend had been hurt. He said while other teachers were afraid to report the incident due to the uncle's threats to the child and his position as a soldier, he called the police and took the child to the hospital. The uncle eventually was tried through the military courts and the child was taken by one of his parents to another region to live and attend school.

> "Yeah, so I said no I can't keep quiet. Then I called the police and we took that child to the hospital. In the hospital there is a department it is linked with social welfare. Then they went to the police, then to the court, but because he was a soldier I think maybe other procedures took place. So they shifted from the police to his employers--the military. So I do not know what happened there but I think he was chased from work. I don't know. So we are interacting [with other sectors involved in the formal child protection system]. If something happens or if the police start diagnosing a problem, they are coming to us. They are going to schools and we are interacting."

As illustrated by the district educationalist's personal experience, the exchanges and inter-connections between settings can serve to support child development and safety. His story also illustrates how children can support the enactment of their own

rights, safety and protection if their own interactions with trusted adults is encouraged (van Bijleveld, Dedding and Bunders-Aelen, 2015; Cossar, Brandon and Jordan, 2016).

Kuleana's presence and introduction of children's rights principles and practices started in 1993 following the completion of the founders' situation analysis. This was only a few years after the UN's adoption and global introduction of the UNCRC in November 1989 and just two years after Tanzania's ratification of the UNCRC in June 1991. While the UNCRC may have been recognized by global actors and national-level policy makers, the principles and very existence of the UNCRC was likely yet unknown to most people in Mwanza and Tanzania as a whole. As noted in *kuleana*'s 1992/93 situation analysis of street children in Mwanza, children and families at that time were experiencing hardships from social changes such as urban migration, shifting compositions of families and kinship support networks, and HIV/AIDS. These and other stressors, including household poverty were taxing already stressed extended family and orphan-support networks, likely leaving little time and resources for contemplation of children's rights and the implementation of dramatic shifts in adult/child power dynamics and resource allocation (Korbin, 1981; Rajani and Kudrati, 1994; Rwezaura, 1994).

Based on the children's rights historical trajectory, *kuleana* arguably may have served as the catalyst which propelled children's rights discourses and philosophies from the pre-liminal to the liminal space in northwest Tanzania. While *kuleana's* "Discipline without strokes" school curriculum effort may not have been accepted at the time, and *kuleana* was said to have caused significant social disruption between settings and in the relationship dynamics between children, parents and society in general, it did

serve to create social friction that opened up debate and ushered children's rights concepts, principles and the potential for a revised social status for children into the social consciousness.

5.3 Children's rights and physical punishment in the liminal space: tensions and awkward engagements

Challenging and reconfiguring existing power dynamics between adults and children in the early 1990s led to confusion due to conflicting messages regarding expectations for adult and child relationships and interactions across settings. A child's claim to and enactment of their UNCRC and ACRWC right to have their opinion heard regarding matters affecting them in one setting could lead to increased conflict and exposure to harsh punishments in another. The district primary education representative further pointed out that the conflict was not limited to adults and children. As noted earlier, he told us of conflict between adults as some parents went to the school he worked at in the mid-1990s to complain to teachers about the physical punishments administered to their children. The push and pull between caregivers who wanted to adopt children's rights principles and practices as introduced and promoted by *kuleana* and the school system is evident in this recollection.

A private-religious school established in 1995 in Sengerema by a European missionary sect, started out with a policy of no physical punishment. By the time of my field research in 2016/2017, physical punishments had been introduced into the school's disciplinary policies and practices. In a discussion with one of the school's administrators, I was told that corporal punishment was slowly introduced into the school's disciplinary practices after the school's European founder left Tanzania in 2006. The administrator suggested that the founder "likely did not know" that corporal

punishment is part of the Tanzanian education policies relating to discipline and punishment. He also said that some parents or caregivers questioned school administration as to why they did not beat the children. He provided an example of if a child broke a window at the school and the parents were called to discuss the matter and pay money to repair the window, the parents would become upset and suggest that if the school used physically punishments or as locally expressed "beat the children," these issues of destruction of property would not arise (Field notes, 24 Nov 2016).

Although this school incorporated physical punishments into its disciplinary strategies after a long period of not including them, during school observation visits, the use of physical punishment and the number of disciplinary issues that arose at this school appeared to be fewer than in other schools where we observed. The school's history of originally not using physical forms of punishment, and the fact that it was better resourced as a private school with a lower student to teacher ratio likely contributed to this. The classrooms which we were invited to observe ranged in size with the smallest class having 35 children (Primary Standard 2) and the largest class having 54 children (Primary Standard 3). Several of the government primary schools we visited had classes with close to, or more than, 100 pupils. In looking back at data from my baseline school survey, all the observation schools under reported their student to teacher ratios. Several of the schools had student to teacher ratios more than double what they described in the baseline survey.

The private-religious school, where physical punishments had been incorporated after years without them, had paved walkways between classrooms and well-maintained

outdoor-spaces including statues of different animals that doubled as outdoor teaching aides. The individual classrooms we visited had smooth blackboards, chalk and erasers, supply closets that appeared to have supplies, teaching aides on the walls and teachers who demonstrated knowledge of classroom management strategies extending beyond physical punishments. While Jerry and I never saw any of the teachers physically strike any of the children, on one occasion one boy who was part of a group of boys making noise and disturbing the class during a lesson was asked to kneel at the front of the class when he was not able to answer the lesson-related question he was asked. Two other boys who were also disturbing the class were able to answer the lesson-related question, however, and as a result, were not made to kneel. The more experienced teachers at the school used shifts in teaching pedagogy to attempt to change the dynamics of the classroom when children became distracted. Strategies included songs and dance or breathing in and out for the Primary Standard 2 (~8-10 years old) children and shifting a lesson to a competition between two sides of the room for Standard 3 students. Several teachers also used warnings, including "Will you make me punish you?" "Stop making noise or you will lose a point." and "Do you want me to slap you?" when children continued to make noise after repeated attempts to settle them down. On one of our visits to the school, we did see some of the older students (possibly Standard 7 students) quietly sitting outside the headmaster's office waiting to receive strokes related to poor academic performance (Field Notes – School Observation Visits, 02 Nov and 10 Nov 2016).

Perhaps this school's prior history of using non-physical forms of punishments required the school's administration to support teachers in learning about and training on use

of alternative strategies of teaching and classroom management beyond physical punishments. At least some form of these historical experiences and philosophies appeared to continue and be passed along to the current teaching staff. In our baseline survey visit to the school to learn more about the school and its disciplinary practices, a school administrator who was at the school during the time of the school's founder said "Discipline does not mean you need to strike someone. Striking does not help most of the time." While physical punishments were incorporated into the school's disciplinary policies and practices, the practices at this school appeared more closely aligned with the detailed guidance outlined in the national education policy regarding corporal punishment [The Education (Corporal Punishment) Regulations, 2002] than we saw in other schools.

While members of the school administration at all our observation schools suggested their schools follow government of Tanzania education regulations, the other observation schools clearly had a much broader interpretation of what constituted appropriate disciplinary practices and corporal punishment as similarly illustrated in the discussion of terminology in Chapter 4. At the other schools we saw a liberal use of physical punishments ranging from strokes on the buttocks and palm of the hand to smacks around the head and shoulders, kneeling on the cement floor, and in two schools we saw a teacher and a head teacher tightly pinch children on one cheek while slapping them on the other.

The private religious school's story illustrates the messiness, friction and transitional back-and-forth movements inherent to a liminal space of social transformation (van Gennep, 1960; Turner, 1964; Szakolczai, 2009; Thomassen, 2009; Gluesing, 2016).

While the new school administration reportedly slowly introduced physical punishments over a period of time, the details of the decision and introduction were not clear from our data. What was clear is that attitudes of some parents influenced the decision, and that the disciplinary attitudes, philosophies and practices in homes and schools are indisputably linked.

This interconnectedness and influence were similarly illustrated by Merrill and colleagues through a secondary analysis of cluster-randomised trial data collected as part of the Good Schools Toolkit evaluation in Uganda. Merrill and colleagues suggested that effects of the school intervention extended into the community as the intervention was associated with significantly lower caregiver normative beliefs accepting the use of physical discipline practices in schools and at home (Merrill *et al.*, 2018).

5.4 Caregiver perspectives and experiences of the use of physical punishments across settings

The introduction of physical punishments into the private-religious school's disciplinary practices reflected the perspectives expressed by most caregivers and children I encountered in Sengerema. When asked what they thought would happen if physical punishments were no longer used in homes and schools, women participating in the Female Caregivers PGD workshop expressed concerns that if physical punishments were no longer used in homes and schools, children's behaviours and learning would deteriorate and children would bring stubbornness and arrogance home.

> "I want to talk about when you say that sticks will be abolished. If sticks will be abolished in schools, these children will not be handled easily. Because we have sticks children wake up early in the morning and go to school because he knows that the teacher will punish him. But if we say let's abolish sticks in schools the child can wake up even at eight o'clock in the morning and he/she begins

walking to school the way he/she likes. This is because they know at schools there are no sticks. Hmm, he knows that his mother does not punish him. Even at school there are no sticks so I can do whatever I think is fine for me in that sense. We say that sticks are very good because they help our children.

FGD - 42-years old mother of children attending a government primary school near town center – Female Caregivers' PGD Workshop - [P-02]

Several mothers suggested that children today are arrogant and the women attending the PGD workshop all agreed that strokes were in children's best interest for developing good manners such as respect and obedience and successful learning. A mother whose children attended the private-religious school expressed that she felt outsiders misunderstand the use of physical punishments in Tanzania:

"I think according to the understanding of our fellows [Westerners or Outsiders] they think giving children strokes is like we are afflicting the children or we hate our own children. But we normally use strokes as a means of changing our children's behaviours. Strokes help us to raise good children, but for them they see strokes as a heavy punishment for a child. We don't afflict children. Even I give punishments to my children but still the love for my children goes too deep. I punish them when they stray from good manners. So I want them to come back on the right track, and when my children are on the right track I don't need strokes. Why should you continue punishing them? … [Sounds of group agreement]

Strokes help us to take care of our children…. It should not be understood that we punish children because we like doing it or we do it without any genuine reasons. We punish children as a way of helping ourselves in children's upbringing and at school teachers use strokes because they want our children to be successful. But when strokes will be stopped? Hmm, behaviours of our children will be even worse. I think we can't finish listing them." [Group laughter]

FGD - 39-year old mother of children attending private-religious primary school - Female Caregivers PGD Workshop – [P-10]

This mother's comments, and the agreement signalled by the other women, suggest these women felt measured administration of physical punishment is in "the best interest" of their children's training and development and not acts of violence. Her clear and direct comments also reveal a resistance to or challenging of perceived

outsider judgments and pressures regarding the use of these punishments. Her comment raises into question the notion of intentionality and links back to definitions of violence as provided by the WHO and by a boy participant noted in Chapter 4. While these women represented caregivers of children attending a variety of schools both government and private, they were in agreement that measured use of physical punishments were in the best interest of their children.

The mothers' comments also echoed findings of a study of parents and grandparents use of physical punishments as an early childhood disciplinary strategy in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. The study by Frankenberg and colleagues in a poor urban area of Dar es Salaam revealed that the caregivers interviewed grouped physical punishments into categories based on intention and magnitude, and they saw physical punishments as being in the best interest of the child when administered in a measured and "caring" manner. (Frankenberg, Holmqvist and Rubenson, 2010). Frankenberg and colleague suggested that respondents in their study believed:

> "'Beating with care' is performed in the best interest of the child, in order to teach what is right and wrong and prevent the child from getting injured or causing accidents. As caregivers are occupied with other chores, it is important that the children as early as possible learn to avoid accidents and corporal punishment is regarded as an effective strategy" (Ibid).

Similar to the women, most of the men attending the Male Caregivers PGD Workshop suggested that children would lose respect, become arrogant and their educations would suffer if strokes were no longer used in homes and schools. One father suggested that some children can behave well and learn successfully without physical punishments, however, he felt this was contingent upon a good example being first set at home.

> "That's why I'm saying that it is possible because the issue begins in our families. If we are able to make a good family--especially parents living in harmony and peace where there is not regular family conflicts... I always see it at my home. When you fall into conflict with your wife the children look so confused."
>
> FGD - 38-year old father of children attending a government primary school near town centre –Male Caregivers PGD Workshop – [P-15]

However, this same father identified children's interactions with others outside the home as a challenge to the use of non-physical forms of punishment by individual families and homes. He went on to explain:

> "A child growing up without strokes is possible. That is according to my views and the way I see my family. For this issue to be successful the whole community must be involved and be aware of it. That is to mean that the community that you are living with must be well educated about this issue. This is because a child learns quickly and needs enough time to be free from us, the parents. But there is a challenge that your child may adopt other behaviours from outside and bring them in the family. You must know that a child lives in the community. Just like other communities a child learns from people around them. So in that way you find that in our communities it is very hard to implement. But as we go on it is going to be possible...."

In Chapter 6, which discusses growing social stratification and the emergence of a middle-class childhood in Tanzania, this same man suggests that people who live behind gates with tall fences can more easily implement non-physical forms of punishment or correction. This man was an outlier as compared with the other male caregivers at the men's PGD workshop who expressed scepticism of the current prospects of childrearing without physical punishments. This father self-identified as an entrepreneur, while the other male caregivers self-identified as farmers (5) or working in some capacity with the mission hospital (2), i.e. home-based care and "health service". This father was also rather vocal throughout the workshop. His alternative views may have been influenced by his entrepreneurial vision and spirit and

exposure to people with different ideas and lifestyles that he encountered through his business endeavours.

While this man suggested that abandoning use of physical punishments is possible, his concerns about influences outside the household were shared by other men in the PGD workshop.

> "According to me we as people in Tanzania have not reached to the level where we can stop using strokes. For instance, in other countries like our fellow's, when a child grows up the child remains in the hands of the parents 70% of the time. The child is not allowed to roam in the streets the way he likes. The child will be under protection [by the parents]. But here a child will go to [=a named market=]. There are no rules for protecting the child. The child will go to [=a named village=] to look for wild fruits. There are no rules guiding the child to stay a home. Therefore, I believe these children cannot grow up without strokes because we don't have rules which are guiding their lives."
>
> FGD - 35-year old father of children attending a semi-rural government school – Male Caregivers PGD Workshop – [P-19]

Several of the men acknowledged that children vary in their individual temperaments and behaviours suggesting that some children with what they referred to as "good values" could continue to learn and maintain discipline without physical punishments while other children who are considered "troublesome" would fail to go to class and their discipline would become worse if physical punishments were no longer used. Although the women did not directly acknowledge the varying personality traits of different children, they similarly suggested that use of physical punishments were no longer necessary once a child demonstrated right behaviour or was seen to be "on the right track."

Another father in the Male Caregivers' PGD Workshop group spoke of family economic

pressures, the stress it creates within families and the challenge these pressures cause

with regard to the use of physical punishments.

> "Personally I think in our African community you know we have not reached to the level of our fellow [referring to me as a Westerner/Outsider], especially on children's upbringing. Unless we could have such kind or life I think we could have reached far. But now the issue is different. You may find that a father is working hard to make some money but comes home in the evening with no money. So he is confused and distressed. A child may start demanding his/her basic needs so that parent may see it as a kind of disturbance which can lead to a blow on the cheek of the child. So I don't know what we should do regarding that one. The first thing is that we are being so angry, enhee? As I said before you find that we talk to children in an angry way. 'What are you telling me? Go away!' Even when the child gives you the exercise book so you can see what he learned at school, you don't want to see what he learned because you have a lot of issues in your mind."

> FGD – 38-year old father of a child attending a private-religious primary school - Male Caregivers PGD Workshop – [P-18]

This father points out the notion that differing historical and economic trajectories

affect contextual norms and realities, and suggests that economic stress influences the

use of physical punishments in some Tanzanian families. His response is somewhat

gendered as he specifically identifies the stress on fathers as household providers.

Masculinities and male identities as providers and protectors have similarly been

identified as stress triggers in work on intimate partner violence (IPV) in Peru by Buller

(2016). Pells and others through their work on the Young Lives multi-country

longitudinal poverty study similarly links household stress created by poverty to

children's experiences of violence (Pells, et al., 2018).

While research correlating use of physical punishment and economic stress remains

mixed and is mostly from high income countries (Hart et al., 2005), this father

acknowledges a social phenomenon he perceives and potentially personally

experienced as associated with caregivers' use of physical and verbal chastisement. His statement acknowledges such interactions as an issue and reflects his questioning of the status quo. His perception also suggests a belief that the economic circumstances of people outside the African continent support their reduced or non-use of physical punishments. Although he seemed disappointed with the circumstances he described, his Othering classification of the situation reduces his own agency in the on-going process of change or it can serve as an unconscious form of resistance used to validate and maintain the status quo (Scott, 1987; Krumer-Nevo and Benjamin, 2010; Jensen, 2011; Dervin, 2012; Vinthagen and Johansson, 2013).

This discussion or Othering comparison may have arisen as I was a foreign researcher and the animated video we presented to initiate the FGD was a production of Save the Children-Tanzania and sponsored by the European Union for the Day of the African Child 2016. Although we clearly explained the origin of the video that we showed in order to stimulate discussion rather than to promote a particular stance, comments from the mother who suggested that outsiders think that parents hate their own children, as well as the comments from this father, suggest a perceived external judgment that can ultimately prove counter-productive to contextually relevant transformation supporting the wellbeing of children and families (An-Na'im, 1995: 20).

5.5 Children's perspectives and experience of the use of physical punishments across settings

In discussions with boys and girls during the Boys' and Girls' PGD Workshops, home visits and IDIs, both boys and girls strongly associated discipline with respect and obedience. When asked what would happen if physical punishments were no longer used in schools, homes both boys and girls in the children's PGD workshops suggested

that children would become arrogant, lose respect for adults and other children and

not complete their assigned tasks. Table 18 below provides a summary of responses

provided by the girls and boys from the PGD workshops. Clear categorical differences

in children's responses based on age, gender or school type did not emerge.

			TABLE 18: CHILDREN'S RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION "What would happen if physical punishments were no longer used in homes?"
CHILD	**AGE**	**SCHOOL ATTENDING**	**CHILDREN'S RESPONSES**
G-1	12	**Near Town Government**	"She will have bad behaviours of going out of home and coming back late in the night. She will be boastful. Even when they beat her in the street she will go to complain to her father because they know that her father is a naughty person he will go to scold the ones who beat his child. Meanwhile it's his own child who is bullying people."
G-3	12	**Private Religious (Catholic)**	"She will remain ignorant."
G-7	11	**Private Religious (Muslim)**	"She will not be respecting the elders."
G-9	8	**In-Town Government**	"She will be despising her father and mother because they don't punish her."
G-10	12	**Semi-Rural Government**	"Even when she commits a mistake at school she will deny the punishment claiming that you are beating me while at home I'm not beaten."
B-3	9	**Private Religious (Catholic)**	"You will get used to insulting elders and not respecting the parents."
B-4	10	**Private Religious (Catholic)**	"Respect will go down and the child will become fighters insulting his or her fellows."
B-9	11	**Semi-rural government**	"Disciplined will be low among children in the family if the punishment will be absent."
B-11	10	**Private Religious (Muslim)**	"Children will be taken to the police by the parents and the police will decide that you go to jail…" (In response to B-12's comment "…The children can be scolded")
B-12	11	**In-town Government**	"You can be given different punishments other than the physical punishment, like washing clothes, sweeping the compound."
			"What would happen if physical punishments were no longer used in schools?"
CHILD	**AGE**	**SCHOOL**	**CHILDREN'S RESPONSES**
G-1	12	Near Town Government	"She won't have discipline. When the teacher wants to punish her she will pretend as she has some demons and she beats the teacher."

G-3	12	Private Religious (Catholic)	"She will not be writing. She will be coming late to school because she knows that she won't be punished."
G-5	9	Private Religious (Muslim)	"They will be asked to bring some water to school. So they won't accept it and insult the teacher."
G-9	8	In-Town Government	"They will be insulting the teacher."
G-10	12	Semi-Rural Government	"They will be asked to do a certain job and they won't do it."
G-11	11	Semi-rural government	"Maybe you can despise the teacher† without any reason. Maybe you may insult them. You may despise the teacher when he asks you to bring anything then you may insult him or maybe you may insult him through the toilet hole." [by writing something about teacher on the walls of the toilet.]
B-9	11	Semi-Rural Government	"Children will be disobeying teachers' directives. You will just think that "Hmm, we have been asked to bring some brooms but even if I don't bring the broom the teacher will not do anything to me." Discipline will go down and the students will be despising the teachers while knowing that they don't punish."
B-10	10	In-Town Government	"The school academic progress will go down and the school will fail. Students will be repeating classes. That means they will fail subjects."
B-11	10	Private Religious (Muslim)	"The teacher may tell you go and clean a certain area. There will be a reduction of the number of the student at school. At school because when they will not be giving punishment the parent may ask the child 'Bring me your exercise book,' and you find that a child has missed so many questions and the his exercise book has been written 'See me' by the teacher. The parent asks the child 'Did you see the teacher?' and then the child says 'No' … 'Why then?' the child keeps quiet."
B-12	11	In-town Government	"You can be given a punishment like collecting stones or sweeping the class."
†Three other girls also said children will begin to despise the teacher and one also said children will despise the class monitor. [G-6, G-7, G-12] NOTE: G = Girl and B = Boy			

As earlier noted and illustrated through Table 18, both boys and girls expressed the view that children would start to disrespect elders, parents, teachers and peers if physical punishments were no longer used. Also noted in Table 18 one girl's (G-10) reflected on the interconnectedness of setting suggesting that if there are no physical punishments at home children will object to correction in other settings such as school because at home physical punishments are not used. This harkens back to kuleana and the challenge of competing philosophies regarding physical punishment across settings.

Julius and Innocent, [Table 18 - B-12 and B-11 respectively] were two of the five children who were also visited at home for Themed Drawing discussions. As noted in Table 18 they were the only two boys who offered alternative ways of punishing or correcting children besides physical punishments. Their responses to the questions were not focused on children's deteriorating behaviours, rather they appeared to be considering other ways in which children can be trained in right and expected behaviours. While Innocent initially responded during the Dice Game discussion that parents would take children to the police for misbehaviours if physical punishments were no longer used, he subsequently built on Julius' comment and suggested that children could be scolded rather than physically punished in homes. Whether these two boys had taken more time to think about and reflect on the role of physical punishments in their own upbringing as a result of our home visits and themed drawing discussions, their views and thinking processes appeared different from the other boys with regard to the question (Christensen, 2004; D'Amico, et al., 2016; McCarry, 2012). This also reflects on-going consideration and thinking processes,

whereby a child can think both that they need physical punishments and that there are alternatives.

While warning or scolding was mentioned by Innocent in the boys' Dice Game FGD and both boys and girls listed warning as a discipline strategy in their respective PGD workshop listing exercises, children felt warning had its limits in the absence of physical punishments or at least the real threat thereof.

> "When the children will just be told and are not beaten they will refuse to do any work. They will just say even if he will come he will just leave me because they don't beat me."
>
> IDI - Christine, 12-year old girl attending a semi-rural government school – [G-10-KI-23]

As portrayed in Figure 6, finger wagging is a typical gesture of warning and is often accompanied by hard looks and words of scolding. During our school observations at the semi-rural government school we saw a great deal of hard looks, finger wagging and

Figure 6: Children being warned about poor behaviour in the community. (Drawing by an 8-year old girl attending an in-town government school – Girls' PGD Workshop 2)

words of warning exchanged between children in the classroom when they were left alone without a teacher's supervision. Finger wagging is a typical gesture of displeasure exchanged between adults and children, children and children and even adults and other adults. It is often accompanied with warnings which sometimes include threats of physical punishment such as *nitakuchapa* or "I will hit you" if the warnings are not heeded.

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5.5.1 Physical punishments and learning

The issue of the effect physical punishments have on children's learning emerged as a complex one. Some children made a distinction between physical punishments in school for behavioural issues and physical punishments related to academic performance. As noted in Table 18 above, both boys and girls expressed that respect towards teachers, peers and school regulations would decline and children would fail to complete their assigned tasks if physical punishments were no longer used in schools. During an IDI, Simon, an 11-year old boy attending a semi-rural government school who was at the top of his class, linked the deterioration of children's behaviours in class with children's abilities to learn. He explained:

> "There will be an increase of naughtiness at school. Naughtiness will be too much because the students will just say, 'Huh, teachers nowadays don't punish us.' That means they will fight. They will abusively provoke one another. They will look down on the teacher who enters the class. They can't listen to what he is teaching, so they can't understand because they are making noise in the class." [B-9]

Simon's response and the responses of the children as expressed in Table 18 above reflect the children's perceived inability to learn and manage their own behaviours in the absence of physical punishments. This finding was similar to an interview I conducted in Dar es Salaam with a child protection specialist from an international child rights NGO. The representative acknowledged this finding and suggested that children said similar things in discussions members of their organization had with school children about the organization's Positive Discipline work:

> "…the children themselves, as you have pointed out… with our Positive Discipline work in schools… a lot of feedback we get from kids is like 'Oh, if I'm not beaten I can't learn' – and I would like to say excuse me but there are so many alternatives."

Whether the children's shared views are a reflection of current normative societal beliefs about the nature of physical punishments and their role in children's upbringing, including in schools, their expressed views represent an historical snapshot of children's views on their own lives at a particular time in a particular place, therefore, are worthy of note and consideration. Discounting their views neglects children's role as social actors and reveals the complexities and limitations of right-based discourses which value children's views based on their proximity and alignment with dominant global rights perspectives (Christensen, 2004; Rosen, 2007; Pells, 2012; Twum-Danso Imoh, 2012c).

As noted in Table 19 below, children's views on how physical punishments affect their learning were mixed and complex with some children saying that the use of physical punishments in schools makes children work harder at their studies and others saying they makes them feel bad. These views and feelings are not necessarily mutually exclusive as the physical punishment children can both make children feel bad and work harder.

TABLE 19: CHILDREN'S RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION			
How do physical punishments affect learning?			
CHILD	**AGE**	**SCHOOL**	**CHILDREN's RESPONSES**
G-1	12	**Near Town Government**	†"I won't understand anything. Because without being beaten you won't understand anything. Even when the teacher will teach you when he leaves you, you will not understand anything."
G-3	12	**Private Religious (Catholic)**	"You may find that some kids they are raised through pampering so when they are punished at school they feel as they are beaten without mistakes. She starts failing to understand."

G-4	9	Private Religious (Catholic)	"I feel bad."
G-9	8	In-Town Government	"When the teacher is writing you start feeling bad."
G-10	12	Semi-Rural Government	"It will be like you don't understand things. Then you start hating school."
B-5	9	Private Religious (Catholic)	"When you are beaten you get discipline, the discipline of reading books."
B-9	11	Semi-Rural Government	"For instance, school when a person is the last one [lowest marks] he gets beaten or shouted at or laughed at. So if he is beaten with strokes he says 'Huh, I have been beaten and laughed at. I feel shame. Let me try this year. I will study hard so that they may clap some hands for me just like those who became the first.'"

†This quote is from an IDI. All other data in the table are from the girls' and boys' respective PGD workshops.

In individuals discussions with Innocent and Christine, when asked "Can children study hard and learn in school without physical punishments?", they both suggested that some children are able to do their work, behave well and learn in school without physical punishment but, in their expressed opinion, the majority of children cannot.

> "Yes because some the pupils they don't like being beaten. They just work hard on their own. There are some of them if you beat them they will hate school, and if you leave him he will like school and will obey the teachers…."
>
> Christine, 12-year old girl attending a semi-rural government school – IDI - [G-10-KI-23]
>
> "Yes there are those students who can learn without physical punishments but the large percentage cannot learn without punishments…. He can learn because he doesn't make mistakes like the one who is being beaten so often. But we get beaten so often.
>
> Innocent, 10-year old boy attending private religious primary school – Themed Drawing Home Visit – [B-11]

These reflections from Christine and Innocent illustrate their consideration of the possibility of alternatives to physical punishment. They also identify their perceptions

of an ability of some children to self-regulate in the absence of physical correction. Innocent's response appears to link the ability to learn in the absence of physical punishment to children who already academically excel and therefore do not typically receive much physical punishment in the first place.

As noted in Table 20 below, in the Girls' PGD Workshop girls described physical punishments in school as making them feel afraid and stressed. One girl even suggested that it can lead children to avoid going to school. Absenteeism due to physical punishments by some teachers was also acknowledged by the district primary education representative in my interview with him. He acknowledged it as a problem and also acknowledged that physical punishment by strokes is allowed in Tanzania as part of the national education regulations.

TABLE 20: GIRLS' RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION How do physical punishments affect your behaviours in school?			
CHILD	AGE	SCHOOL	GIRL'S RESPONSES
G-1	12	Near Town Government	"They make you afraid when you see the teacher who beat you. Sometime even when you are writing or studying you can still be thinking of the strokes that the teacher beaten you. When a person is beaten by the teacher she will be saying to herself 'When I will repeat the mistake again I will be beaten, therefore, what should I do?' She starts worrying. Sometimes those strokes cause the students eventually to run and be missing at school."
G-9	8	In-Town Government	"I become stressed and feel sorrow."
G-10	12	Semi-Rural Government	"If the teacher [is one who] beats, when he enters the class you start asking yourself maybe even today he will beat me."
G-11	11	Semi-rural government	"When a teacher beats, when that teacher comes in the class you become afraid."

Boys' responses in their PGD workshop regarding how physical punishments affects their learning (see Table 19 above) included that being beaten gives children discipline to read more, and the threat of physical punishments and the shame it brings, especially when it is linked to academic performance, can give some children an incentive to study harder. This latter comment came from Simon [B-9] who was at the top of his class and appeared to value competition as he was very vocal in the workshops and regularly built on other children's comments. He was, however, much more reserved in our individual interview. In my individual interview with Simon he disclosed that physical punishments in school can make children afraid and cause them not to ask for the help they need to understand in class:

> "You start being afraid of the teacher. Even when you ask a question you start fearing. Even when you haven't understood the lesson you fail to ask the question because you are fearing."

> *Simon, 11-year old boy attending a semi-rural government school – IDI - [B-09]*

Julius, one of the children visited at home for themed drawing discussions, also explained in one of our individual themed drawing discussions that physical punishments can make children afraid and less willing to participate in class.

> "When a teacher asks a question the child may have the right answer but they become afraid to say it because they think that the answer is wrong and the teacher will beat them."

> *Julius, 11-year old boy attending a large government primary school in town centre – Home visit themed drawing discussion - [B12]*

These boys' willingness to disclose feelings of fear in individual interviews rather than in group discussions emphasizes the importance of methodology that incorporates both group as well as individual interview techniques. The absence of boys revealing feelings of fear or anxiety in the larger group sessions but willingness to do so in

individual discussions may indicate the need for further work similar to the work of Anthony Simpson's who explored young boys acceptance of physical punishments and the relationship with identity and masculinities in Zambia (Simpson, 2005).

The next section moves forward to address the interconnections of the setting of home, school and community and how home was identified as the foundation for children's development and what is considered right behaviour.

5.6 Where it all begins: Home as the foundation

> *Ukipanda mahindi huvuni viazi*
>
> -- If you plant corn you will not harvest potatoes.
> Kiswahili proverb

While the settings of home, school and community continually intersect and influence each other and the experiences children encounter in their daily lives, home and family were continually cited as the foundation for all children's learning and behaviour. The above Kiswahili proverb was repeatedly cited in the parenting columns tracked over the year and people used it when talking about childrearing and the fact that parents should not expect children to demonstrate good habits and right behaviours if they are not demonstrating or "planting" them at home through their own actions. When we asked the children from our boys' and girls' PGD workshops how and where they learned discipline and good behaviours, both boys and girls mentioned places such as home, school, from neighbours, in the streets/community and in "places where people worship God" such as church and mosque. They said they are first taught good

behaviours from home and also learn good behaviour by watching and imitating others with good behaviours, including other children. Christine told us in our IDI with her:

> "We are taught [our responsibilities and good behaviour] by our grandmother and grandfather or even by my fellow children. We copy from them…. Even when I see their behaviours that are good I can then copy it."
>
> *IDI - Christine, 12-year old girl attending a semi-rural government school – [G-10-KI-23]*

While the children mentioned various places where they learn good behaviours and values, home was noted as their foundation for learning. During the Dice Game FGD at the first Boys' PGD Workshop Simon explained:

> "First of all a child learns good values beginning from home and then goes to the church where he learns good values. Yes, and in the families like those families of their neighbours they teach him or her good values. Also at school a child is taught good values. The child continues learning but the child just begins learning discipline [right behaviour] first at home."

Adults such as parents, teachers, religious leaders and the national-level parenting and children's opinion columns I tracked (see Chapter 6) emphasized home and family as the foundation from which children's values and behaviours are initially built. Lack of home training and follow-up by parents on their children's behaviours were cited as a growing challenge by elders, educators, people working in the child development and protection sectors at the national level and in Sengerema, as well as children and parents themselves. A religious educator I spoke with talked about how children who continually misbehave during religious education classes are sent home so they can learn to behave well before they are considered for readmission to classes.

> Just like I have said that the punishments we give to our students are just for trying to change the behaviours of a child,* and if they fail we call the parent. But some of the parents don't like to cooperate with us in changing the behaviour of the child. Most of the time if the punishments fail we send the

child back home so that the child may go and learn how to behave well….We take them back home because they can spoil even other good children."

IDI - Religion leader / educator in district-level field site – 59 year old man (KI-05)

Kwenzi or a hard knock on the head with the knuckles of a closed fist was cited by several people as a common punishment administered by some religious educators.

While he acknowledges home as the foundation for learning discipline and good behaviour, he also recognizes, like Christine, that children learn from each other and can learn positive as well as negative behaviours from one another. When discussing with or hearing about children's conduct from both children and adults we repeatedly heard the Kiswahil proverb *"Samaki mmoja akioza wote wameoza"* or "If one fish is spoiled the whole bucket is spoiled." This similarly reflects the link between home and community as described by the male caregivers and their concerns about their own children being negatively affected by the behaviours of others outside their homes.

During the transect walk in town with community leaders at the start of the study, a woman selling in a market we visited narrated a story about the young son of her brother. She told us that her brother was very rich and the family decided to take the boy to boarding school. She said that after they left the boy at the boarding school they thought the issue of parenting would be addressed by the school only, i.e. no need for them to do any follow-up or visiting. She said the behaviour of the boy slowly changed to the point he no longer completed his school work successfully. The woman said, *"Hata kama kuna hela malezi ni ufuatiliaji"*, which means, "Even if money is there, the issue of parenting is all about follow up" (Field notes – In-Town Transect Walk, 22 July 2016).

This women's suggestion that some parents relinquish their parental responsibilities for teaching and monitoring their children's behaviours to schools was further emphasized in comments made by a substitute head teacher at one of the private religious primary schools where we conducted school observation visits. As he was showing Jerry and me to our observation classroom for the day we saw a group of pre-primary or *chekechea* pupils receiving a single stroke to their open hand, while a group of older students received three (3) strokes to their bottoms. The children received their punishments in the open courtyard before being allowed to enter their respective classrooms. The older students were made to kneel on the ground and stand one-by-one to receive their punishments. The teacher said the children were receiving strokes for arriving late to school and that they administer punishments according to a child's age and offense. He acknowledged that strokes as a means of teaching correct behaviours has its limits and that it is among the punishments used at the school. He said students are also made to clean the school grounds or move rocks as other punishments. He explained that some of the late arriving students actually live nearby but walk into town so they can ride on the school bus to school. If this was actually the case, this arguably reflects an agency exercised by the children who make a decision and valued the experience of riding on the school bus over the consequence of receiving strokes once they arrive at school.

With a sense of frustration in his voice, the teacher explained that there are challenges of discipline these days. He said many parents spend a great deal of time trading or doing business and spend little time with their children, leaving children to be cared for by house helpers. He told us that most parents are cooperative, but some do not

pay the school fees on time "and this causes the children problems." (Field notes –

School Observation, 08 Nov 2016).

The comments of the religious educator, women in the market and the frustrated

teacher illustrate people's concerns with the state of parenting and training of children

in homes. People talked about parents working long hours and spending little time

with their children. Many referred to this focus on getting money and purchasing more

and more consumer goods as "globalization."

> "In fact the issue of children's upbringing has changed compared to the past. It
> has tremendously changed. There are so many factors. One of it is the issue of
> globalization. Currently children learn so many things while they are still
> young… Parents themselves are very busy they have no time to take care of the
> children. That's why we remind them to spend time with their children. You
> need to bath your child. Help the child to eat. Look at your children. Some take
> a full year without talking to their children. They always meet at the entrance
> door of the house. This one is going to work and that one is to school. Or you
> give your child to a driver to take this kid to school. How much do you trust
> him? Some parents use money to raise their children as they employ other
> people just because they have some money. You use your money but
> remember money does not take care of children. Mm"
>
> IDI – District Health and Social Welfare Representative – [KI-06]

As the District Health and Social Welfare representative and the woman market trader

pointed out, the growing need and desire for money cannot buy or replace the

guidance and follow-up of parents. As suggested by the father from the men's PGD

workshop, who talked about financial pressures as a causal factor for physical and

verbal reprimanding of children in homes, it is suggestive that the transitioning

economy in Tanzania has added pressures on families making former parental

oversight and follow-up practices a challenge.

Unfortunately for children, some of this lack of home training and oversight exposes them to physical punishments in other areas of their lives. The religious educator talked about punishing children when they misbehave in religious education classes and the substitute head teacher referred to children receiving physical punishments when their parents fail to pay school fees or contributions. Similar to non-payment of school fees and expenses, some children receive physical punishments at school for absences or late arrivals due to caregiver imposed home responsibilities that don't take into account school regulations. The causes of these punishments are out of children's control and reflect connections between homes, external institutions where children spend time and the transforming economy and social structures.

Additionally, the effects of the transitioning economy and reports of the reduced time parents spend with children were said to affect the ability of parents to serve as positive role models and follow-up on the needs and daily activities of their children. The next section discusses how children learn by watching and imitating behaviours, and how they can learn and imitate both positive and negative habits and behaviours they see in the various settings they move through in their daily lives.

5.7. Watching and imitating

As earlier noted both boys and girls told us they learned their home responsibilities by being shown or taught by their parents or caregivers, i.e. mother, father or extended family members such as grandparents or aunties, and older siblings. Several of the home visit children told me they learned some responsibilities by just watching and then imitating what they saw others doing. Carolina who was 11 years old and lived with her parents and 8 siblings explained that when she sees her mother and her older

sister doing domestic chores she says to herself that she can do it too. She then joins them by imitating what they are doing. Like many of the children we spoke with, she said it makes her feel good to help with activities that support the household (Themed Drawing discussion, 07 Feb 17 – H2-C1).

In discussing his drawing of a man farming (see Drawing 2 in Themed Drawing Discussions Table 21 below) Julius who is also an 11-year old and lives in a household of eight people which is headed by his mother told us that he learned to farm by watching others farm. He later proudly showed Jerry and me his *bustani* or garden behind his home in the town center. When we asked him who taught him to farm he replied, "No one taught me farming." He said he learned by watching and imitating what he saw others doing.

> "Even us here at home we were farming…. When I went to the village I saw the way they were farming. They farm and they even plant ground nuts [peanuts]. Even we here at home I always see the way they are farming. So I saw them, I went and I tried it in the farm."

TABLE 21: THEMED DRAWINGS BY HOME VISIT CHILDREN "Draw yourself and the people at home completing their home activities"		
 Drawing 1: Self-portrait – Carolina and a younger brother using one of the family bicycles to collect water.	 Drawing 2: Julius' drawing of someone farming.	 Drawing 3: Self-portrait - Innocent washing dishes at home.

Innocent, a 10-year old boy and another child we visited at home, lived with his mother, young sister, auntie and uncle in the home of his grandmother who was a retired agricultural researcher, science teacher and school administrator. Their homestead that was near the town center and just a 5-minute walk from his school was kept very neatly and had a wooden rail fence and small wooden gate demarcating the perimeter. Innocent who performed well at school and was very organized with his school work, home activities and sleep schedule typically wore a large wristwatch and would come to the boys' workshops wearing a dark suit jacket. Innocent told us his mother and father taught him how to farm and his mother taught him how to wash clothes and dishes. He was proud to tell us he even washes his own school uniform now. He told us of how he learned to farm by watching his father.

> "I was looking at my father in the past when he was farming and I took my small hoe and started digging. He was directing me dig this way. You do it like this. When I made mistakes he would tell me you just do it like this, and finally I

started digging in a good way."

Similar to children all over the world, this copying and imitation of the behaviours of others is not just between family members but also peers and others outside the family. We saw this played out during our Boys' PGD workshops. Simon, who like Innocent was at the top of his class in the semi-rural primary school he attended, was quite fascinated with Innocent and his wristwatch—an instrument of discipline and time management. Simon liked to sit next to Innocent, and he continually played with and tried on Innocent's watch and would often build upon Innocent's comments. At the second boys' workshop Simon appeared in a black suit jacket similar to the one Innocent wore to the first workshop.

While these stories demonstrate desirable results and learned habits from imitation, this is not always the case. As the men shared in the Male Caregivers PGD Workshop, they had concerns about bad habits and influences their children might imitate and bring home from other children or people in the community. Throughout my time in Sengerema I saw regular examples of children copying the use of physical punishments from others. During a visit to a neighbour's for lunch, Neema the 4-year old niece of my neighbour, picked a piece of eggshell out of the food waste bin and tried to eat the small bit of egg white that remained on the shell. Neema's mother quickly slapped it out her hand and the little girl dramatically fell into her mother's lap as we all sat on low stools while preparing lunch. Her mother said, *"Nitakuchapa"*—I will beat you. Neema, who was rather mischievous, was given the *nitakuchapa* warning several other times during my visit by both her mother and my neighbour who was her auntie. Some of the warnings were said in a joking manner and sometimes the little girl gave a

mischievous smile back during the exchanges. While we were washing up after lunch, Neema sat on the grass outside the house with a baby playing. Imitating her earlier exchange with the adults, Neema wagged her finger at the baby and said "*Nitakuchapa.*" The baby then grabbed some grass in her hand and Neema sharply took it from her hand and again warned "*Nitakuchapa.*" This illustrates how the use of physical punishments and at minimum, the threat of them, is a perceived problem-solving behaviour learned and copied by children from others. It also demonstrates how the use of force by those older or bigger over those who are younger and smaller can start from a very early age, especially if it is a behaviour modelled by people in a child's immediate social network. – (Fieldnotes, 23 July 2016).

An experience and observation from the first Girls' PGD Workshop session illustrate how the settings in which children live overlap and how behaviours modelled at home carry out into children's daily lives and interactions. During an activity where the girls were encouraged to freely move around and write their views and responses to questions on sheets of flipchart paper posted on the front wall of the workshop room, I saw Amina a tall 12-year old girl give *kwenzi* (a hard knock to the top of the head with the knuckles of a fist) to Jane a much smaller 8-year old girl also participating in the workshop. Jerry and I both saw the incident take place at the same exact time and both quickly moved over to the girls to intervene and console Jane whose eyes started to fill with tears. When asked what was going on, Amina said Jane had drawn on a small picture that she had drawn on the response sheet on the wall. Amina said she did not like that Jane added to her drawing. We talked with the girls, were able to console Jane and asked Amina to apologise for her action.

Based on some of Amina's responses to workshop activity questions (see G-1 responses in Section 5.5), and her periodically aggressive and dominating behaviours in interactions with some of the other girls, I asked her and her parents if I might conduct an individual interview (IDI) with her. During the IDI, Amina shared about incidents and experiences of aggression in her household between her parents and told us of a time that she was tied to a tree and beaten by her father for not telling the truth and dodging school. She also shared with us that her younger siblings periodically disturb her while she is doing her school work.

> Amina: "Sometimes they are just disturbing me or sometimes you find that they have been drawing on your books. When I'm studying, some of them they come and start playing in the house and when I get out of the house they start opening my book and I forget where I was reading.
>
> Me: "How do you feel when they do that?
>
> Amina: I feel nothing. I just know that they were just kids. I just beat them knowing that they are just kids that other days they won't repeat it."

These stories and explanations clarified that aggression was used as a behaviour management strategy in Amina's household and that she imitated those modelled problem-solving strategies when encountering situations that frustrated her at home and in settings outside the home. Her story of younger siblings disturbing her at home while attempting to do school work was strikingly similar to the circumstances and her reaction to Jane's addition to her drawing at the workshop. Amina's matter of fact view of her siblings' behaviour and how she addressed the situation suggests that physical force is normalised for her as a form of personal interaction with others.

There is a growing body of work investigating the effects of children's witnessing of domestic violence including increased probability that the children themselves will

either become a victim or perpetrator of similar acts and behaviours (Campo, 2015; Krug, et al., 2002; Wathen & MacMillan, 2013). Much of the research in this area comes from the global north where aggressive interactions within society are not as normalised; additional work investigating household violence and its effects on children is needed from the global south.

5.8 Summary

This chapter highlights the interconnected nature of the settings in which children live their daily lives and the need to address issues of children's wellbeing and safety across those settings as a singular interconnected process. The *kuleana* case study illustrates the confusion, resistance and negotiation inherent in a liminal space as children's historical roles and place within hierarchical adult/child power structures are challenged by the introduction of children's rights principles and the pressures of a rapidly transforming society. The findings presented in this chapter demonstrates how caregivers, teachers and children themselves currently perceive physical punishments as a necessary strategy for maintaining respect and order within adult/child relationships. The use of non-physical forms of punishment continues to be perceived as foreign, ineffective and economically and socially out-of-reach by the majority of adults and children I spoke with in Sengerema. However, the on-going consideration and back and forth movement of some caregivers, school administrators, government officials and children themselves regarding its use reflects the on-going contemplation, debate and transformation of adult/child relationships and children's upbringing practices which is underway.

CHAPTER 6: National Media Representations of Parenting and the Emergence of a Middle-Class Childhood

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"Samaki mkunje angali mbichi"

**The translation of the above Kiswahili phrase is "Bend the fish when fresh."
The expression is used when discussing child development and advises that
children's behaviours must be moulded while they are still young.**

(Muneja, 2013; SEMA Tanzania, 2016)

The above Kiswahili proverb and others like it were readily used by people in

discussions I had during my fieldwork experience. Such expressions were also found

within the text of the parenting columns I tracked from mid-April 2016 – mid-April

2017. These columns illustrate one available source of information in a context where

representations of children's rights were limited. This media review was an approach

to gain additional insights into current national-level discourses regarding children's

rights, childrearing practices and children's wellbeing in the period post Tanzania VACS

and introduction of The Law of the Child Act, 2009. This chapter represents a broader

context than the district level findings presented in Chapters 4 and 5, encompassing

representations of national-level discourses around childrearing and childhood in 21st

century Tanzania.

The chapter provides a brief background on the use of media campaigns and initiatives

in the field of health promotion and provides contextual information on the three

newspapers chosen for review. I then go on to present and compare both visual and

narrative content of the newspapers' parenting columns, illustrating how

conceptualisations of parenting and childhood are transforming and pluralising within

the liminal space as represented within the English and Kiswahili columns. The content and concepts introduced in the parenting articles are then contrasted with study participant narratives on childrearing providing insights into how the media representations relate with people's perceptions, experiences and concerns about childrearing and childhoods in a rapidly changing society. A discussion of growing social stratification and the tensions and negotiations of an emerging middle-class Tanzanian childhood demonstrates how childhoods and childhood experiences continue to transform within the liminal space in response to a variety of engagements with, and negotiations of, global ideas and changing economic conditions and opportunities.

The next section provides background on the use of mass media in the field of health promotion and provides background on the newspapers tracked including information on media house ownership, audience targets and the number of articles reviewed for each paper of the period of review.

6.1 Media sources

The field of health promotion has long used media sources such as radio, TV and various forms of print to promote health initiatives, interventions and policies (Wallack and Dorfman, 1996). In Chapter 5 we saw how *kuleana* used information, education and communication (IEC) materials such as posters and billboards throughout the 1990s into 2000s to promote and educate children as well as adults on children's rights and issues of child wellbeing. Newspaper content analysis has been widely used as a mechanism for assessing the influence and penetration of health messaging and campaigns for conditions including heart disease, diabetes and HIV/AIDS (Andersson, et al., 2007; Granner, et al., 2010; Hubbell & Dearing, 2003; Viljoen, et al., 2016).

The newspaper content analysis that I performed and present here is based on parenting columns appearing weekly in the Sunday editions of three of the leading Tanzanian national newspapers from mid-April 2016 – mid-April 2017. Two of the newspapers are English-language newspapers, i.e. the government-owned Sunday News and the privately-owned Citizen on Sunday. The third newspaper, *Mwananchi Jumapili* (Sunday Citizen) is a privately-owned Kiswahili-language newspaper. Both the Citizen on Sunday and *Mwananchi Jumapili* are Sunday editions of daily newspapers owned by the private media outlet, Mwananchi Communications Ltd. (MCL). The Daily News and its Sunday edition the Sunday News is government-owned by Tanzania Standard Newspapers (TSN). Table 22 below provides a summary description of the newspapers and columns reviewed, including the number of times articles from each column were available and reviewed throughout the 12-month period.

TABLE 22: SUNDAY NEWSPAPERS TRACKED (mid-April 2016 – mid-April 2017)					
No.	NEWSPAPER - Sunday Edition	COLUMN	NO. ARTICLES REVIEWED	OWNERSHIP	LANGUAGE
1	*MWANANCHI - Mwananchi Jumapili* (Sunday Citizen)	*"Malezi"* (Upbringing)	44	Privately Owned – MCL	Kiswahili
2	CITIZEN - Citizen on Sunday	"Parenting"	40	Privately Owned – MCL	English
3	DAILY NEWS - Sunday News	"Let's Talk Parenting"	21	Government Owned – TSN	English

These three newspapers were selected for review based on their wide circulation rankings, their different ownership and language characteristics, the fact that they included weekly parenting columns in their Sunday editions and that they were

regularly available in Sengerema.[7] The number of individual articles reviewed for each

column varied over the 12-month period due to availability of the newspapers and

columns. Occasionally some of the Sunday editions were not delivered to Sengerema

or were otherwise unavailable. In the case of the "Let's Talk Parenting" column in the

government-owned Sunday News, it was not consistently featured every Sunday.

When the column did appear, it was randomly positioned within the newspaper rather

than consistently placed in a Sunday lifestyle section as were the parenting columns

that appeared in the MCL Sunday editions, *Mwananchi Jumapili* and the Citizen on

Sunday.

6.1.1 Discourses and identification of the target audiences

As Foucault points out in his discussions of discourse, knowledge and power, all social

practices have a discursive element that constructs, allows and limits how we

understand an object, topic or practice at a particular historical moment (Hall, 1992:

291). Foucault argued that knowledge and discourses are created and controlled by

the dominant political and institutional powers at a given historical time period and

used to regulate people's conduct. He did, however, reject the notion that discursive

power only constrains and limits but also suggested that discourse has the power to

enable, create knowledge and produce reality (Foucault, 1980).

Recognising the discursive power of mass media, understanding the newspapers'

broadcast vision and intended audiences for their information and messages was

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[7] *Mwananchi,* which includes its Sunday edition *Mwananchi Jumapili,* was the top selling daily newspaper in the country, with an estimated daily circulation of 50-60,000 and 60% of the market share among the 10 registered Kiswahili national newspapers (The Media Reporter, 2016). The two English speaking newspapers were also among the top selling national newspapers in the country.

essential to the analysis of the columns. In an MCL marketing brochure, the

organisation describes their newspapers as delivering news to:

> "…a literate and informed audience who are opinion leader[s], early adopters
> and 'heavy' consumers of different brands and services. Our print also delivers
> a mass market audience ranging from the young and upwardly mobile to the
> lower/middle class who are the mainstay of the Tanzanian economy" (MCL
> Marketing Brochure, n.d.).

MCL recognises their readers as those in a liminal space who are dynamic, upwardly

mobile "opinion leaders" and "early adopters" in their communities. MCL further

identifies a class-stratification within Tanzanian society and markets its newspapers'

reach and targeting of specific class groupings. Hence, they aim to reach Tanzanians as

they move through the on-going process of social and economic transition. Table 23

below details MCL's target audience descriptions for their Kiswahili-language

Mwanachi and English-language The Citizen newspapers.

TABLE 23: Mwananchi Communications Limited (MCL) Target Audience Descriptions (MCL Product Brochure, n.d.)			
Newspaper	**Age Range**	**Gender Target**	**Target Audience Description**
Mwananchi	18-60	M	Male heads of households who are more comfortable reading in Kiswahili than English. They are mainly interested in national news and mostly found in urban settings. These readers are economically active ('the mainstay of the economy') and work in formal business and micro enterprises. They are opinion leaders in their respective communities.
The Citizen	25-60	M	University graduates who "aspire for more in life." They describe this group as "confident and independent high class business man. External symbols of success are very important to The Citizen readers, the right car, house, clothes, schools, and holidays." They are "discerning readers" who are "early adopters of the latest technology such as mobile phones, home theatre systems, satellite and cable."

While both the _Mwananchi_ and The Citizen readership are positioned as people--

specifically men--of influence, The Citizen target readership is clearly grouped with

significant access and aspirations for formal education, wealth and material resources. No specific information was found for the government-owned TSN newspapers regarding their market strategy and target audiences. A marketing brochure could not be found and the "About Us" section of their TSN website was blank. This may reflect the tightening restrictions on the media by the current government administration and the newspapers less commercial nature as a government-owned media source. Nevertheless, MCL made clear class distinctions between the target readership for its English and Kiswahili publications. The next section illustrates how these readership distinctions were represented in relation to children's upbringing and parenting.

6.2 Visual representations of caregivers

Representations of women as caregivers dominated the illustrations appearing with the parenting articles in all three newspapers. The parenting columns in both the MCL newspapers included a visual illustration with their columns each week, while the TSN column "Let's Talk Parenting" only included illustrations or photographs with its articles three of the 21 times it was available for review. The following table (Table 24) summarises the frequency of visual representations accompanying articles and the frequency of women, men and children on their own appeared.

TABLE 24: Frequency of Visual Representation of Caregivers and Children					
Newspaper Sunday Edition and Column	Total Articles Reviewed	Total Articles with Visual Representations	Women	Men	Children Only
Mwananchi Jumapili (Sunday Citizen) "*Malezi*"(Upbringing)	44	44	29	8	7
Citizen on Sunday "Parenting"	40	40	30	7	3
Sunday News "Let's Talk Parenting"	21	3	1	1†	1
†This illustration included a man, woman and child as a representation of a nuclear family.					

Both English-language newspapers included Westernised illustrations of women. The women typically had long hair, and in the MCL's <u>Citizen on Sunday</u> "Parenting" column, women were represented wearing trousers, solid-coloured t-shirts or blouses and were generally slender in stature. One article included a young woman with long flowing hair wearing a short skirt (see Table 25, illustration 1 below). Such dress is not common, and is generally questionable even within the largest urban centres in Tanzania.

In contrast, the *Mwananchi Jumapili* "*Malezi*" column featured illustrations of full-bodied women with head wraps and head covers wearing patterned African *vitenge* fabrics. Although a few of the weekly illustrations in the "*Malezi*" column featured women with long hair and solid coloured clothing and blouses with collars the vast majority of women appeared with head covers and traditional colourful fabrics. None of the illustrations of women in the <u>Citizen on Sunday</u> "Parenting" articles showed women wearing head wraps or covers. The "*Malezi*" articles also had more illustrations of women looking very angry with hard looks as they warned or physically punish a child. Table 25 provides a sampling of visual representations of women and men caregivers that appeared in the MCL newspaper parenting columns. While a variety of topics were covered over the 12-month period, the illustrations included in Table 25 represent illustrations from articles related to child discipline, adult-child relations and safety. Appendix 10 provides full listings of all articles reviewed over the 12-month period from the three newspapers.

TABLE 25: Visual Representations of Caregivers Sunday MCL Parenting Columns	
Citizen on Sunday *"Parenting"* column	*Mwananchi Jumapili* *"Malezi"* column
1) "Does old-fashioned discipline work?" - 24 Jul 2016	2) "Je, inawezakana kumlea mtoto bila viboko?" (Is it possible to raise a child without strokes?) - 08 May 2016
3) "Moving beyond threats (ages 5-8)" - 25 Sep 2016	4) "Sheria ya mtoto inasemaje kuhusu ajira zenye madhara kwa watoto?" (What does the Law of the Child Act say about harmful employment of children? - 11 Sep 2016
5) "Why grade schoolers talk back" - 04 Dec 2016	6) "Adhabu ya fimbo humsaidia mchapaji kutoa hasira, si kumuadabisha mtoto" (Beating with a stick helps the person beating to overcome anger but it doesn't teach the child) - 16 Oct 2016

7) "Walking the tightrope of discipline" - 01 Jan 2017

8) "Hivi ndivyo tabia njema ya mtoto hujengwa" (This is how good child behaviour is built) - 29 Jan 2017

9) "No time to bond with your children?" - 17 Jul 2016

10) "Namna ya kumsaidia mtotot kuacha tabia zisisofaa" (Ways to help a child stop inappropriate behaviours) – 02 Oct 2016

11) "Parents' guide to video and computer games" - 16 Oct 2016

12) "Magonjwa yanayozuilika kwa chanjo" (Diseases which can be avoided through vaccination) – 26 Mar 2017

As noted by the article titles and illustrations, both MCL newspapers included articles addressing child discipline and behaviour training and management. Both publications placed the discourse on the use and utility of physical punishment in a position of questioning and debate. MCL does, however, represent the "upper class" readership of The Citizen and the "mass market audience" of _Mwananchi_ in different positions

within the liminal debates on physical punishments. MCL presented multiple

discourses on the topic of physical punishments with *Mwanachi* readership provided

with information on laws, regulations and harms causes by physical punishment, and

The Citizen readership provided with information on skills and shared experiences on

how to manage without the use of physical punishments.

Several illustrations from the Citizen on Sunday "Parenting" articles show children in

defiant or stubborn postures while a mother tries to discuss and reason with them.

(See Table 25, illustrations 3, 5 and 7 above.) These representations of children mirror

opinions and concerns repeatedly voiced by caregivers, teachers and even children in

Sengerema who said children would become arrogant and stubborn if physical

punishments were no longer allowed in schools, homes or in other community spaces.

One mother from the Women's PGD Workshop identified these challenges as a direct

result of children's rights.

> "I think children's rights have led to people in the community not warning or punishing children when they commit mistakes... because children are taken care of by all members of the community. Like children's rights which prohibit punishing children. As a parent I can't see all the mistakes my child makes, but my neighbours may see them. But due to these rights they won't punish him. This is because of the generation that we have today. Nowadays you can't warn a child whom is not your own child. If you say anything to him/her, [the child] may say who are you to tell me something like that? You better mind your own business. So a child may respond with a rough tongue that may leave you surprised. So you let the child do what he/she thinks is fine for him. This makes many children become spoiled morally because they are not ready to be warned or advised when they make mistakes...."
>
> 29 year-old mother of a child attending a private religious primary school (Catholic) - Female Caregivers' PGD Workshop – [P-09]

This mother's comments illustrate the liminal shifts and struggles parents and

communities face in their efforts to negotiate new power dynamics between children

and adults introduced along with the realisation of children's rights. This again demonstrates the interconnectedness of the setting in which children live. *Mwalimu*, the retired primary school teacher in Sengerema referred to this shift from community oversight and disciplining of children as "privatisation," and suggested that this shift has led to the decline in children's manners and behaviours. While the pros and cons of the "privatisation" of childrearing can, and are, being debated, the tensions of transforming child/adult power dynamics and discussion on how to create new right relations between the generations are on-going.

Unlike the female representations, male representations in the two newspapers did not differ greatly based on clothing or stature; however, the illustration of the man, presumably a father, playing video games with his child (Table 25 illustration 11) clearly represents the resourced, "upper class" male target audience of The Citizen. The limited number of representations of men took on multiple forms including men as mentors, men as nurturers, and men as playmates. Illustration 9 in Table 25 above represents what study participants referred to in Chapter 5 as the effects of "globalization" and the reduced time parents are spending with children due to heavy work schedules and "chasing money."

The article narratives across the newspapers did not distinguish gender roles in parenting responsibilities with the exception of the 04 December 2016 article in the *Mwananchi Jumapili* on talking with children about reproductive health matters. This article suggested that parents should talk with children of the same gender about reproductive health issues. Although parental roles were not specifically gendered in the article narratives, the visual representations of men involved in the parenting

process, including in nurturing roles promotes a discourse of shared parenting

responsibilities across genders.

A district community development representative connected the growing involvement

of men in the tasks of children's upbringing with the introduction and promotion of

policies and laws such as The Law of the Child Act, 2009 during an interview I

conducted with him in Sengerema. The Community Development Department

representative explained how the introduction of national policies and The Law of the

Child Act, 2009 has supported them in educating the public on children's rights and

their roles and responsibilities in facilitating children's access to those rights.

> "You see, you need to change the mindset of the parents, but as I said earlier if
> you go to the policy if you go to the act by itself it has [all the responsibilities of
> parents and the community]. Because it is our obligation, we as community
> development officers, we are going to change the mindset of the parents. To
> tell them what is in the law and to ask them to comply and tell them the
> consequence of not complying with the law… with the policies. After that we
> are expecting to see the results….
>
> ME: 'What specific changes are you seeing?
>
> 'For example, even the rate of taking the children to get health services. You
> can go to the clinics and you can see how people are scrambling to get the
> services. Previously it was not like that. Nowadays you can see how the
> parents… how the mothers are becoming very serious about going to
> dispensaries, to health centers… It is not that the children are sick but it's
> because of prevention… because of vaccinations. And there are not even
> gender issues now on taking care of the children. You can see even the father is
> taking his children to the hospital. It was not previously like that. But because
> the policies, The [Child] Act itself, we are putting much emphasis on gender
> issues. All those are the changes which you see from the policies."
>
> IDI – District Community Development Representative – [KI-07]

6.3 Parenting columns and their narrative content

The parenting article content for the government owned <u>Sunday News</u>, "Let's Talk Parenting" and the private MCL owned *Mwananchi Jumapili, "Malezi"* columns was provided by an NGO called Sema Tanzania. Sema Tanzania has a child rights and protection focus and piloted, and now runs, the national children's helpline. In line with Sema Tanzania's goal to promote dialogue, the articles in both columns posed questions and statements that encouraged discussion or provided information on issues such as child safety, growth and development. Over the 12-month period the "Let's Talk Parenting" column provided information on child health such as new-born care, children's thumb sucking and effects of children carrying heavy backpacks. Other articles such as those included below in Table 26 provided information on parenting skills and child development.

TABLE 26: Sample Article Topics Sunday News, "Let's Talk Parenting" Column		
NO.	**DATE**	**ARTICLE TITLES**
1	17 Jul-16	**"Skillful parenting tips"**
2	14-Aug-16	**"Dealing with Anger"**
3	20-Nov-16	**"Helping your children with homework"**
4	18-Dec-16	**"How can I tell if my child is being abused?"**
5	15-Jan-17	**"Five ways of building your child's character"**

Unlike both English-language parenting columns, the Kiswahili *"Malezi"* column, highlighted Tanzanian child-focused legislation such as the Law of the Child Act, 2009 and labour and inheritance laws as they relate to children. Table 27 outlines regulation-related articles that appeared in the <u>*Mwananchi Jumapili's "Malezi"*</u> column.

TABLE 27: Articles Discussing Tanzania Laws and Regulations _Mwananchi Jumapili_, "_Malezi_" Column		
NO.	DATE	ARTICLE TITLES
1	17-Apr-16	"Udalali wa watoto ni kosa kisheria" **Acting as a broker of children is against the law**
2	15-May-16	"Sheria ya Mtoto inasemaje juu va picha za watoto mitandaoni?" **What does the Law of the Child Act say about children's pictures on social media?**
3	21-Aug-16	"Zijue haki nuhima za motto" **Get to know the importance of children's rights**
4	11-Sep-16	"Sheria ya motto inasemaje kuhusu ajira zenye madhara kwa watoto?" **What does the Law of the Child Act say about harmful employment of children?**
5	08-Jan-17	"Je, motto anaweza kufungwa jela?" **Can a child be imprisoned?**
6	15-Jan-17	"Zijue kazi za kinyonyali kwa mtoto" **Get to know what work is exploitive of children**
7	05-Feb-17	"Haki za uzazi katika sharia ya kazi Tanzania hizi hapa" **Reproductive rights in the Labour Law in Tanzania**
8	12-Feb-17	"Ijue nafasi ya wazazi na watoto katika kurithi mali" **Get to know the position of parents and children on the inheritance of Property**

Reflective of the comments of the district community development representative who explained his "rights translator" role as one of informing people of the obligations and consequences outlined in The Child Act, these articles reflect the growing regulation of childhood and children's lives in Tanzania as evidenced by topics related to getting to know children's rights and the associated laws, regulations and consequences of violating those rights. The Law of Child Act, 2009 and its regulatory promotion of children's rights related to education, labour and overall welfare introduced a new policy level of child safeguarding which had not previously been articulated. The emphasis on informing the MCL-described mass audience readership of the _Mwananchi_ of these regulations, and the absence of similar regulatory-focused articles in the parenting column in the two English-language newspapers, suggest a

different childhood understanding, discourse and reality for those in the "middle/lower class" mass audience group as described by MCL.

6.4 The emergence of a middle-class childhood

Contrasts between the visual representations of caregivers, especially women, and the narrative content in the English-language parenting columns and the Kiswahili-language column reviewed, suggest a stratification of childhood experiences and the emergence of a middle-class childhood in Tanzania (Green, 2015). Like the parenting columns in the Sunday News and *Mwananchi Jumapili* ,which were supported with content from Sema Tanzania, the parenting column in the Citizen on Sunday similarly focused on issues of child safety, growth and development. The Citizen on Sunday, however, had more articles that emphasised issues of educational achievement and suggested recommendations and commodities only available to people with access to wealth. In Maia Green's work exploring the growth of the middle-class and inequalities in Tanzania, she talks about how the Tanzanian middle class "invest in maintaining their middle classness" through spending on education for themselves and their children with hopes of accessing formal sector employment (2015). She further describes how educated young people aspiring to middle class status, but who have little chance of formal sector employment, enact middle class identifies through things like dress, tastes and acquisition and use of technologies such as internet telephone (Weiss, 2002; Green, 2012, 2015). The Citizen on Sunday models these middle class identify symbols in its parenting articles. Table 28 below lists the articles focusing on educational achievement found in the Citizen on Sunday parenting column.

TABLE 28: Articles Discussing Education – <u>Citizen on Sunday</u>, "Parenting" column		
NO.	**DATE**	**ARTICLE TITLES**
1	05-Jun-16	**"Parenting with your child's teacher"**
2	26-Jun-16	**"How to raise a child who loves math"**
3	10-Jul-16	**"About girls and Mathematics"**
4	18-Sep-16	**"Activities to promote math skills"**
5	02-Oct-16	**"When your child resents school"**
6	11-Dec-16	**"Encouraging good homework habits"**
7	12-Feb-17	**"My child says she hates school"**

In line with The Citizen's described target readership profile, the Citizen on Sunday's "Parenting" column supported achievement and aspirations reflective of families with access to wealth and diverse experiences. Articles in this column discussed alternatives to customary adult-child relationships which traditionally value children's unquestioning obedience and respect of all adults, and provided parental guidance on children's use of video and computer games. Many of the articles cited child development and child psychology experts from the USA and other countries, as well as recommended commodities and material resources and information marginally relevant or accessible to the vast majority of the Tanzanian population. Examples of these were recommended solutions to help your baby sleep such as wrapping your baby in a towel that you've warmed in a clothes dryer or using high-tech baby monitors (some which can even monitor the temperature in your baby's room) (Sound Living, 2017). Recommending a clothes dryer to warm an infant's towel is not contextually relevant for the vast majority of the Tanzanian population as such an appliance is very expensive and relatively unnecessary given the climate and that access to electricity is limited for most people; therefore, people typically hang clothes outside in the warm sun to dry. Such recommendations do, however, demonstrate an

MCL promoted childhood discourse defined by wealth and aspirations to engage with transnational experiences and ideas. The next section discusses the implications of stratified Tanzanian childhood discourses and realities.

6.5 Social stratification and the pluralisation of childhood in Tanzania

As recognised and illustrated by MCL in the distinctions made between the content of the parenting articles in its English-language and its Kiswahili-language newspapers, childhood and children's experiences of childhood can differ greatly based on a family's access to wealth. Wealth quintiles for Mainland Tanzania from the 2015-16 Demographic Health Survey (DHS) (Table 29 below), reveal a growing stratification of Tanzanian society with 57.6% of urban dwellers holding the greatest amounts of wealth. This is contrasted with only 3.3% of rural dwellers finding themselves in the highest wealth quintile.

TABLE 29: Wealth Quintiles – Mainland Tanzania (NBS, 2015) (data represented as percentages)						
Residence	Lowest	Second	Middle	Fourth	Highest	No. of people
Urban	5.0	2.1	5.2	30.0	57.6	17,349,000
Rural	27.0	28.0	26.4	15.3	3.3	41,888,000

Middle-class parenting ideals similar to those discussed in the Citizen on Sunday "Parenting" column were perceived as out of reach by most of the parents and caregivers I met and spoke with in Sengerema as part of this study. Caregivers suggested that they did their best to support their children to realise their rights to shelter, health and school attendance. They however described finding an interpretation of children's rights which suggests abandoning the use of physical

punishments, difficult to embrace. Comments from women after watching the video

used to open the FGD in their PDG workshop reflected scepticism based on what they

considered tradition and their economic status:

> "I think you said that we are connecting what we saw on the video and the
> condition of punishments. Let's discuss this with our friends in Europe. [They]
> have, at least, good family planning, and their children are easily counted in
> numbers. When you come to me, I have seven children, and when you go to
> the neighbour [she] has eight children. So, you find that when children play
> together in a compound they look like a village of people. Therefore, to control
> their discipline is a very tiring job. Let's say that if we have a single child per
> house… so after ten houses you can get ten children. So, there is no need of
> sticks for a single child at home. This is because you can easily give him/her
> some instructions, like when you come from school put your clothes here and
> clean the house. And when you come from school I want your shoes to be here
> and the child is the only one in the house. Can you imagine that, my dear
> friends? [Group reply]: No!
>
> But when you have seven children you can find that a certain child has put his
> shoes on a sofa and the shirt is lying there. So, birth of many children according
> to our Tanzania[n] tradition… without sticks you cannot get any child with
> proper behaviours." [Group laughter.]
>
> FGD - 39 year-old mother of children attending a private religious primary
> school (Catholic) - Female Caregivers PGD Workshop – [P-10]

While this mother saw high birth rates and the tradition of having many children as a

barrier to the abandonment of physical punishments, another mother linked barriers

to her household economic status.

> "I have seen the video, and I have also seen the children the way they are
> happy, and they go to school as well as the way their lives look good. But,
> according to our traditions of raising a child… for instance, personally I can't
> afford to raise a child just like we have seen on this video because of my
> economic status. Sometimes a child when he is coming from school… still there
> are duties waiting for him or her at home. I need to give him [duties] so that he
> can help me. Sometimes I don't have water in the house. I must ask him to go

and fetch some water for me. I need to send him to the market, but the video is just showing a child is going to school with other children and playing. It is not showing how a child should be raised depending on my life's economic status and the different environment at home or when a child makes mistakes. They have not shown that when a child makes mistakes what punishment should be given. Of course, I have understood the video very well but according to our traditions, personally, I can't afford to raise my child like the way I saw on the TV."

FGD - 43 year-old mother of a child attending a near town government primary school - Female Caregivers' FGD – [P-01]

We used the video as the point of departure for FGDs with both the female and male caregivers. In an effort to explore caregivers' perceptions and experiences of the use or non-use of physical punishments, we asked the caregivers what they thought their neighbours or people in the community might say about a school or family that did not use physical punishments. Most of the men in the men's PGD workshop believed physical punishments are a necessary part of guiding children toward obedience and good behaviours and that people would not understand you if you did not use physical punishments in your household. As noted in Chapter 5, the father who was a self-described entrepreneur was an outlier in that discussion. He described a distinction he perceived between people who live in different structural circumstances and the community's perceptions of a household or school that did not use physical punishments.

"Briefly I can say that it depends with the community that lives around you--what awareness is it having regarding children's discipline and punishments. If we have the community which likes to use strokes, they will perceive you as raising your children in a bad manner [if you do not use strokes]. But if the surrounding community--excuse me let me say this--the community whose people live well with big gates… that every family has a gate, I think in those areas you find even strokes are not so many. But our community which lives

close together--the community whose houses are close--[group laughter] that's where you find too many strokes. Therefore, if you live in that community [the community where people live close together] you must accept those challenges, and in fact you will live a hard life in that community. But the community with awareness has no problem.

FGD - 38-year old father of children attending a government primary school near town centre –Male Caregivers PGD Workshop – [P-15]

This father identifies structural barriers and limitations to individual home disciplinary rules and strategies when living in close proximity to your neighbours without walls or barriers shielding your family from community influences. We actually saw this play out with one of our home visit children. The child lived in what is referred to as an *uswahilini* home set-up which is characterised by many people living in a group of small rooms that face onto an, often small, shared courtyard area. Such home structural conditions allow for extremely limited privacy and unclear boundaries between households making it a challenge to implement styles of childrearing and social interaction different from the styles of those with whom you live in close proximity. The entrepreneur's comments again link back to the interconnected nature of the settings where children live and the challenges posed when the beliefs and structural and material resources between those settings are not consistent.

6.6 Friction and debate among middle-class childhoods

The <u>Citizen on Sunday</u> characterises an "upper class" or what I call a middle-class childhood experience as one which highly values formal academic achievement, wealth and access to material commodities and transnational ideas and experiences. The entrepreneurial father from Sengerema would add to that characterisation what he called "awareness." While he and other caregivers I spoke with in Sengerema

identified large family sizes, limited economic resources, and structural issues such as living very near your neighbours as barriers to the abolishment of the use of physical punishments, the frictions and debate about the use of physical punishments in Tanzania is not so neatly or strictly divided along educational level or class lines.

As presented in previous chapters, the national Education (Corporal Punishment) Regulation continues to allow a regulated use of strokes in schools, the current President has publically endorsed the use of physical punishments such as strokes in schools and communities and, as recently as September 2016, the Government of Tanzania rejected the UN UPR recommendation to abolish corporal punishment saying that the majority of Tanzanian citizens feel it plays a significant deterrent factor in society (United Nations Human Rights Council, 2016). Therefore, in Tanzania the relationship between children's rights and the use of physical punishments remains complex. Struggles within the liminal space regarding the use of physical punishments are also taking place among those who can afford their children a middle-class childhood.

During my interview with an education activist in Dar es Salaam, he relayed a day when his son threw a stone and broke the side mirror of his neighbour's car. The mother of that house rushed to the activist's home and told him what his son had done. She then proceeded to tell his son that if he were her child she would slap him. The education activist said after sending his child into the house, the neighbour proceeded to counsel him on the dangers of pampering (*kudekeza*) his child by not beating for mistakes. She warned him that the child would fall into bad behaviours and that he would lose control of his child.

The education activist said he did not physically punish his son but rather showed the child the receipt of 140,000 TZS (just under 50 GBP) after coming home late the next evening from buying the neighbour a new side mirror for her car. He told me that his son felt bad and apologised and told him that he would not throw stones again. The education activist, who by the nature of his work was another of whom Engle-Merry referred to as "rights translators," remedied the situation by quickly replacing the neighbour's property that was broken by his child.

While his neighbour may not have approved of his parenting choices, this father was able to quickly replace the damaged mirror thereby satisfying her on a material level. In a study in Uganda of women living in poverty's use of corporal punishment, those women reported they used physical punishments with their children to build and maintain their children's discipline, and that well behaved children in a setting of extremely limited resources, was a form of social capital (Boydell, et al., 2017). Therefore, while there is friction and debate among middle-class Tanzanians regarding the use of physical punishments in childrearing, access to wealth can provide a level of protection not afforded to those without access to spare cash.

6.7 Summary

This chapter provides an overview of a national-level media discourse on parenting as presented in three of the leading national newspapers. The variations in the visual representations and the narratives in the English language newspapers and the Kiswahili newspaper demonstrate an acknowledged social stratification in Tanzanian society and the emergence of a middle-class childhood experience. As described by caregivers in the PGD workshops in Sengerema, due to their economic circumstances

and the structural nature of their community embedded living conditions, they feel middle class childhood experiences and choices are not available to them. The "tradition" of having many children, living in extremely close proximity to neighbours, and the limited choices afforded by scares financial resources makes raising children without the use of physical punishments a perceived challenge.

While policies such as The Law of the Child Act, 2009 has ushered in an era of State involvement in childhoods and thereby lead to an increased awareness and provision of some rights to children, other national-level regulations and positions such as the Education (Corporal Punishment) Regulation and the rejection of the UN UPR recommendation to abolish corporal punishment demonstrates the push-pull struggle going on with the liminal space and discussion of children's rights and physical forms of correction. The next and final chapter presents a summary discussion of key findings and implications of this work.

Chapter 7.0 Discussion and Conclusion

> **"Concepts of childhood – and their attendant practices, beliefs and expectations about children – are shown to be neither timeless nor universal but, instead, rooted in the past and reshaped in the present."**
>
> (Prout & James, 2015: 203)

As presented in Chapter 1, Tanzanian VACS findings published in 2011 revealed that almost three quarters of 3,700 young women and men (ages 13-24) survey participants reported experiencing study-defined physical violence[8] by a relative, authority figure (such as a teacher), or an intimate partner prior to the age of 18 (UNICEF Tanzania, et al., 2011: 2). While Tanzania is a signatory to the UNCRC, ACRWC and has ratified its own children's rights and protection legislation, physical punishments remain legal in all spheres of children's lives including schools, homes, and alternative care settings on mainland Tanzania. The purpose of this ethnography was to provide contextual detail that will support enhanced interpretation of Tanzania VACS findings on physical violence while highlighting the voices and experiences of a group of Tanzanian children and the adults responsible for their care and upbringing. Using a conceptual framework that combines an adapted socio-ecological model with the concept of liminality, this work explored the friction and flux within and between the different layers of the socio-ecological model as it relates to the use of physical punishment in childrearing in Tanzania.

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[8]TZ VACS definition of Physical Violence - physical acts of violence such as being slapped, pushed, hit with a fist (referred to as "punched" throughout the report), kicked, or whipped, or threatened with a weapon such as a gun or knife.

7.1 Thesis Summary and Chapter Overview

In Chapter 1, I presented contextual complexities affecting Tanzania VACS findings interpretations, including the government's complicated engagement with children's rights as they relate to physical punishment. I went on to locate this work within the ethnographic literature on East African childhoods and literature on cross-cultural perspectives on child abuse, neglect and children's rights. The chapter closed with a discussion of the study's aim and objectives, and provided an overview of my study conceptual framework that combines an adapted socio-ecological model with the concept of liminality. Chapter 2 provided contextual background on Sengerema as the primary location for conducting this research, as well as my use of liminality as concept and context. As demonstrated through this work, I propose that the concept of liminality—and more specifically the liminal space--can be applied to enhance the understanding of transforming conceptualisations and enactments of complex social phenomena such as the use of physical punishments in childrearing. Chapter 3 provided an overview of the data that were generated and analysed as part of this study, along with the methods used in these processes.

Chapter 4 was the first of my three findings chapters. This chapter discussed the complexities and power dynamics inherent in the creation of meaning and measurement of social phenomenon. Tensions between global and local conceptualisation of key violence-related terms across the socio-ecological model were highlighted. Enactments of various forms of resistance to perceived imposition of global human rights ideals and measurements that deem physical punishments a child rights violation were discussed. Chapter 5 presented findings related to the

interconnectedness of the settings in which children live. It demonstrated how this interconnectedness between the settings of home, school, and community has created back-and-forth tensions between settings, as actors (within and across settings) question and negotiate the continued use of physical punishments. Findings presented in this chapter also demonstrated how both human and structural factors influenced the use or non-use of physical punishment in children's upbringing. Chapter 6, the final findings chapter, highlighted my 12-month review and analysis of parenting columns appearing in selected national English and Kiswahili Sunday newspapers. Comparisons of column content across the different newspapers were linked to views and experiences shared by study participants. Column content highlighted the emergence of a middle-class Tanzanian childhood and the implications of multiple Tanzanian childhood experiences as they relate to physical punishments in childrearing.

In this closing chapter, I will discuss key findings presented in Chapter 4-6 as they relate to the study's objectives and conceptual framework. I reflect on ethical and methodological insights gained through this research process and discuss this work's theoretical contributions and contribution toward identifying any gaps between national policies and the actual practices of physical punishment enacted across settings (home, school, community). Contradictions, variations, negotiations and hesitance expressed and enacted by both children and adults regarding the persistent use of physical punishment in children's upbringing are discussed in relation to key findings. This chapter closes with reflections on study strengths and limitations, recommendations and identification of areas for future research.

7.2 Revisiting the objectives and reflections on methods and ethics

As outlined in Chapter 1, this research was guided by the following objectives:

1. To gain insights into how the Tanzania Violence Against Children Survey (VACS) and the discourse of children's rights at the national, continental and global levels have affected conceptualisations of childhood and child discipline in and around Sengerema Town in northwest Tanzania;

2. To identify factors influencing people's use or non-use of physical discipline as a childrearing strategy and how social norms and expectations might influence this; and

3. To gain insights into children's views on the physical discipline they experience in their daily lives.

The overall aim of this ethnography was to gain contextual insights into community perceptions and experiences of child discipline (physical punishment) and the relationship with the discourse on children's rights in northwest Tanzania. In large part, the study objectives, supported by the use of the study's conceptual framework, were able to achieve the overall aim of this ethnography. Study objectives 1 and 3 where broadly met through this work. However, after beginning fieldwork and recognising the challenges of language and meaning related to violence terminology I chose to explore how individuals and groups of individuals interpreted key violence terminology across the studies socio-ecological model rather than how group dynamics influence people's use or non-use of physical punishment. I felt that learning about how people interpreted specific acts needed to be addressed first before exploring social norms theory and questions of group dynamics. Therefore, I de-emphasised the use of this largely interventional theory (Berkowitz, 2005; Dempsey, et al., 2018) and turned rather to the study's conceptual framework, which combined socio-ecological theory

with the concept of liminality, as it fitted my own data and theoretical interests more closely.

In my initial reading during the period of study design, I discovered the anthropological concept of liminality and its focus on the "in between" or transformational rituals, spaces and processes. As this study's aim was to describe and learn about what is happening in the space between global discourses and local realities, the concept of liminality appealed to me as being a potentially useful tool for illustrating and examining the tensions and dynamic nature of perspectives and experiences of the physical punishment of children as embedded in a rapidly transforming societal landscape.

My incorporation of the liminal space concept into this research and subsequent discussion is an attempt to move beyond the 'either-or' notion of the universality vs. relativism of rights debate and focus on process. Rather than focusing on culture as an isolated, static and homogenous entity or representation of a social group, recognising 'culture' as a verb and an on-going dynamic process influenced by people and social groups as active actors in on-going social change, is essential at this time in history (Wilson, 1997: 9). Such a view reflects a changing and more interconnected world where almost all contexts and societies have been penetrated to some degree by external meanings, power relations and global institutions" (Cowan et al., 2001: 5).

In addition, through the course of this research I grew in the recognition of the problematic nature of violence related terminology. I struggled in my thinking on how to analyse the data and consistently and authentically represent participants' views and voices as they relate to violence. Since most study participants did not view

physical punishments as violence, I had to remain vigilant in my representations and discussions to continually disentangle my own views of what constitutes violence and those of the participants. I came to distinguish the variety and interchangeable ways the term "discipline" was used by me and the people I spoke with and encountered as part of this study. Based on my own learning and evolving understanding of the multi-faceted nature of the word "discipline" within the child rights, protection and wellbeing fields, I am now very conscious of my own use of the term and more frequently use the term "physical punishment" rather than child discipline, since physical punishment is the phenomenon of interest in this study.

7.2.1 Ethical considerations and contribution

The core of ethnographic research resides in its use of participant observation. Ethnography focuses on long-term engagement that supports the unfolding of social relationships and processes among groups of people, and participant observation allows for a holistic vision of particular social phenomena as embedded within all aspects of social life at a particular time in history (Shah, 2017). Conducting ethnographic research on the use of physical punishments proved confusing and challenging personally and from my position as a foreign researcher. Living embedded in a community where the use of *fimbo* or sticks and other physical forms of correction and problem solving among people was common, made for confusing ethical boundaries and quandaries. While I established a referral network with district officials involved in the formal child protection system in Sengerema, and trained the field assistants on ethical issues involved with conducting research with children on sensitive issues, daily observation of physical aggression within the community blurred dichotomous lines of normal use of physical aggression in the community and

reportable violations. On one hand if I objected to and reported every observed instance of the use of physical correction I would have been intervening in countless personal interactions among people daily. Such interactions occurred between children and their siblings and peers, among adults and children and between adults themselves. Additionally, if I objected or reported every instance I would have been locked out of the settings and networks needed to engage with my research topic and authentically represent the voices of community members regarding their perspectives and experiences of the use of physical punishments in childrearing (Montgomery, 2007).

As noted by Devries and others in their research evaluating a school-based violence intervention in Uganda, it is important for researchers to establish referral systems and networks. It is also important, where at all possible, to involve the child in need of assistance in the decision and planning of reporting violations to authorities. Individual children know their own circumstances best, and it is important that reporting violations does not set a child up for further or intensified abuse and violence (Devries, et al.2015). The need for finding a safe location and making timely follow-up on identified safety issues is also necessary so as not to increase a child's anxiety or concern by waiting long periods after the initial request or offer of help has been made.

Specific to ethnographic research, establishing a network of people and systems available for discussing confusing situations that arise during the fieldwork experience is key. I found that maintaining close communication with my research advisor at NIMR-Mwanza, regularly speaking with my PhD supervisors during the period of living

in my field site and also consulting with field assistants to support the processing and understanding of local situations and enactments was very important.

During the time I was in my field site I actually never felt I needed to refer a child to the formal child protection system. As noted in Chapter 3 – Methods, Emma was brought on as an additional field assistant to support the children's workshops. I wanted a Tanzanian woman working with us during the children's workshops, and Emma's maturity and her long-term experience as an early years' teacher provided an additional level of safety and support during the workshops if any of the children had concerns. As mentioned, she helped with the little boy who was nervous and did not feel well at the first workshop, and on another occasion she and another girl attending the workshops spoke privately in the corner of the room with one of the girls who arrived late to the workshop crying. They learned the girl was upset because her mother delayed her from leaving the house with some home activities so she was not able to arrive at the workshop on time. They were able to talk with her and help calm her down. They all re-joined the day's activities once the girl felt settled. I believe having someone available who is not directly involved in running the research activities with the children is a good ethical practice for supporting the safety and comfort of the children involved.

7.2.2 Methodological considerations

The wide variety of activities undertaken as part of this ethnography allowed for the creation of an extensive amount of complementary forms of data that supported a triangulation of information for consideration throughout my data collection and analysis processes (Darbyshire, 2005; Morgan, et al. 2002). The wide variety of diverse

types of data collected through these activities also presented challenges during the analysis and writing up phases of this work.

When looking across different types of data such as transcripts, fieldnotes, visual data and newspaper articles, I had to remain careful not to mix the voices and meaning represented by the various data types. For example, the newspaper articles were secondary data representing a mass media perspective, while other data were primary data collected first-hand from study participants and my personal observations. Additionally, with regard to children's drawings, I had to remain conscious of only interpreting their drawings to the level of what the children themselves told me about their drawings (Darbyshire, 2005; Hunleth, 2011b; Bond, 2012; Eldén, 2013). During the children's workshops, we did not dedicate specific time for in-depth discussions of each individual child's drawing of punishments. Therefore, I could only represent them as children's drawn interpretations of specific punishments the group of children listed during their previous workshop. Although we did not discuss each drawing in-depth, the activity did prove useful to the research process. It provided the children with an activity while waiting for other children to arrive to that day's workshop, and it helped the children begin to think about the focus of our research. It also provided a visual representation of one child's understanding of a particular form of punishment. The children seemed to enjoy doing it too.

Another methodological learning that came from this work was the importance of listening and becoming comfortable with silence. At times it felt challenging getting the children to begin talking about their upbringing and their views and experiences of punishment. This may have been due to their young age (8-12) and the fact that they

are not used to being asked about their opinions. They may have been tired or it could have been other reasons such as we were not asking for their input in language or ways that were meaningful to them (James, 2007). The skill of remaining silent and avoiding the temptation to always fill a silence with words is especially important in conducting research with young children as they may have on-going uncertainties of power dynamics and expectations even when the researchers have done their best to create a safe and meaningful research environment. Especially in a context such as Tanzania where incorrect answers in schools can result in physical punishment, children may be uncertain and need time to think through how they want to respond to questions. Such experiences emphasise the benefits of the imbedded, long-term nature of ethnographic research for building trust and rapport in conducting research with children.

7.3 Discussion of Key Findings

7.3.1 Enactments of resistance and engaging with global children rights ideals on physical punishment

Participants in this ethnography (sometimes referred to as "actors") used various strategies when engaging with the dominant children's rights discourse on childrearing, physical punishment and violence. Adults had varying responses to the dominant rights discourse's identification of physical punishment as a child rights violation and the VACS definition of physical violence, which included commonly used acts of child correction such as pinching, slapping and whipping. Their "awkward engagement" (Behnam, 2011; Tsing, 2005) with the dominant global children's rights discourse and the promotion of complete elimination of the physical punishment of

children fell into three broad categories of resistance that I identified as:

1) Avoidance; 2) Negotiation; and 3) Rejection (See Figure 7).

While these forms of resistance were enacted in different ways, I argue that they were used as a means of pushing back against perceived pressure to comply with externally created meaning and measurements imposed by the dominant children's rights
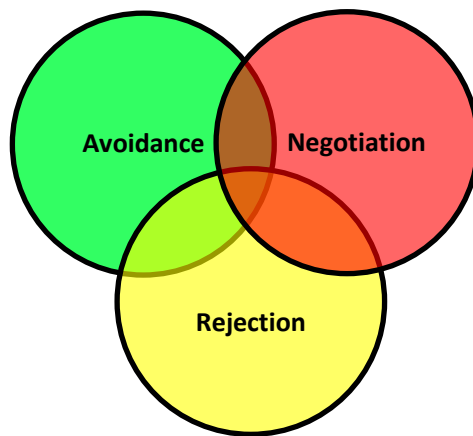
Figure 7: Enactments of Resistance when engaging with the dominant children's rights ideals regarding physical punishments in childrearing (See the section "Negotiating Meaning and Demonstrations of Resistance" in Chapter 4)

discourse's identification of all physical punishment of children as violence and, thereby human rights violations. I suggest these enactments of resistance are a means of protecting an alternative and transformational position in a local liminal process. The next three sections discuss the three strategies of resistance enacted by study participants.

7.3.1.1 Avoidance

As noted in Chapter 4, Avoidance, primarily enacted through selective silence, was used by some study participants who were exposed to international children's rights ideals either through working for a child protection and children's rights-focused organisation or having experiences abroad. They include the NGO staff or "rights translators" who attended the National Plan of Action on Violence Against Women and Children (NPAVAWC) meeting in Dar es Salaam in June 2016 and the teacher who studied in Europe who chose to remain quiet during the discussion of teachers'

understandings of the term corporal punishment during the teachers' PGD workshop in Sengerema.

I interpreted the avoidance by selective silence by these "rights translators" as uncertainty due to my presence as a foreigner. Although I was a participant not a presenter at the NPAVAWC meeting, and at the teachers' PGD workshop said as a researcher I was not promoting any particular definition or view of corporal punishment, these individuals may have decided to remain silent rather than risk reprimand, judgement or another uncertain consequence from me as a perceived promoter of the dominant rights discourse. As discussed by Scott and others (Scott, 1987; Vinthagen and Johansson, 2013) everyday enactments of resistance are usually covert due to real or perceived differentials in power dynamics which can lead to harm or loss realised by or inflicted upon the less powerful actor. Avoidance enacted in ways such as silence, feigned agreement or delay can serve as a form of "everyday resistance" which can prove safer than direct confrontation. As Engle-Merry pointed out, "rights translators" maintain a precarious position due to their links to international agencies and experiences and their consideration of global views and practices while at the same time maintaining their roles as community knowledge brokers (An-na'im, 1994; Engle Merry, 2006; Behnam, 2011). Their links to dominant rights discourses promoted by the global agencies they are attached to leaves them potentially vulnerable to loss of jobs, international connections and livelihood should they promote dissenting views.

7.3.1.2 Negotiation

Forms of negotiated resistance were enacted by those who acknowledged a link

between physical punishments and violence, however, accepted their use under codified, regulated circumstances such as regulated by the educational or legal systems through the Education (Corporal Punishment) Regulation, 2002; The Law of the Child Act, 2009; or other law enforcement codes associated with the administration corporal punishment through the penal system. In Chapter 6, the Community Development Department representative acknowledged the current space between regulations and laws guiding the realisation of children's rights, including children's freedom from harm, and the actions of many people in the community. As he explained in an excerpt from his interview in Chapter 6, providing communities with VAC prevention information is part of his and the Community Development Department's role. His acknowledgement of social change and the enhancement of children's safety, development and wellbeing as an on-going process embedded in local historical and contextual knowledge recognised that any movement toward complete elimination of physical punishment cannot be without a transformational period of acknowledging different views and life circumstances. Respect for such community agency transforms rights discourses from a vertical or up/down process to a mutually respected horizontal or side-by-side discussion (An-Na'im, 1995; Behnam, 2011: 10; Merry, 2006).

The global child rights and child protection communities might view consideration of a negotiated stance that reflects anything less than complete elimination as cultural relativist extremism. Such a negotiated stance, however, recognises the agency of local actors to frame recognition and enactments of rights discourses in contextually meaningful ways at a particular time in history. As Cowan and others point out, this is

important as "local concerns continue to shape how universal categories of rights are implemented, resisted and transformed" (Cowan, et al., 2001: p I).

7.3.1.3 Rejection

Enactments of resistance by rejection ran through all levels of the socio-ecological model from the highest levels of government to the children themselves. Except for the children, these views and enactments of resistance by rejection of the complete elimination of physical punishment discourse were linked by many to foreign ideological imports and pressures. These perceived imported ideals were seen as not in line with Tanzanian or African social values that consider the use of physical punishment as an acceptable strategy for developing children's respectable social behaviour and the maintenance of social order. Rejection was demonstrated in Chapters 1 and 4, by the Government of Tanzania's 2016 rejection of the UN Universal Period Review (UPR) recommendation to abolish corporal punishment, and by the connection by teachers of regulations and objections to physical punishment in schools to Europe where "they are not allowed to strike children in schools." Teachers shared views that physical punishments are a necessary part of the education system of Tanzania. (I will discuss findings surrounding definition and meaning more in the next section.) In Chapter 5 the male and female caregivers in Sengerema also rejected the elimination of physical punishment citing issues such as large family sizes, limited household resources, and living close to neighbours as reasons for its persistence. Male caregivers were somewhat apologetic for the persistence of its use suggesting that if they had access to resources similar to those outside Tanzania the use of such punishments would not be necessary. Women on the other hand were less apologetic

suggesting that those outside Tanzania misinterpret their use of physical punishments as their hating their own children and suggested that its use is in the best interest of raising well behaved and successful children.

The UNCRC, ACRWC and the Tanzania Law of the Child Act, 2009 all invoke the children's rights principle of "best interest of the child." They also leave the specifics of what acts constitute "best interest" ambiguous, leaving such determination to individual nation State and legal systems to make those determinations (An-na'im, 1994). While universal agreement on specific actions that represent and support rights principles such as "best interest of the child" remains a challenge, universal agreement on the need for mechanisms and processes, whether formal or at community level, that support the principle can be universally agreed upon (Alston, 2007; An-na'im, 1994; Burman, 1996; Donnelly, 2007; Merry, 2003; Parker, 2007). Therefore, acknowledging and considering the motivations behind the various forms of resistance enacted in this study can support the development of relevant local systems that support the wellbeing of children in their local communities, while at the same time aligning with the universally shared "best interest of children" rights principle.

The next section shifts to findings that relate to Study Object 2 and a discussion of factors identified to influence people's use or non-use of physical punishments.

7.3.2 The power and influence of violence terminology

As presented and discussed in Chapter 4, variations in community understandings of key violence-related terminology such as discipline, corporal punishment and violence affects how people relate, respond and enact behaviours associated with those terms. It also influenced people's level of acceptance and enactment of physical punishments

among children and groups of adults. As presented in Chapter 4, at the community, family and child levels of the socio-ecological model, educationalists, caregivers and children had a high level of acceptance of physical punishments in Sengerema and generally did not consider most physical punishments as violence. Corporal punishment emerged as a particularly complex term as adults who recognised the term as spoken in English associated it with violence, but only in the sense that corporal punishment represented excessive beating. This left any beating not perceived as excessive as normal and acceptable. This understanding of corporal punishment varied greatly from definitions and understandings promoted through the dominant children's rights discourses, which consider any form of punishment where physical force is exerted, no matter how light, corporal punishment.

There is a gap in the ethnographic record on contemporary community or local-level definitions of violence and other violence-related terminology. Most recognised definitions and understandings of violence and violence related terminology reflects the dominant rights discourses and the social, economic and political histories and transitions that have taken place in Western nations. The locally derived definitions and meanings presented in this thesis reflect an African perspective on childrearing, physical punishment and violence within the liminal space of a continually transforming society. While public health experts and global children's rights advocates may not agree with current levels of acceptance of physical punishments in Tanzanian children's upbringing, identifying locally derived meaning associated with key (and locally contested) violence terminology provides a means of gaining insights into local beliefs and conditions that perpetuate the persistent use of physical punishments.

This research thus demonstrates the confusing and contested understandings and uses of the term corporal punishment. The global rights community, policy makers and academics embrace particular understandings when discussing it in reference to children, while as demonstrated through this study, community actors such as teachers, law enforcement officials, caregivers and children hold other understandings of the term as spoken in English. As illustrated through discussions with children as highlighted in Chapter 4, the children who participated in this study had no understanding of the term as spoken in English. Based on these findings and the recommendation the MOHCDGEC representative interviewed who suggested that new terminology to discuss this complex issue is needed, I suggest that discussions of VAC and childrearing practices move away from the use of the term "corporal punishment" and instead use "physical punishment" as a term which better reflects the variety of acts associated with it and is more widely and consistently understood by children and others outside policy, programme and academic circles.

7.3.3 Pluralisation of Tanzanian Childhood Experiences

Alongside the three types of enactments of resistance by adults and the high levels of acceptance of physical punishment related to understandings of violence-related terminology, this study also found that childhoods were increasingly linked to social class, with social class having links to more or less physical punishment as accompanied by other social risk factors. This finding was evidenced in Chapter 6 and the review of parenting columns and caregiver interviews.

Chapter 6, illustrated how the education activist father in Dar es Salaam was able to use his available financial resources to quickly buy a new car mirror, whereby

compensating his neighbour for the damage done to her property by his son. Counter to the urging of his neighbour, he chose not to physically punish or beat his son for the child's mistake. Although the education activist father chose not to physically punish his child, the contrary advice of this neighbour illustrates that middle-class status is not a guarantee of protection from physical punishments.

As earlier discussed in Section 7.3.1.3 caregivers in Sengerema contested the abolishment of physical punishments citing multiple structural and financial barriers to their ability and willingness to do so. A recent study in Kampala, Uganda similarly explored mothers living in poverty's views on the use of physical punishment. Mothers in that study suggested that in an environment of poverty, having a well behaved child was part of your social capital. Similar to what I found in this study, those Ugandan mothers described the use of physical punishments as necessary means of maintaining behaviour within their household (Boydell, et al., 2017).

Figure 8: Social Stratification & Childhoods
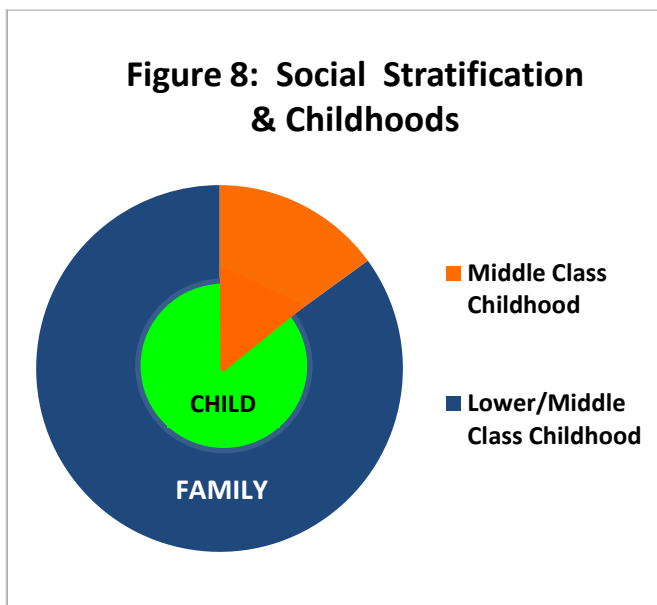
Based on the findings of this research, I suggest the Family and Child levels of the original socio-ecological model in my conceptual framework should indicate multiple family and childhood realities as depicted in Figure 8. In Figure 8 the orange

shaded area represents a wedge from the family and child levels of the socio-ecological model that represents middle class childhood and the presence of multiple childhood realities. Through this finding and contribution I would argue that going forward, differentiation of the varieties of childhood experiences across class lines is an important distinction to keep in mind for those conducting research or academically or programmatically interested in the contemporary lives of children in Tanzania.

7.3.4 Children's Views and the Negotiation of Agency

The children participating in the study recognised physical punishment as a normal phenomenon occurring in their daily lives. While they did make distinctions regarding types, characteristics and occasions for its use, the children I spoke with saw physical punishments as a normal part of their upbringing and development experience. The children also identified other forms of correction such as warnings and increased home chores, but suggested that these alternatives were limited in effectiveness without the potential threat of physical punishment.

While one could minimize the importance of these findings suggesting the children are merely reflecting what they have been taught and the normalisation of physical punishment and violence in the society in which they live, their expressed views and experiences stand on their own as valid interpretations of their social world. As noted in Chapter 4, children also suggested that most children's behaviour would decline at home and in school in the absence of physical punishments. The children did, however, acknowledge that physical punishment can become what they considered violence. According to the children, violent physical punishments were characterised by beating

or punishing without restraint, beating all over the body, burning a child, and beating someone with the aim of making that person suffer.

Research (Alampay et al., 2017; Aucoin, Frick, & Bodin, 2006; Rohner, Bourque, & Elordi, 1996) including cross-cultural studies by Lansford and colleagues (2005, 2010, 2014) suggest that children's normative perceptions of physical punishment and their perceived levels of warmth and support in parent-child relationships moderates the association of physical punishment and adverse child outcomes such as aggression and anxiety. We saw this play out in both directions during the study. Children who felt supported and encouraged at home, including understanding the reasons for their punishments, saw the occasions they experienced physical punishment as a reasonable part of their training and upbringing. On the other hand, as presented in Chapter 5, we saw how Amina, whose family uses physical aggression as a problem solving tool, imitated that same aggressive behaviour toward a younger and smaller girl during one of the PGD workshops when the smaller girl did something she did not like. Her actions are in line with research suggesting that witnessing domestic violence can have detrimental effects on children including externalisation issues and heightened potential to become a victim or perpetrator of violence themselves (Dube et al., 2001; Holt, et al., 2008; Lansdown, 2000; Margolin & Gordis, 2004).

With regard to the use of physical punishments in Tanzanian schools, both boys and girls suggested that children's respect for teachers and peers, and their willingness to fulfil assigned tasks would decline if physical punishments were no longer used in schools. As illustrated in Chapter 5, the children, however, had more mixed responses to how physical punishments affected them and their learning. While in the group

sessions both boys and girls talked about how physical punishment helps children study harder and learn more, girls in the group sessions also talked about how they become stressed, worried and afraid in classes where the teacher is known for beating. Boys on the other hand did not reveal feelings of fear or stress due to physical punishments in school in the group sessions. Two of the three boys who I had individual discussions with, however, did talk about how children can become afraid and not ask questions or volunteer answers for fear of being beaten. This gendered difference between girls' and boys' willingness to share about children becoming afraid when faced with physical punishments in group sessions suggests possible links to constructions of masculinities and femininity (Simpson, 2005). Pells and colleagues in their work with the Young Lives poverty study suggest "girls' and boys' differential experiences and responses to violence are linked with notions of masculinity and femininity, especially in relation to physical punishment (2018). The extent to which gendered norms of masculinity and femininity play out varies cross-culturally with some notions of masculinity promoting boys endurance and acceptance of pain, while girls are expected to be docile and quiet (Morrow & Singh, 2014; Rojas, 2011). This gendered difference in willingness of the boys to share about fear in a group emphasises the methodological importance of conducting single gender activities and using multiple methods of data collection. It also suggests further research is needed regarding the formation of young Tanzanian boys' formation of masculinities and the relationship to the acceptance and imitation of physical punishments and violence.

7.3.5 The liminal spectrum on physical punishment

As presented and discussed in detail in Chapter 1, I developed a conceptual framework designed to support the investigation of the study objectives through combining and

adapting Bronfenbrenner's socio-ecological model of human development with van Gennep's concept of liminality (van Gennep, 1960; Bronfenbrenner, 1993). This conceptual framework allowed for the consideration and investigation of children's lives including perspectives and experiences of physical punishments in children's upbringing across, within and between spaces and time. I argue that the concept of liminality, and more specifically the liminal space, serves as a methodological tool for examining the differing characteristics of varied contexts in which VACS are conducted. Hence, the liminal space provides a means of better understanding and analysing on-going processes taking place within contexts in which act-based VACS are embedded.

As a reference for this discussion a copy of Figure 1: "Exploring the Space Between" Study Conceptual Framework from Chapter 1 is included below.

FIGURE 1: "EXPLORING THE SPACE BETWEEN" - Study Conceptual Framework
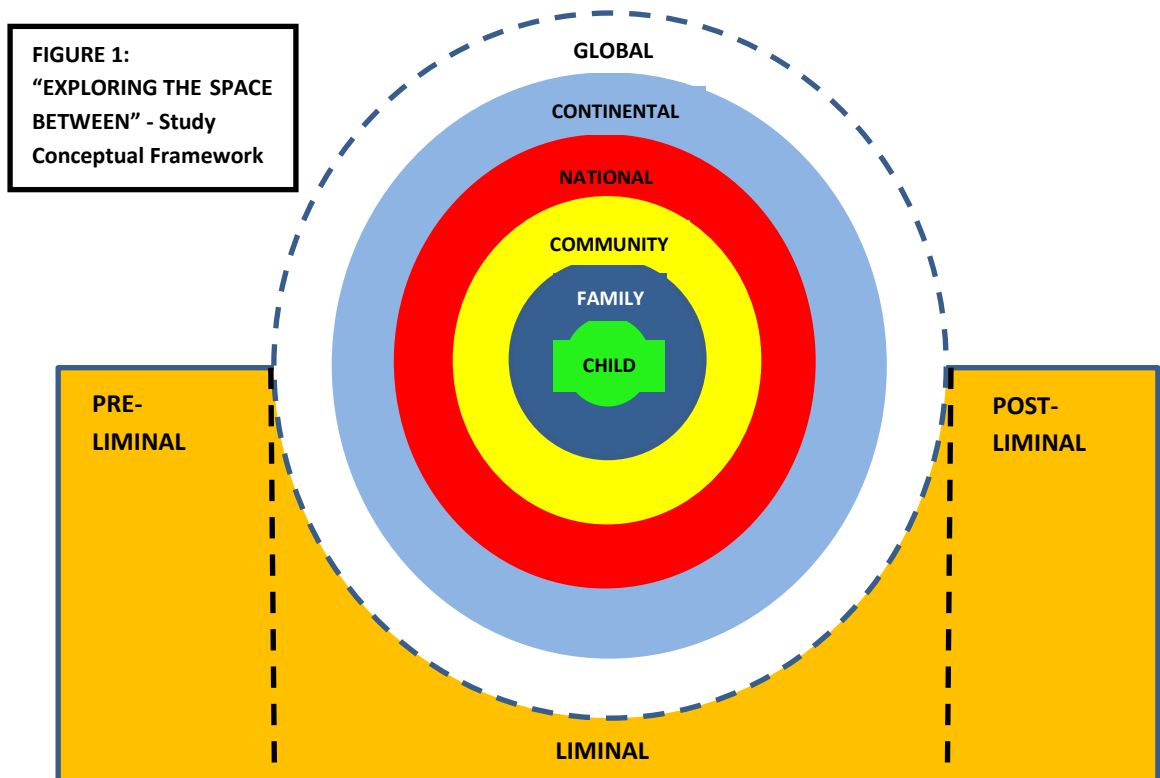
Reflecting on data generated as part of this study, Figure 9 below provides a visual summary of the liminal space that physical punishment in childrearing occupies. The figure demonstrates that this ethnography places people, policies and discourses falling along a spectrum between acceptance of the use of physical punishments and the dominant children's rights discourse promoting complete elimination of physical punishments.

FIGURE 9: Liminal Space People and Policy Spectrum of Acceptance of the Use of Physical Punishments

Use of Physical Punishments ←→ **Global Rights Discourse of Complete Elimination of Physical Punishments**

GLOBAL

International Children's Rights and Protection NGO Representatives

NATIONAL

Education (Corporal Punishment) Regulation 2002

GoT UN UPR Response 2016

President's Public Comments Supporting Caning of School Children - 2019

Law of the Child Act, 2009

ACRWC TZ ratified 2003

"Rights Translators" NPAVAWC Meeting Dar es Salaam - 2016

National Newspapers Parenting Columns 2016/2017

UNCRC TZ ratified 1991

Tanzania Pathfinder Country - Global Partnership - 2016

TZ VACS 2009

MOHCDGEC Representative Dar es Salaam

NPAVAWC 2016

COMMUNITY

District Primary Education Rep.

Teachers in Sengerema

Teacher Trained Abroad

Mwalimu Retired Primary School Teacher

District Law Enforcement Representatives

District Community Development Representative

Kuleana Centre for Children's Rights 1993

FAMILY

Women Caregivers Sengerema

Entrepreneur Father Sengerema

Male Caregivers Sengerema

Father and Education Activist Dar es Salaam

CHILD

Girls and Boys for Behaviour

Girls and Boys for Learning

NOTE: The colour of the boxes containing data sources correspond to the level of the study's socio-ecological model the data fall within. Secondary data sources not directly generated as part of this study include corresponding dates. All primary data were collected between April 2016 and May 2017.

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The red National level data demonstrates on-going tensions, turbulence and inconsistencies between policies and discourses regarding physical punishment of children since all of them do not fall in the same place on the spectrum. As indicated on the National level, the national Education (Corporal Punishment) Regulation 2002, the rejection of UN Universal Periodical Review (UPR) comments in 2016 and a late 2019 press statement from the President endorsing the caning of school children by a local government official clearly illustrates tensions between other similarly recent national and global commitments on the opposite end of the continuum.

The institutions and actors along the yellow Community level similarly span across the full spectrum, with the historical attempt by *kuleana* in the 1990s to promote children's rights and the elimination of physical punishments of children at the far right on the side occupying a position aligned with the global rights' complete elimination of physical punishments discourse. Counter to the *kuleana* position, teachers in Sengerema remain on the opposite end of the spectrum. As presented in Chapter 4, the district primary education representative and the district law enforcement officials recognised physical punishments as forms of correction regulated by their particular sector or "department." While they acknowledged the grave potential for physical punishment of children to become violence, their acceptance of the regulated use of physical punishment as a means of correction reflects a negotiated stance on its use. Similarly, the district Community Development representative is placed toward the complete elimination of physical punishment end. Due to his recognition and acceptance of the continued use of physical punishments as part of an on-going process, I did not place him at the end of the spectrum. He too is a reflection of his "department" and his role as a rights translator in the community.

The blue Family level represents responses from caregivers as represented in Chapters 5 and 6. These groups and individuals represent the class differences discussed in Chapter 6 and comments in Chapter 5 from caregivers in Sengerema regarding their continued use of physical punishments due to the variety of structural and financial challenges they face. As was evidence from the education activist father's story, if I had interviewed his neighbour, she would likely have fallen on the side of use of physical punishment. Therefore, social class is not a clear indication of the non-use of physical punishments. What I would suggest, however, is that resources often available to middle-class families may afford them more choice and possible material means for negotiating with their children. As I will discuss further in Section 7.5.2 on future research areas, further investigation into the effects of class of children's wellbeing and safety in Tanzania and other similar nations with emerging middle classes is warranted.

As presented in Chapters 4 and 5, the green Child level of the spectrum represents the perspectives of the children I spoke with in Sengerema and their accepting of the use of physical punishments as part of their upbringing experience. As discussed in Chapter 5, several children acknowledged challenges physical punishments presented to children's sense of security and willingness to participate in class, but all the children accepted some level of physical punishments in their life as a normal part of their upbringing. As I did not interview or talk to any children in Dar es Salaam or another large Tanzanian urban centre as part of this study, responses from children in an urban centre may have been different.

In summary, no one level occupies the same position along the spectrum. Variety of positioning, especially, within levels illustrates the flux, friction, and back and forth negotiation within this liminal time and space with regard to the use of physical punishment in children's upbringing in Tanzania. In a nation where the physical punishment of children is currently legally sanctioned and regulated, politically supported and historically seen as a part of responsible childrearing, these awkward engagements and acts of resistance to the dominant global children's rights discourse of complete elimination of physical punishment of children are not surprising.

7.4 Theoretical Contributions

As demonstrated through this work, the concept of liminality—and more specifically the liminal space--when applied in conjunction with a socio-ecological model, can support the mapping out of the friction and transformational dynamics inherent in changes in complex social phenomena, such as the use of physical punishments in childrearing, over time. The strength of combining these two frameworks is that the concept of liminality puts the socio-ecological model into motion, illustrating the flux inherent in transforming societal processes. It is acknowledged that Bronfenbrenner continued to modify and adapt his ecological models of human development throughout his life and career, and that critiques exist regarding how different scholars have used of his models. Tudge and others demonstrate how multiple studies state that they are based upon Bronfenbrenner's ecological theories, but neglect to clearly specify which version of his model or what subsets of concepts the research draws upon (Tudge *et al.*, 2009, 2016; Rosa and Tudge, 2013). Absence of such distinctions

can lead to theoretical confusion and missed opportunities for constructively building upon the foundations of Bronfenbrenner's theoretical work.

My theoretical framework draws upon the original version of Bronfenbrenner's ecological model and its attention to the inter-related layers (micro-, meso-, exo- and macrosystems) of contexts of human development. Similar to his thinking and his model's third and final phase version, my work emphasises proximal levels of influence such as the family and people and institutions outside the household that the child regularly interacts with. Reflecting broadening connection and engagement with international ideas and lifestyles through manifestations of globalisation and the growing availability and use of affordable communication technologies, I include regional and global layers of influence which are absent from Bronfenbrenner's models (Christensen, 2010). The explicit addition of these layers outside of what Bronfenbrenner's early models refer to as macrosystem influences, allows for the examination and analysis of the effects of increasing penetration of global connections and discourses on local realities. This is demonstrated through this study's illustration and analysis of people's various recognitions of, engagement with and resistance to the dominant children's rights discourse and its promotion of the complete elimination of physical punishments in childrearing.

Additionally, while Bronfenbrenner incorporated an embedded time element into his models in the second and third phases, I felt that what he referred to as "chronosystems," in his process-person-context-time (PPCT) models would not clearly support the analysis and illustration of an on-going process of change in a social phenomenon over time as his models primarily focused on change over time in people

(Bronfenbrenner, 1993; 1977; Elliott & Davis, 2018). By adapting Bronfenbrenner's highly anthropocentric ecological models (Elliott and Davis, 2018) and embedding the adapted model within the liminal space, my theoretical framework allows for an expanded examination of a transforming social phenomenon affecting children across the layers of influence--near and far--as well as transformational flux over time. Rather than focusing on points of change, as typically conceptualised through intervention studies as change from baseline measurement, my framework emphasises the dynamic back and forth, and sometimes unpredictable, processes involved in the transformation of a particular social phenomenon of interest across the ecological layers.

While it could be argued that the tri-partite structure of liminality is not well suited for the task of understanding social transformation as it prescribes a transitional end-point in its post-liminal phase, van Gennep himself pointed out that in specific instances the three distinct phases of the liminality process are not always equally important or equally elaborated in all ritual or transformational processes (van Gennep, 1960: 11). It is acknowledged that the use of liminality when applied to the collapse and reconfiguration of some type of recognised social phenomenon or social order is different than when liminality is used for discussing ritual passages or transformations of individual people. In the case of societal-level transformation, the reintegration outcome or result realised in the post-liminal phase is not known. This is different from individual ritual transformations of an "initiate whose personal liminality is framed by the continued existence of his home society waiting for his re-integration" (Thomassen, 2009). It is also different as there is no clear transition or ceremony

leader as no one has gone through this liminal period before; therefore, the end result is not clear and time to reaching it unknown (Ibid)(Thomassen, 2009).

As demonstrated through this ethnography and the back-and-forth flux and uncertainty regarding the future use of physical punishments in childrearing in Tanzania, it is uncertain when, and even whether, a post-liminal state will ever clearly be defined. While this could be seen as a reason for abandoning the use of the liminal framework, I argue that the strength of the liminal framework's inclusion lies in the liminal or in-between phase and its recognition of and attention to the turbulence and possibilities of transformative processes. A potential future adaption of the framework might singularly highlight the use of the liminal phase of the liminality concept as a tool for examining and analysing social transition.

With the critiques and limits of these two independent frameworks in mind (i.e. human ecological theory and the liminality concept), my combined framework proves a useful theoretical guide for data collection, analysis and discussion in this study. As illustrated in Figure 9, Liminal Space, People and Policy Spectrum of Acceptance on the Use of Physical Punishment in section 7.3.5 above, the framework provides a tool for mapping out people's perspectives and experiences within and across the different layers of the ecological model, as well as their relationship to, and with, policies and events that influence phenomena and processes across the liminal spectrum. This is illustrated at the red National level in Figure 9 where policies and people's perspectives span the full range of the spectrum with the education corporal punishment regulation and the President's endorsement of physical punishments in schools at one end of the spectrum and Tanzania as a Pathfinder country in the Global

Partnership to End Violence Against Children at the other. Similarly, at the blue, Family level in Figure 9, caregivers in Sengerema are situated at the "use of physical punishments" end of the spectrum while the children's education activist father in Dar es Salaam is situated at the elimination of physical punishments end. Such visual illustrations of data can promote discussion regarding the diversity in views and can be used to identify areas for future research and inquiry, such as social-class and its potential effects on the endorsement and use of physical punishments in childrearing.

In summary, my framework highlights process and allows for the recognition and analysis of the turmoil, friction and negotiation of the middle. The unstable process and "antistructure," as Victor Turner called it, of the transformational space in-between, allows for opportunities in creating or re-creating new standards for ideals and norms. In using my framework to guide data collection and analysis, the growing middle-class and the distinctions of class-based childhoods in Tanzania were revealed. I recommend that future use of the framework include modifications to the Family layer of influence to reflect growing social stratification and class-based childhood experiences. Such a stratification of the Family layer would facilitate future exploration and analysis of changing constructions of family and kinship groups and their effects on child development and childrearing in future research concerning children's growth, wellbeing and safety in Tanzania and other similar settings.

7.5 Dissemination of finds to study participants

In February 2019 I returned to Sengerema to conduct dissemination of study findings meetings. I felt this was very important as too often post-research feedback is not provided to study participants. This habit reflects the initial impression of the district

government official I mentioned Chapter 3, where she thought I was going to leave a questionnaire, collect it and never be seen again. Therefore, in a spirit of collaboration and an ethical enactment of participation, I did return and conducted three separate dissemination meetings, two with adults study participants and one with the children. Participants invited to individual meetings were as follows: Meeting 1) district government officials, teachers and school administrators, and other local key informants such as elders and community leaders who participated in the study; Meeting 2) women and men caregivers; and Meeting 3) the 24 children. The adults' sessions were two-hours each and held on the same day, one in the morning and one in the afternoon. We delivered invitation letters to the schools and individuals involved inviting them to come to the same location where we conducted the PGD workshops for these feedback sessions at a designated time relevant to which meeting they were to attend.

For the adult sessions, I developed a power point presentation including background information of the study aim and objectives and the conceptual framework of the study, highlighting the various levels of investigation as illustrated by the socio-ecological model and the various forms of data collected and considered. The following six key findings were highlighted, and participants were provided with a hand-out that included the six key findings written in both Kiswahili and English. (See Appendix 11 for the key findings hand-out from the dissemination meetings.)

Six Key Findings from the Research

1) There is ongoing debate in Tanzania regarding the use of physical punishments in childrearing.

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2) Definitions of key terms such as "corporal punishment" and "violence" vary greatly between those used within the global rights discourse and those used by communities within Tanzania.

3) Children participating in the study suggested that most children need physical punishments in order to learn and maintain good behaviour; however, some children suggested that physical punishments used to address academic performance can have a negative effect.

4) Rights-based promotion of non-physical forms of punishment were perceived by most adults as "coming from outside" and socially, structurally and economically out of reach.

5) Addressing issues of physical violence against children in one-setting at a time can cause frustration and confusion for both children and adults.

6) Structural issues such as high student / teacher classroom ratios make effective teaching and classroom management extremely challenging.

The children's feedback session was held on a Saturday morning and was logistically and structurally similar to the Saturday morning children's PGD workshop meetings. Jerry, Marco, Emma and Virginia Bond, one of my LSHTM supervisors, were in attendance for the children's feedback meeting. As we planned to talk about findings as they related to the settings in which the children live, we provided three large flipchart sheets of papers representing the settings of home, school and community for the children to work together to draw their impressions of those settings. The three setting drawings provided the children with something to do while waiting for all the children to arrive to the meeting, and we used their drawings to support the findings discussion. We posted the three large drawing on the walls around the room along with a children's quote representative of and relevant to the setting-related findings. While the children drew and we were waiting for all the children to arrive, we also

projected a rolling presentation of photos taken during the six children's PGD

workshop sessions on the wall to remind the children of our time conducting the

research together and for them to simply enjoy seeing themselves in the photographs.

We also posted on the wall three maps: one world map, one map of Africa, and one

Tanzania map. We used these to facilitate the discussion of how our study explored

children's upbringing from the global level to their own lives in Sengerema and how

these are all interconnected.

Overall, the children and adults very much appreciated the feedback sessions. Many

said that they were impressed as people do not typically return to provide feedback.

The feedback sessions also allowed for an opportunity for people to consider the

findings and reflect on childrearing practices and the use of physical punishments in

their own community. One elder reflected on how physical punishments have reduced

from the past and that he felt this was good, and another woman in the caregivers

meeting asked, "What should we do now?" I suggested that I felt it was not my place

to tell people what to do; however, I suggested that they consider the findings of the

study and talk about them within their families and friends in their communities so

that people can consider and continually construct ideals of adult/child relationships

and interactions that best support current issues of wellbeing of children and families

in in rapidly changing society. While I believe these sessions served as ethically sounds

enactments of research and provided a sense of closure for all involved in the

research, I also believe they provided a means of making the research come alive to

people and possibly supported on-going reflection and meaningful change in the

community.

7.6 Strengths and Limitations

The strength of this research was in its ethnography methodology. As earlier discussed in the Methods Chapter 3, due to its longer-term, embedded nature, ethnography is an exceptionally well suited method for gaining insights into complex social phenomena. My longer-term stay in the community allowed for people to learn about me and the research focus and slowly gain trust in me as a person and researcher. This is extremely important in the conduct of research with children where you as a research may request caregivers and community gatekeepers to entrust time with their children to you. I further saw how the inclusion of caregivers and the step-wise involvement of caregivers and then children served to build interest and trust in me in the community, which later facilitated my access to children for direct participation in research activities directly involving them such as the Children's PGD Workshop and home visits. As discussed earlier in this thesis, the on-going and iterative nature of ethnographic research also allows time for building trust and rapport with children, which is essential for the creation of a safe and open research environment.

As touched upon throughout this thesis, the understanding of terminology and use of language was of major interest and importance to this ethnographic investigation. Conducting this research primarily in a language different from my own native language presented periodic challenges of missed opportunities for additional probing during discussions and formal interviews and occasional misunderstandings due to and inherent to the translation process (Esposito, 2001; Temple, 2002).

This experience has heightened my sensitivity to this issue in cross-culturally conducted research. These limitations were mitigated by my initial Kiswahili language

competency when starting this work in Sengerema and my continually improving

competency over time spent in my field site. Indeed, by the time I did the

disseminations, I was able to hold the disseminations speaking mostly in Swahili with

translation support occasionally. Working with research assistants and maintaining a

field team relationship that promoted continual personal and team reflection also

helped to minimise these gaps in understanding and address any linguistic or

translational concerns in a timely fashion. This limitation was further addressed by

having a sample of transcriptions and translations from different study activities

quality reviewed by an independent transcriber/translator from the National Institute

of Medical Research (NIMR) in Mwanza.

7.7 Recommendations

7.7.1 Policy & Programming

Based on findings as demonstrated in Chapters 4 - 6,

this research identifies several specific policy and programming implications. As noted

in Chapter 4, the understandings of violence-related terminology vary greatly between

academics, the dominant children's rights discourse as promoted by global agencies

and actors, national-level policy makers, and children and adults in local communities.

Through the focused investigation of community understandings of terms such as

discipline, corporal punishment and violence, this work demonstrates how the

understanding of terms affects how people relate, respond and enact behaviours

associated with their own understandings of those terms. With this in mind, and as

earlier discussed, I recommend moving away from the use of the term "corporal

punishment" and instead use "physical punishment" as a term which better reflects

the variety of acts associated with it. Physical punishment is also more widely and

consistently understood by children and adults both within and outside policy, programming and academic circles.

Considering the implications of this recommendation across the levels of the socio-ecological model, a shift to the sole use of the term physical punishment at the global human rights policy level would take time as global policy definitions are negotiated by a wide range of international delegates and actors with a goal of achieving an "official universality" rather than a genuine reflection of the beliefs and practices of the constituencies of individual nations (An-na'im, 1994). As noted in Table 14 in Chapter 4, the ambiguity of the term corporal punishment is recognised at the global rights level in the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child's general comment No. 8 – Section 11 of 2006 where the committee cites "'corporal' or 'physical' punishment" when articulating a global definition of the nature of children's punishment. Although a formal shift in documented global definitions would take time, complete abandonment of the use of corporal punishment as a term at the dominant children's rights discourse level would serve to lead a global movement toward conceptual clarity in discussions of the use of physical force as it relates to children's safety, development and violence.

More expedient shifts in the use of terminology could be realised in the arenas of programming, research and national policy. At the Tanzanian national policy level, again in Table 14, we saw how a ministry level represented recommended the abandonment of the term corporal punishment due to its contextually confusing nature. Further, funders could promote the use of the term "physical punishment" in their programming and research calls for funding proposals based on the

acknowledgement of the problematic ambiguity of the term corporal punishment.

Such shifts would enhance discussions of the physical punishment of children at policy and programming levels—from international through local levels--as the initial hurdle of establishing consensus on the meaning of the term corporal punishment would be rendered unnecessary. This shift would also require recognition and tolerance of transformational processes and the variety of contextual understandings of the use and purpose of physical punishments in childrearing at a particular moment in time. It will, however, facilitate open and more consistently understood discussion of the topics of child rearing, child development and wellbeing, and violence.

A second policy and programming implication of this work reflects the finding in Chapter 5 of the interconnectedness of the settings in which children live. The ability of these settings to influence each other both positively and negatively demonstrates that future programming and policy initiatives should holistically strive to address issues of children's safety and wellbeing across the settings in which children live simultaneously. This recommendation supports and builds upon similar work and findings of studies and programming such as the Young Lives children and poverty study (Pells *et al.*, 2018), the UNICEF Office of Research - Innocenti Drivers Study (Maternowska and Potts, 2017; Maternowska *et al.*, 2018) and the Good Schools program and study in Uganda (Devries *et al.*, 2013; Kyegombe *et al.*, 2017), among others. Such a holistic model would include engaging with actors across settings and sectors, including community parenting and child protection mechanism, school leadership and teaching and support staff, parents and the children themselves.

Consideration of the effects of household poverty on children's lives, safety and wellbeing across settings should also be considered.

Facilitation of community discussion and debate on the best ways to keep children safe and healthy across the settings in which they live could support such efforts as well. As indicated by children's responses regarding how they perceive their lives and behaviours would be affected by the abolishment of physical punishments, including children in the discussions and supporting them with life skills training that supports decision making and behaviour self-regulation in the absence of physical punishments is recommended. Recognition of the interconnectedness of settings, the effects of structural issues such as household poverty on children's exposure to violence, and the need for children's involvement, including the provision of life skills training, mirrors the WHO promoted INSPIRE strategies for addressing VAC as well (WHO, 2016).

Additionally, this research and specifically the utility of its conceptual framework to provide in-depth contextual insights into the settings in which VACS are conducted, can serve as a tool for mapping and understanding processes taking place with regard to context-specific engagement with global measures and understandings of "violence affecting children" (Pells, 2015) as defined by the VACS. This research and framework compliments a similar framework promoted by UNICEF in its efforts to identify structural drivers of violence affecting children (Maternowska and Potts, 2017; Pells *et al.*, 2018). It also responds to UNICEF's call for more qualitative inquiry and analysis into issues of violence affecting children in order "to ensure meaningful data interpretation of the social world, including the webs of interactions and the concepts and behaviours of people within it," as well as their call to "critically examine the ways

in which we count and construct the complex social phenomenon of violence affecting children: placing recognition of process and power at the heart of our research endeavours" (Maternowska et al., 2018: 7).

7.7.2 Future research

As demonstrated through this work, childhoods and childhood realities have now become diversified and are stratified based on socio-economic lines. As demonstrated in Chapter 6 and further discussed in this chapter, a middle-class childhood experience can be, but is not necessarily, protective against children's experiences of some violence and exposure to physical forms of punishment. Further research that explores the attitudes and beliefs that continue to perpetuate the use of physical forms of punishments in resourced, middle-class families would be important in supporting a transitional attitude toward the use of physical punishments in this influential demographic group.

Additionally, the case described in Chapter 4 of the two deaf boys who were beaten in the community for stealing chickens highlights the need for formal child protection services to be inclusive of children with special needs. Research investigating children with disabilities' access to child protection services in Tanzania would help fill a gap in research and services for this often marginalised group of children. Similar work has been done in Uganda and Malawi revealing the need to address structural issues such enhanced disabilities access to buildings such as building ramps, training of police and healthcare teams, disabilities and community leadership on disabilities—including having access to trained interpreters if needed, and building community child protection systems which include the protection needs of children with disabilities as

access to suitable and affordable transport for town reporting is limited (Banks, Kelly

et al., 2017).

7.8 Conclusion

Timing is everything. The time is right to support and promote discussions regarding

the safety, wellbeing and development of children in Tanzania in the face of a rapidly

changing societal landscape. As Fay points out in her 2019 'think piece' regarding her

recent work exploring child wellbeing and protection in Zanzibar, including children as

'diagnosticians' in the identification and prioritisation of issues affecting their

wellbeing is essential (2019). Focusing on a singular issue rather than the constellation

of factors that contribute to children's overall wellbeing may be counter-productive.

Since the launch of the TZ VACS findings in 2011, and Tanzania's official membership as

the first African Pathfinder Country in the Global Partnership, significant government

interest and focus on VAC issues has arisen in Tanzania.

Based on the perspectives and experiences shared by study participants, the trajectory

of change with regard to the use of physical punishments in childrearing is not clear.

The currently perceived value placed on its function and utility in childrearing and

development was, to some degree, shared by participants from high-level national

government officials to the children themselves. Much of the academic debate

(Baumrind, 1996; Gershoff, et al. 1999, 2012, 2013, 2016; MacMillan & Mikton, 2017;

Miller-Perrin & Perrin, 2018) as well as the dominant children's rights discourse

surrounding the use of physical punishments in childrearing takes on an "either or"

dichotomous nature. This study presents evidence which interrogates the contextual

complexities of perceptions, experience and meaning in the contexts in which VACS

are undertaken. It is a recognition of the grey area or the liminal space between the "right or wrong" debate, the dichotomies that are often presented when discussing this very sensitive topic.

Based on the dominant rights discourse, discussion of anything short of the complete elimination of physical forms of correction in childrearing is often seen as a violation of children's rights and in support of VAC. Such a strict stance fails to acknowledge diverse social, political and economic realities and sacrifices the recognition of contextual variations and process to the obedience to the dominant rights discourse. The current liminal space in which adult/child relationships, children's rights and conceptualization of child discipline, and punishment find themselves in Tanzania can present an opportunity for creation of unique post-liminal, contextually relevant representations of these concepts. In this sense global actors must loosen the grip on specific imaginings and representations of the implementation of children's rights ideals so that contextually relevant norms and mechanisms supporting the health and wellbeing of children and families across the globe can evolve in the midst of on-going social change.

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