

**MAPPING ADOLESCENT VULNERABILITY  
TO HIV IN DAR ES SALAAM**

**RESULTS OF AN EXPLORATORY STUDY**

**DRAFT REPORT**

**TAMASHA VIJANA  
TANZANIA DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH GROUP**

**MARCH 2008**

# MAPPING ADOLESCENT VULNERABILITY TO HIV IN DAR ES SALAAM RESULTS OF AN EXPLORATORY STUDY

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<b>Acknowledgements</b>	<b>Page 1</b>
<b>0.0</b>	<b>Summary</b>	<b>2-9</b>
<b>1.0</b>	<b>Introduction</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>2.0</b>	<b>Literature review</b>	
<b>2.1</b>	<i>Loss of parents</i>	<i>10</i>
<b>2.2</b>	<i>Mobility and migration</i>	<i>10</i>
<b>2.3</b>	<i>'Forced' sexual initiation</i>	<i>11</i>
<b>2.4</b>	<i>Residence</i>	<i>11</i>
<b>3.0</b>	<b>Conceptual framework</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>4.0</b>	<b>Research problem</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>5.0</b>	<b>Objectives</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>6.0</b>	<b>Research questions</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>7.0</b>	<b>Hypotheses</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>8.0</b>	<b>Methodology</b>	
<b>8.1</b>	<i>Selection of research sites</i>	<i>14</i>
<b>8.2</b>	<i>Selection of researchers</i>	<i>14</i>
<b>8.3</b>	<i>Training</i>	<i>14</i>
<b>8.4</b>	<i>Mapping</i>	<i>15</i>
<b>8.5</b>	<i>Focus group discussions</i>	<i>15</i>
<b>8.6</b>	<i>Feedback and validation</i>	<i>15</i>
<b>9.0</b>	<b>Research findings</b>	
<b>9.1</b>	<i>Findings from household mapping</i>	
<b>9.1.1</b>	<i>Main household characteristics</i>	<i>16</i>
<b>9.1.2</b>	<i>Main activities of 10-20 year olds</i>	<i>16</i>
<b>9.1.3</b>	<i>Marital status</i>	<i>17</i>
<b>9.1.4</b>	<i>Migration</i>	<i>17</i>
<b>9.1.5</b>	<i>Incidence of poverty</i>	<i>18</i>
<b>9.2</b>	<i>Participatory mapping</i>	<i>18</i>
<b>9.3</b>	<i>Findings from group discussions with girls and young women</i>	<i>19</i>
<b>9.3.1</b>	<i>Vulnerability, age and gender</i>	<i>19</i>
<b>9.3.2</b>	<i>Recreational vulnerabilities</i>	<i>20</i>
<b>9.3.3</b>	<i>Self protection</i>	<i>21</i>
<b>9.3.4</b>	<i>Gays</i>	<i>21</i>
<b>9.3.5</b>	<i>Movement and vulnerability</i>	<i>22</i>
<b>9.3.6</b>	<i>Social services</i>	<i>23</i>
<b>9.3.7</b>	<i>Commercial areas</i>	<i>24</i>
<b>9.3.8</b>	<i>Recreational areas</i>	<i>24</i>
<b>9.3.9</b>	<i>Places of worship</i>	<i>26</i>
<b>9.4</b>	<i>Frequency and magnitude of factors related to vulnerability</i>	<i>26</i>
<b>9.5</b>	<i>Lack of education and employment</i>	<i>29</i>
<b>9.6</b>	<i>Situation of migrants</i>	<i>30</i>
<b>10.0</b>	<b>Lessons learned from the mapping exercise</b>	<b>31</b>

**11.0 Next steps**

**11.1 *Understanding vulnerability* 35**

**11.2 *Addressing vulnerability* 36**

**Bibliography 38**

**Appendix 1: Questionnaire 40**

**Appendix 2: Description of the research sites 45**

**Appendix 3: Research tools for focus group discussions 48**

**Appendix 4: Discussions with 11-17 year olds involved in sex work in Temeke 49**

**Appendix 5: Poverty/wealth rankings among 10-20 year olds 56**

**Appendix 6: Self-evaluation of the research process 59**

**Table 1: Characteristics of 10-20 year olds, by sex and district, percent 17**

**Figure 1: Vulnerability to HIV infection among adolescent girls 12**

**Figure 2: Ranking personal problems, by research site 26**

**Text Box 1: 28**

**Text Box 2: 29**

**Text Box 3: 3**



## **Acknowledgements**

First, we would like to thank the young researchers and their supervisors who gave so generously of their time and insights to ensure that the life of girls in their areas was fully understood. It was a challenging task for them to work so closely with people from their areas, cope with the suspicions of elder people in the community and the pressures of their peers and suspicions that they were being highly paid for the task but they were fully committed throughout and always went the extra mile to ensure that the research was done as planned.

We would also like to thank the 1,200 householders who responded patiently to the questionnaire, and the young people who participated in focus groups. Their contributions are the source of the information contained in this report, and we hope eventually to be able to repay these contributions with further work in the two research sites.

Of course, none of this would have been possible without the generous grant from JLICA which enabled us to carry out the research and the generous belief that we could best do this by working with young researchers from the areas being researched.

Finally a big thank you to Masuma Mamdani who remained resolutely positive throughout despite our frequent tardiness.

We hope this report justifies the commitment and faith of all of the above and that it will contribute to a rethinking about addressing vulnerability as key to any successful programme on HIV and AIDS.

Richard Mabala: TAMASHA

Brian Cooksey: TADREG

March 2008

# MAPPING ADOLESCENT VULNERABILITY TO HIV IN DAR ES SALAAM RESULTS OF AN EXPLORATORY STUDY

## 0.0 Summary

During October and November 2007, two teams of six young fieldworkers with two supervisors undertook a demographic and social mapping exercise in two districts in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania's largest city and commercial centre. Two wards--Magomeni in Kinondoni and Azimio in Temeke--were chosen with a range of income levels and active youth groups through which fieldworkers could be trained to conduct a youth-to-youth research project. The Temeke ward is significantly poorer than Kinondoni.

This was the first step in identifying and measuring factors affecting vulnerability to HIV infection among young people, in particular young women and girls, and initiating interventions designed to address these factors. The research teams undertook a detailed household mapping exercise in each ward and recruited participants for structured focus groups that probed young people's experiences and opinions on a range of factors affecting vulnerability to HIV infection. Future phases of this research will attempt to deepen the analysis of vulnerability on the basis of additional survey and participatory fieldwork.

### Vulnerability

Recent research identifies a number of factors that increase the vulnerability of the young, adolescent girls in particular, including *orphanhood, migration, forced sexual initiation, and the effects of residence*.

*AIDS orphanhood* has been widely studied, but most orphans are not AIDS orphans, and it is common for young people to grow up in one-parent households.

*Migrants* may be seeking education or work, or escaping from abusive or oppressive family relationships and forced marriage.

*Forced sexual initiation* through marriage is still common in some parts of Tanzania, and there is evidence that young married women have higher rates of HIV than those who are sexually active but unmarried. During *unyago* (initiation) 12-13 year old girls are told that now they should be self-reliant, while poor parents may tell their daughters to go out and 'find the evening meal' for the family.

Research has shown that at least a fifth of girls report that their first sexual encounter is forced. Sexual abuse is so prevalent that it is hardly even noticed, or is treated as 'normal'. Research in South Africa showed that forced sex raises the likelihood of HIV transmission by almost a third.

There is a strong correlation between *residence* and HIV prevalence. Research in Tanzania reports HIV infection rates of 12.0 and 9.6 percent for females and males in urban areas, compared to 5.8 and 6.7 percent in rural areas.

Lastly, involvement in *sexual networks* helps shape levels of vulnerability to HIV infection. The nature of sexual networks may help explain why the wealthy and educated are apparently more vulnerable to HIV infection than the poor.

Using participatory techniques, researchers probed some of the above and other potential causes of vulnerability with groups of teenagers of both sexes in the two research sites.

### **Objectives**

This is the first component of a planned long-term study of young people's vulnerability to HIV/AIDS in Dar es Salaam. The main objectives of this phase of the research are (1) to map the factors contributing to vulnerability to HIV infection among young and adolescent girls in Dar es Salaam, and (2) to produce evidence-based findings which can input into all programmes relating to adolescent development and HIV prevention of government, the UN family and other development partners, as well as NGOs and CBOs working with young people

### **Methodology**

The methodology combined a demographic survey and group work, using a variety of participatory techniques. Fieldworkers undertook a two-part mapping exercise. The first part was a participatory mapping through which a number of households with 10-20 year old female members were identified and girls invited to participate in the first round of group work. Participatory mapping also identified formal and informal venues for commercial sex, and established contacts with a number of underage commercial sex workers.

The participatory mapping was followed by a household census. Six hundred households were targeted in each ward, 200 from each of three 'mitaa' (streets), resulting in a sample of 1,200 households with 4,628 members. The household questionnaire yielded data that described target groups in terms of migrant status, education, employment, marital status and other characteristics. Housing quality, utilities and asset ownership were used to develop a wealth-ranking index for subsequent poverty analysis.

### **Findings from the enumeration exercise**

There were *1,037* 10-20 year olds living in enumerated households, *494 males* and *543 females*.

*Three-quarters of 10-15 year olds and forty percent of ten 16-20 year olds* are still schooling, with higher rates for males than females and for Kinondoni than Temeke. Only *29 percent of 16-20 year old girls in Temeke* are still in school compared to *48 per cent in Kinondoni*.

*One in five 16-20 year olds is employed*, with a similar proportion unemployed. More than twice as many Temeke girls are involved in *housekeeping* than in Kinondoni, more Kinondoni girls are unemployed. At the age of *10-15, ten per cent of girls in Temeke are already working*, compared to only *three per cent in Kinondoni*. In the higher age group, the percentage of boys working (*around one quarter*) outstrips the *percentage of girls (21 per cent)*.

Temeke girls are more than *two and a half times* as likely to be married as girls from Kinondoni. By the age of 20, *27 per cent of girls in Temeke* are already married.

*Among 10-20 year olds* there were significantly more migrants in Kinondoni than in Temeke

(40 versus 32 percent). The proportion of migrants is similar for females and males (35-36 percent). In the 10-15 age group, there was a significantly higher percentage of female migrants (38 percent for girls, 28 percent for boys) whereas the ratio was reversed for the higher age group (40 percent for girls, 52 percent for boys).

For both sexes, there is a high concentration of the poor in Temeke. Among 10-15 year olds, migrants are more numerous among the poor than the non-poor for both sexes, girls in particular. For both sexes, the least poor are more likely to live with one or both parents than the poor.

More than a quarter (27 percent) of the poorest tercile of girls aged 16-20 were married, compared to only ten percent of the best off girls. For 20-year old girls, the proportions are 50 percent for the poorest and 34 percent for the least poor respectively.

The better-off *mitaa* in Kinondoni and Temeke had unofficial brothels, which, according to informants, included girls as young as 15.

In the poorest *mitaa* in Magomeni, unfinished or abandoned houses act as unofficial guest houses (known as 'Big Brother') where girls have sex for as little as TShs 500 (less than half a US dollar). In cheaper 'gesti bubu' (unofficial guest houses) rooms are rented by sex workers, including underage girls.

Open spaces are dangerous, particularly the playing fields near the river valley in Magomeni. This is where unemployed young men meet to smoke marijuana or use other drugs, and crossing that area, particularly at night, can lead to one being robbed, or, if you are a girl, raped. In Tambuka Reli, they are also used for sex with small girls because grown up men are ashamed to take them to a guest house, and younger men do not have the money to pay for a guest house.

In Tambuka Reli, one of the young men participating in the mapping proudly informed the researchers they had largely eliminated the issue of small girls engaging in prostitution, by gang raping the girls. This was supported with approval by the local leader.

### **Findings from group discussions with girls and young women**

Picture codes, Venn diagrams and a mobility matrix were used to identify key aspects of vulnerability. The incidence of sexual harassment in public places was generally high. The following were the main causes of vulnerability that emerged from the group discussions.

1. *Sexual violence and the fear of sexual violence.* Girls were aware of the possibility of sexual violence against them, which determined even their reactions to the continual propositions being made to them.
2. *Orphanhood.* There is an overwhelming perception among girls that orphans are made more vulnerable by the way they are treated by their relatives and guardians. Of the underage sex workers interviewed in Azimio, three quarters were orphans and every *mtaa* pointed out that mistreatment of orphans led to them going out on the street and ending up as sex workers.
3. *Early marriage.* This has usually been associated with more rural environments and one of the hypotheses of the research was that a major reason for in-migration to town

was to escape early marriage. However, the research found that early marriage was common in town, particularly in Azimio where over a quarter of the girls in the 16-20 age group were already married. The research also suggests that marriage is not a way of reducing vulnerability, though many girls thought marriage to a man with some means was the best way out of their predicament. Early marriage leads to early pregnancy with the attendant problems in giving birth, and early divorce or abandonment leaving the girls with few options other than sex work.

4. *Education and employment.* Far fewer girls in Temeke were in secondary school than in Kinondoni, and 10 percent were already working by the age of 15. Round two of the research will delve deeper into the vulnerabilities related to education and employment.
5. *Distance.* Many of the girls in the better-off mitaa were studying some distance away from their homes. This made them more vulnerable because of the way the transport system works against students.
6. *Nature of households.* A great deal has been said about orphans but far less attention has been paid to the phenomenon of divorce/separation and step parents on the children. The sex workers interviewed in Temeke all came from 'broken homes' where children are subjected to step-parenthood which is stereotyped as being negative and, from the stories they tell, very often is.
7. *Migration.* The focus group discussions with the girls who have moved into an area showed that they were subjected to even higher levels of harassment with even greater impunity for the men involved as the girls do not know them.
8. *Pregnancy.* Once a girl becomes pregnant, she is in a very precarious position. Her boyfriend often leaves her, or at the most, gives her money to have a backstreet abortion. The abortions can have disastrous consequences on her health, including death. If she decides to have the baby, she is left on her own with no support to bring up the child and no education or skills to find a job or set up her own business.
9. *Physical structure.* The more beautiful girls are perceived to be, the more they are subjected to harassment and blandishments to have sex, thereby making them more vulnerable. In addition, they are more likely to be perceived to be showing off and therefore needing to be 'controlled' by the men.
10. *Poverty* was seen as increasing vulnerability in several ways. First, girls, and also boys were pushed into offering sexual favours in order to get basic necessities on a 'nipe nikupe' basis ('you give me, I give you'). Second, this was exacerbated by 'tamaa.'<sup>1</sup> for expensive clothes, going to discos and eating chips, making the girls vulnerable to STIs, AIDS and pregnancy. Third, poverty also leads to idleness. Parents and guardians cannot afford to send their children to school or to vocational training so the girls sit at home with nothing to do, which makes them easy prey to peer pressure to have sex for money or basic necessities. Some said that many girls did in fact start secondary school but had to drop out along the way because parents or guardians could no longer afford the fees, with all the attendant frustrations. Lastly, poverty also pushed parents to marry off their daughters.
11. *Precocious sex.* Many girls become sexually active, often for pecuniary rather than hormonal reasons, at a very early age, in some cases even before puberty, with little or no self-protection, with the result that they also get pregnant at an early age which then seriously affects their lives, whether they decide to give birth, or to have an abortion. Many end up as sex workers. Orphans are particularly vulnerable. There is strong peer pressure for them to have sex and they are regarded as 'mshamba' (hick) if they don't) which leads to pregnancy and abortion. At that early age they know nothing about how

to protect themselves or even about their menstrual cycle. Girls have sex in exchange for money (all mitaa). This also leads them to have multiple partners to get all they want. At the same time, girls recognised that they are cheated for very little money. Finally, they are exposed to STIS. If they do get an STI, they do not know what to do.

### **Lessons learned from the mapping exercise**

While this research was intended to pinpoint specific vulnerabilities of adolescent girls in Dar es Salaam, the overwhelming finding is the magnitude and multiple causes of vulnerability facing girls in general. They are subjected to sexual harassment as soon as they leave the home and in some cases inside the home as well (incest is said to be fairly common). Receiving attention from men may be quite gratifying to young girls' self-esteem, and some said that they would be concerned if no man was interested in them, but it is the scale and the impunity of the propositioning that drives vulnerability. Any man, anywhere is justified in propositioning any girl, and girls have to be very careful how they deal with such propositions as outright rejection can lead to rape.

In addition, some men take advantage of their positions to reinforce their harassment, whether it be teachers punishing or bribing with previews of exams, or shopkeepers and market stall holders offering small gifts, or even a bus conductor making it possible for the girl to get home from school before nightfall by allowing her on to the bus.

Girls are not formally prepared to cope with this situation. There is no life skills training in school, no concerted effort to enable girls to think and discuss how to confront such situations, and--apart from dire warnings about the consequences of 'misbehaving'--no support from adults. In fact, in some ways they are prepared for failure as, for example, any girl carrying a condom or contraceptive pills is regarded as a 'prostitute' and may be chased out of the house, while her brother is considered a 'real man'

It is therefore hardly surprising that some girls start having sex at a very young age and so many end up getting pregnant, having abortions and turning to sex work to feed their children after the father runs away. It is difficult to imagine what a young girl must feel when she realises that she has now become the object of every man's desire, and is subjected to a mixture of blandishments and threats to have sex throughout every day. At the same time, she is also at the age when she has her own feelings and will be interested in finding out about sex, and in getting a boyfriend of her own. She will also become aware of her 'power' over boys.

Men are protected by a cultural norm which effectively allows them to act with impunity. Even if they are caught having sex with their own daughter, they may be shamed for a while in public but no serious action is taken against them.. When they are caught red handed pulling a girl into the cemetery to rape her, the public did rescue the girl but no further action was taken against the perpetrator. By contrast, a small time pickpocket can be stoned or burned to death. At the dances, men can masturbate against the woman dancing in front of them quite openly and no action is taken against them. They have the right to punish girls who show off by the way they dance and dress, or refuse their propositions. Gang rape was even seen as an acceptable way of punishing and removing young sex workers.

Thus it would seem that in the urban situations we researched, where traditional and religious norms have broken down, where community ties are also weak, in particular for in-migrants, a vacuum has been created which has been taken over by an almost totalitarian patriarchal system which allows men to do what they want. Even those traditions that remain, such as *rusha roho* have been subverted. *Rusha roho* was traditionally a women's dance, which has been invaded by men allowing them to behave in the manner explained above. Similarly, parents used to choose a suitor for their daughters based on many considerations, including but not restricted to wealth. The suitor had to be a hard worker, come from a family with a good reputation, and prove himself by his behaviour, whereas now many girls are married off to any man, provided that he pays the money. All other considerations, including the wishes of the girl, are irrelevant.

This is made easier by three factors within the girls themselves:

1. The high levels of poverty which make any offer of money, or reduced expenses (such as saving on the bus fare or the cost of hairdressing) an attractive proposition.
2. The age of the girls as they enter and go through puberty. They themselves are interested in sexual exploration, they are concerned about their standing among their peers and want to compete on equal terms with them.
3. The internalisation by the girls of this patriarchal system which means that they do not blame the system or see that their rights are being violated in any way. In fact they blame themselves or one another if anything happens. Thus, if a girl has accepted whatever inducements have been offered to her, however young or unknowing she is, it is not considered incest, or rape and it is the girl's fault for accepting. Similarly if she bows to pressure or force (such as the punishment regimes for refusing a teacher) she is the one to blame. Thus, in their mind, the principal cause of all the problems is the 'tamaa' and behaviour of the girl. She was hungry and wanted some food; she wanted to have a nice dress to wear; she danced sexily or wore short skirts; she went to a *rusha roho* which was some distance from her house; she went to the beach on her own without a boyfriend, what did she expect! Although they did recommend that legal action be taken against incest and rape, overwhelmingly they did not blame the men or the system, they blamed themselves.

This research suggests that as girls enter puberty, they enter a zone where they have no rights. They can be married off, propositioned, threatened, humiliated, raped, even gang raped. The girls have accepted this system and resolve to use their wits and charms to play the game of life, believing that they can win and not really understanding that all the cards are massively stacked against them. Thus, if one of their number fails, gets pregnant or raped, or HIV, she is blamed as a loser in this game of life. They do not question the rules of the game.

Thus, if vulnerability of adolescent girls is to be addressed, thereby reducing the likelihood of HIV infection, the first thing that is required is a major re-evaluation of the circumstances in which these girls have to navigate their puberty. The impunity of the men has to be broken down, and the communities have to accept that there should be protective and supportive mechanisms to enable these girls to navigate their puberty successfully. There has to be a community recognition (not just a distant sexual offences act) that sex below a certain age is unacceptable whatever the circumstances. This can only be achieved through a large scale,

participatory community advocacy and education programme together with a programme of life skills for both the girls and the boys to enable them to understand themselves and one another and develop their own protective mechanisms.

## **Next steps**

### ***Understanding vulnerability***

This exploratory research has revealed much about the general nature of vulnerability among girls and young women to HIV infection in an urban context, and has laid the groundwork for deeper analysis of causality and interrelations between different risk factors. Fortunately (we hope) most of the female subjects of this research will not be raped or contract HIV. Yet unfortunately some of them will, and it is vital to try to find out who and why. Such knowledge can inform future interventions designed to help young people avoid infection.

The major challenge for subsequent phases of this research will be to document actual vulnerability as reflected in the behaviour and experiences of girls and young women, as well as boys and young men, in the two research sites. Ultimately, infection rates will need to be measured in order to test the causal models that will be elaborated.

To achieve this will require deepening the synergy derived from using multiple research methods.

Phase two of this research programme consists of further interrelated quantitative and qualitative activities:

1. A second round of interviews with the 494 male and 543 female 10-20 year olds identified in round one of the fieldwork. These interviews will be based on an entirely new questionnaire that builds on the insights from the first round of group work and probes sexual knowledge, attitudes and practices. Given the sensitive nature of the subject, and in order to generate valid and reliable information, the questionnaire will have to be very carefully developed and tested with the researchers themselves, and with the community.
2. In light of the apparently internalised mode of male sexual domination that the first round of research has identified, further participatory work will focus on how young people 'navigate their puberty' and minimise the multiple risks they run as their sexuality develops.
3. This would also include a deeper exploration of key terms, the definition of which have been taken for granted such as rape, seduction and the term which most expresses the attitudes of people towards girls and those of the girls themselves, 'tamaa'.

Half the target girls and boys in the proposed panel are under 15, and subsequent rounds of interviews will be aimed at tracking their sexual behaviour and the potential deepening of

vulnerability that this entails.

The key question of sexual networks needs to be addressed on a longer-term basis. The trust built up in the course of this research makes it possible to move to more sensitive questioning with a higher possibility of receiving honest answers. Understanding sexual networks better is arguably the greatest contribution researchers could make from the point of view of AIDS prevention.

The second round of fieldwork will also need to deepen the analysis of factors affecting vulnerability, in particular migration and orphanhood. It will also be necessary to sharpen our understanding of poverty as a major risk factor, and to locate subjects using GSM technology.

The ethics of conducting such long-term research must be carefully articulated. If, for example, researchers come across examples of intolerable abuse, they must have a strategy to deal with them. At the same time, working more and more intensively with a group of young and potentially vulnerable subjects has implications from the point of view of research objectivity, since the research may influence the behaviour that it is trying to understand.

### ***Addressing vulnerability***

Given the deep and interlocking nature of vulnerabilities of these girls, nearly all of which are not being addressed by the standard ABC prevention strategies, there is a need to build into the next round of research a strategy to address some of the root causes of vulnerability, in particular the entrenched patriarchal system which puts young girls at a permanent disadvantage while convincing them that this is the natural order of things.

Such a research would also address the ethical issue raised above as the girls are already being subjected to intolerable levels of harassment and threats of abuse. Given the existence of already functioning youth groups with background of peer education and community action, it should be possible to develop a strong advocacy and education programme in the community based on two key elements

A participatory education programme on the rights of women and girls (and young people as a whole) which provokes self analysis by different groups of community members and a programme of action to protect those rights. This education programme would be for the young people themselves for also for community leaders, formal and informal, and lead to a 'moving of the goalposts' around what is acceptable and unacceptable behaviour.

A life skills programme for girls and boys enabling them to develop together their own strategies for negotiating their adolescence successfully and protect themselves throughout.

This education strategy would be based on the youth groups, training new peer educators and retraining the existing ones from a more rights based perspective, working in conjunction with local leaders. The youth groups would also be trained to involve the more vulnerable, for example orphans in their programmes and to turn their centre into a key 'safe space' for girls in the community.

This would include capacity development of the youth groups to act as advocates and counsellors.

Ideally such research would include an entrepreneurial component to address the real vulnerabilities caused by lack of resources but that may require more money than is available. However, the hypothesis of such participatory action research is that by empowering young people to work with their peers to create an alternative to the current harassment and abuse, this would significantly reduce current vulnerability and this could be measured by paying particular attention to the 10-15 cohort which participated in this first round of research.

# MAPPING ADOLESCENT VULNERABILITY TO HIV IN DAR ES SALAAM

## RESULTS OF AN EXPLORATORY STUDY

### 1.0 Introduction

During October and November 2007, two teams of six young fieldworkers with two supervisors undertook a demographic and social mapping exercise in two districts in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania's largest city and commercial centre. This was the first step in identifying and measuring factors affecting vulnerability to HIV infection among young people, and initiating interventions designed to address these factors.

### 2.0 Literature review

Recent research identifies a number of factors that increase the vulnerability of the young, adolescent girls in particular, including orphanhood, migration, forced sexual initiation, and the effects of residence.

#### 2.1 *Loss of parents*

Much has been made of the increased vulnerability of children to HIV as a result of the death of one or both parents from HIV/AIDS. However:

1. The majority of orphans have not been orphaned by HIV/AIDS, especially when one takes into account single orphanhood (death of one parent). Even if their parents have died of other causes such as maternal mortality and malaria, the children who survive are more vulnerable.
2. The emphasis on death, rather than absence, of parent, has led to a blindness to many children who are essentially single orphans since they have only ever known one parent even though the other parent is alive.
3. Circumstantial evidence (from, for example, the youth situation analysis carried out by UNICEF in Ethiopia) shows significantly higher levels of neglect, and sexual abuse in situations where children are not living with both biological parents.

#### 2.2 *Mobility and migration*

DHS surveys show that:

1. Many young people are migrating at young ages (early adolescence).
2. The majority are not migrating with their parents or even the consent of their parents. Many are in fact running away from conditions in their homes.
3. More adolescent females than males are migrating to town.

In such conditions of migration they are extremely vulnerable to exploitation, abuse and HIV infection. One study of two poor areas in Addis Ababa showed that 37 percent of adolescent girls aged 10-14 were not at school and were not living with either parent. Twelve percent of these were already domestic workers and twenty percent had run away from marriage (Erulkar et al, 2004) Circumstantial evidence from the latest DHS and THIS surveys in Tanzania also show that two of the traditional areas of migration (Kilimanjaro for boys, Iringa for girls) have the highest HIV prevalence rates.

There is also some evidence that many adolescents have to move to urban areas to access

secondary education where they often have to stay with distant relatives or even rent rooms to access day secondary schools. Finally, the act of travelling to and from school can also be a serious aspect of vulnerability.

### **2.3 'Forced' sexual initiation**

This can take place in several ways:

1. Marriage. Tanzania still has many areas where girls are expected to get married while still young adolescents, thereby making them more vulnerable. Research in Uganda, Kenya (Kisumu) and Zambia (Ndola) has shown that married adolescent girls have much higher infection rates than sexually active unmarried adolescent girls (Stillwaggon, 2006).
2. Parental/adult pressure. In the literature on HIV prevention, all the talk is usually of peer pressure, which is certainly a factor, but no one has investigated the impact of parental and other pressures. For example, the out of school programme initiated in Kisarawe by UNICEF in collaboration with the District Authorities identified that, during *unyago*, girls are told that now they should be self-reliant (at the age of 12 or 13). Similarly many girls are told to go out and 'find the evening meal' for the family.
3. Sexual abuse. Research in many countries has shown that at least a fifth of girls report that their first sexual encounter is forced. More research needs to be conducted also into the truthfulness of these assertions but sexual abuse in many areas is so prevalent that it is hardly even noticed, or is treated as part of the environment. Research in South Africa showed that forced sex raises the likelihood of HIV transmission by almost a third.

### **2.4 Residence**

Recent studies in Southern Africa show that there is a strong correlation between residence and HIV prevalence, with the prevalence being highest in informal settlements in urban and peri-urban areas. Girls in programmes initiated by the Population Council in Kenya (TRY) and Zimbabwe (SHAZ) also complained about the lack of 'safe spaces' in the areas where they live (references pending). Even if some spaces are safe, the journey to and from those areas may not be safe. THIS results for Tanzania (Bureau of Statistics et al. 2005) report HIV infection rates of 12.0 and 9.6 percent for females and males in urban areas, compared to 5.8 and 6.7 percent in rural areas.

### **3.0 Conceptual framework**

'Vulnerability' in the context of this study refers to the likelihood that a person will contract HIV. To probe relationships between causal factors and infection rates requires hard data on both causes and infection rates. Without a dependent variable, the researcher relies on ethnographic descriptions of vulnerability that assume that potential vulnerability can be confidently asserted without recourse to actual infection rates.

But not all acts of sexual intercourse are equally likely to result in the infection of one partner by the other. We might assume that the risk of a young migrant woman fleeing rural poverty and contracting HIV through commercial sex work in Dar es Salaam is significantly higher than that of a Dar es Salaam-born secondary schoolgirl from a non-poor household. But this assumption may be wrong. The schoolgirl may be exposed to infection by being an unwitting member of a complex sexual network involving her sexual partner or partners, including vulnerability to sexual harassment/abuse. The issue is the degree of exposure to unsafe sex, not the frequency of intercourse or the number of partners.

In this exploratory research we do not attempt to measure HIV infection rates. We need to be clear, therefore, on the grounds we claim to have identified (if not measured) degrees of vulnerability.

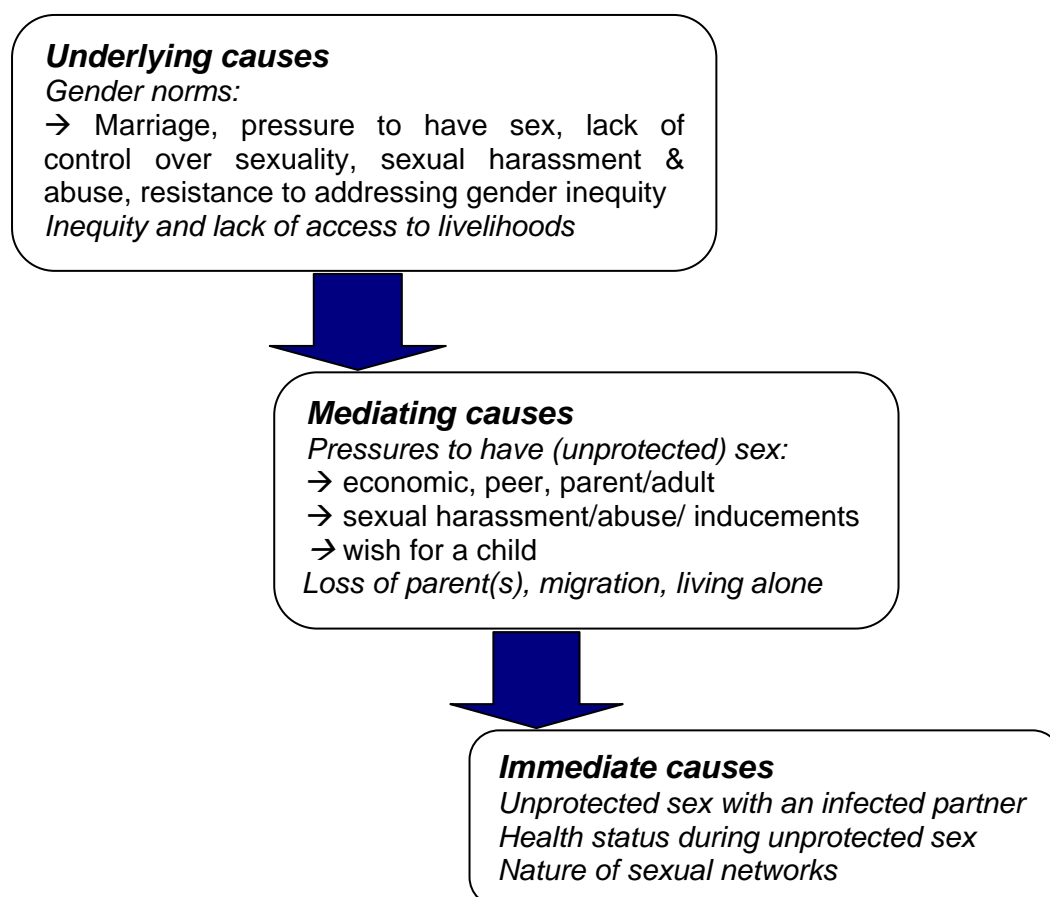
First, orphans, and one-parent children, are vulnerable to the effects of poverty, including being forced on to the streets or into sex work, and sexual abuse by parents and foster-parents. Independent of or related to poverty-related factors, the practice of early marriage and pressures to precocious sexuality increase vulnerability to HIV.

The fact that recent studies have revealed concrete relationships between various independent factors and infection rates, allows us to extrapolate from any firm findings that we may come up with in Dar es Salaam. While we plan a long-term panel study of vulnerability among adolescent girls and young women, the present study may claim to add value to the current literature by exploring *processes of potential vulnerability*, including migration, and their interactions.

It will be a major achievement if we begin to understand the nature of *sexual networks*, which help shape levels of vulnerability. Our approach to this issue is to investigate both the economic, social and cultural causes of *potential vulnerability* and the nature of the *sexual networks* through which these causes necessarily express themselves. However, our aspirations on these key issues are modest and speculative, given the lack of hard data on infection rates discussed above.

**Figure 1** summarises the factors described above.

**Figure 1: Vulnerability to HIV infection among adolescent girls**



#### **4.0 Research problem**

HIV rates in Africa are much higher than in other continents. In many countries they have also moved beyond being concentrated in obviously high-risk groups and spread throughout the general population, including the better-off and more educated. However, this does not mean that there are not specific factors that make particular groups in the population more vulnerable.

National sample survey results from Tanzania indicate that women in the 20-39 age range have significantly higher infection rates than men, and that infection rates are higher in urban than rural areas and among more educated, better-off citizens. Urban 15-24 year olds of both sexes are significantly more likely to be infected than their rural counterparts, suggesting that urban residence is a potential risk factor. However, when we control for underlying variables, the strong correlations between the factors listed and HIV rates decline rapidly, though they remain significant (Tanzania Commission for AIDS et al. 2005). So what drives HIV infection in a context of multiple vulnerabilities? This exploratory study is designed to examine the determinants of vulnerability to HIV infection among adolescent girls in Dar es Salaam.

#### **5.0 Objectives**

This is the first component of a planned long-term tracer study of young people's vulnerability to HIV/AIDS in Dar es Salaam. The objectives of this phase of the research are:

1. To map the factors contributing to vulnerability to HIV infection among young and adolescent girls in Dar es Salaam.
2. To produce evidence-based findings which can input into all programmes relating to adolescent development and HIV prevention of government, the UN family and other development partners, as well as NGOs and CBOs working with young people
3. To develop and assess the capacity of young people in Azimio and Magomeni Wards to carry out participatory action research and reflect upon and analyse the nature of their society and involve young people in programmes concerning them, especially the most vulnerable adolescent girls, leading to greater involvement of young people as actors in similar programmes.

#### **6.0 Research questions**

This preliminary study addresses the first research question listed below. Subsequent phases of the research will address the remaining questions (Tamasha and Tadreg 2007).

1. What factors determine the vulnerability of adolescent girls and young women to contracting HIV in an urban environment?
2. How do economic and cultural factors interact in determining vulnerability?
3. How do young, female migrants from other urban and rural areas differ from girls born in Dar es Salaam in terms of vulnerability?
4. How do sexual networks influence levels of vulnerability among different groups of girls and young women (dependents, housegirls, schoolgirls, working girls)?

## **7.0 Hypotheses**

1. Both non-migrant and migrant adolescent girls and young women are exposed to a variety of HIV risk factors.
2. The causes of migration will have direct impact on the nature and depth of the risk factors encountered by migrants.
3. Early marriage, economic pressures and sexual violence are key causes of migration and HIV risk and vulnerability.

## **8.0 Methodology**

This research is the first phase of a proposed long-term project on vulnerability to HIV and other STDs, unwanted pregnancies and sexual violence against girls and women in an urban context. The methodology is experimental and attempts to combine both survey and participatory components. It is common to advocate the use of multiple methods in social research, but usually one type of method takes precedence over the others. For example, social surveys may add focus groups to provide ‘qualitative’ insights to quantitative results. The literature review led to the conclusion that it is essential to go beyond present mainstream approaches to HIV prevention by first mapping the characteristics of potentially vulnerable groups both spatially and in social, cultural and economic terms., as reported below. Issues relating to sexual knowledge, beliefs and practices are better investigated using participatory methods. Subsequent phases of this research will continue to employ, and reflect on, the combined methodology that is being developed.

### ***8.1 Selection of research sites***

There are three districts in Dar es Salaam--Kinondoni, Ilala and Temeke--and the general perception is that Kinondoni is the richest of the three (although it also has some of the poorest areas) and Temeke is the poorest. Therefore in order to gain a contrasting picture, based on recommendations from organisations working in the districts, one ward was selected from each of these two districts, Magomeni in Kinondoni and Azimio in Temeke. They were chosen because they both have a range of income levels and an active youth group through which researchers/enumerators can be trained to conduct a youth-youth research project. Within each of these wards three ‘mitaa’<sup>2</sup> were chosen on the basis of discussions with local youth groups and ward officials. Of the three mitaa, one was considered better off, one worse off and one was in between.

### ***8.2 Selection of researchers***

Since it was decided at the outset to work with young people from the wards in which the research was carried out, 12 young researchers were identified, 6 from each ward (4 female and 2 male) ranging in age from 18-24. These were identified using the experience of two youth organisations working in the two wards, Temeke Youth Development Network (TEYODENE) in Azimio and Youth Action Volunteers (YAV) in Kinondoni. Each of these two groups were then supervised by young but more experienced researchers, one for each ward.

### ***8.3 Training***

The researchers and their supervisors were given training in participatory methodologies as well as some analysis of the meaning of vulnerability and a broader view of HIV in order to enable them to carry out the research. They went through each methodology as respondents

---

<sup>2</sup>‘Mtaa’ is the lowest-level administrative unit in urban areas, with its own representative chair who is elected every five years. The word literally means street but can cover a fairly large area including several streets.

before practising all the methodologies in the nearby ward, working with the local youth group, until they were comfortable and confident with applying the methodologies. Details of the participatory research tools are found in **Appendix 3**. Researchers were also introduced to and practised basic survey methodology in preparation for the initial mapping exercise.

#### **8.4 Mapping**

After obtaining research clearance at national, district and ward levels, fieldworkers undertook a two-part mapping exercise. The first part was a participatory mapping working with local youth and using PRA techniques. A number of households with 10-20 year old female members were identified and girls invited to participate in the first round of group work.

The participatory mapping was followed by a household census. Six hundred households were targeted in each ward, 200 from each 'mtaa', resulting in a household 'sample' of 1,200.<sup>3</sup> The household questionnaire (**Appendix 1**) recorded basic demographic data and household characteristics. The format and content of the questionnaire were developed in an iterative process with fieldworkers, and pre-tested in the neighbourhoods.

Household characteristics and ownership of household goods were used to develop a poverty/wealth index.

#### **8.5 Focus group discussions**

Selected girls identified during the participatory mapping were requested to participate in a series of focus group discussions using a range of participatory techniques to make them feel at ease and open to discussion. The number of girls in each focus group varied from 10-20 depending on their willingness to participate. Techniques used included:

1. A mobility matrix to identify the movements of the girls and where during these movements they feel more or less vulnerable.
2. Picture codes to assess the girls' reactions to what were hypothesised by the young researchers to be common situations. These included a woman finding her husband in the bedroom with a young adolescent (his daughter), a girl finding two men kissing, a woman finding contraceptive pills in the bag of her daughter, young men standing menacingly at the edge of a circle where girls are dancing
3. A ranking exercise using Venn diagrams to assess frequency and severity of vulnerabilities among the girls, where they ranked what they regarded as the greatest threats to their lives and explained why. Participants prioritised the 10 greatest effects on their lives, which were then represented by 10 circles of different sizes according to the severity of the issue. They were then placed nearer or further from the centre, where there was a picture of a girl, depending on the frequency of this threat in their lives.

A final ranking exercise was held with girls who moved into the 'mitaa' recently to assess whether they felt increased vulnerability.

In addition, an extra focus group discussion was held with a group of young sex workers in Temeke, reported in **Appendix 3**.

---

<sup>3</sup> The total number of households was dictated by resource constraints and a rough estimate of how many target group subjects were likely to be identified. The number of households does not reflect the actual number of houses as many houses, particularly in the poorer areas, contain several households renting rooms.

## **8.6 Feedback and validation**

After the FGs, the research teams presented their preliminary findings to the communities in their ward for further discussion and validation. They then met as a group to revisit the findings from both sites together and agree on the key issues that were raised in both sites (**Appendix 6**).

## **9.0 Research findings**

This section summarises the main findings from the household (9.1.1-9.1.5) and the participatory mapping exercises (9.2). **Appendix 2** contains the results summarised in section 9.1.

### **9.1 Findings from household mapping**

This section summarises characteristics of household (9.1.1) and 10-20 year olds (9.1.2-9.1.5).

#### **9.1.1 Main household characteristics**

2. Six hundred households were surveyed in Magomeni, Kinondoni and another six hundred in Azimio, Temeke, yielding total household populations of **2,068** for Magomeni and **2,560** for Azimio (total **4,628**). Households averaged **3.4 and 3.8** members in Kinondoni and Temeke respectively. There were **1,037** 10-20 year olds living in enumerated households, **494 males** and **543 females**. **10-15 year olds numbered 495** and **16-20 year olds 543**.
3. Household heads, their spouses and children constituted **86 percent** of the sample. Parents of household heads, grandchildren, in-laws and other relatives of household heads accounted for **13 percent** of household members. There was only a handful of 'living-in' household workers in the two survey sites.
4. **Half** the total sample were born in Dar es Salaam, **half** in other regions. **Forty-four percent** of the **Kinondoni** sub-sample were born in Dar es Salaam, compared with **54 percent in Temeke**.
5. Temeke households are generally poorer than those in Kinondoni.
6. Two-thirds (**66 percent**) of **Kinondoni** households have electric lighting but only half (**48 percent**) in **Temeke**.
7. Temeke households were much more likely to use fuelwood and charcoal for cooking than those in Kinondoni (**88 versus 57 percent**).
8. More Kinondoni households had fridges (**41 percent**) than Temeke (**25 percent**). Cupboards, televisions, bicycles, radios and mosquito nets were also significantly more common in Kinondoni than Temeke.
9. Two-thirds of households (**65 percent**) were occupied by **tenants**, a quarter (**24 percent**) were **owner-occupiers**.
10. Over three-quarters (**77 percent**) of households were **Muslim**, less than a quarter (**22**

*percent) were Christian*, with a higher concentration of Muslims in Temeke.

### 9.1.2 Main activities of 10-20 year olds

Some basic characteristics of the young people who are the focus of this research are summarised in **Table 1**.

**Table 1: Characteristics of 10-20 year olds, by sex and district, percent**

	Kinondoni			Temeke			All		
	M	F	All	M	F	All	M	F	All
<b>Age 10-15</b>									
<b>Schooling</b>	81	84	83	74	66	69	76	73	75
<b>Working</b>	0	3	2	4	10	7	3	7	5
<b>Other/no response</b>	19	13	15	22	24	24	21	20	20
<b>Total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<b>Age 16-20</b>									
<b>Schooling</b>	53	38	45	53	29	40	53	33	42
<b>Working</b>	25	21	23	21	16	18	23	18	20
<b>Unemployed</b>	19	27	23	15	18	17	17	22	20
<b>Housekeeping</b>	2	11	7	2	23	16	2	17	10
<b>Other no/response</b>	2	3	2	10	14	9	5	10	7
<b>Total</b>	101	100	100	101	100	100	100	100	99
<b>Single</b>	97	89	93	98	73	84	98	80	88
<b>Married</b>	3	11	7	2	27	16	2	20	12
<b>Total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Fieldwork results

1. **Three-quarters of 10-15 year olds** are schooling. More boys and (especially) girls are schooling in Kinondoni than in Temeke; more boys and (especially) girls are working in Temeke than in Kinondoni, though in both cases the absolute numbers are small.
2. Overall, **more than four out of ten 16-20 year olds** are still schooling, over half the boys but only a third of the girls. While equal proportions of boys are in school in both districts, many more Kinondoni girls are schooling than their Temeke sisters. In the 16-20 age group, only **29 percent of girls in Temeke** are still in school compared to **48 per cent of girls in Kinondoni**.
3. **One in five 16-20 year olds is employed**, with a *similar proportion* unemployed. Kinondoni 16-20 year olds of both sexes are slightly more likely to be working than those in Temeke. More than twice as many Temeke girls are involved in **housekeeping** than in Kinondoni, more Kinondoni girls are described as **'unemployed'**. At the age of **10-15, ten per cent of girls in Temeke are already working**, compared to only **three per cent in Kinondoni**. Very few boys are working but in the higher age group, the percentage of boys working (**around one quarter**) outstrips the **percentage of girls (21 per cent)**.

### 9.1.3 Marital status

1. **Ten times** as many female 16-20 year olds are married compared to males, and Temeke girls are more than **two and a half times** as likely to be married as girls from Kinondoni. By the age of 20, **27 per cent of girls in Temeke are already married**.

#### 9.1.4 Migration

Among 10-20 year olds there were:

1. Significantly more migrants in the Kinondoni than in the Temeke sub-sample (**40 versus 32 percent**), reflecting much higher levels of male migration in Kinondoni.
2. More migrants among 16-20 year olds than among 10-15 year olds (**39 versus 30 percent**).
3. The proportion of migrants in the total age group is similar for females and males (**35-36 percent**).
4. In the **10-15 age group**, there was a significantly higher percentage of female migrants (**38 percent for girls, 28 percent for boys**) whereas the ratio was reversed for the higher age group (**40 percent for girls, 52 percent for boys**).
5. While the number of female migrants for Kinondoni and Temeke are similar, the ratio is **much higher in Temeke** as there are far fewer male migrants than in Kinondoni.

#### 9.1.5 Incidence of poverty

1. Households were divided into three roughly equal groups on the basis of the quality of houses, access to public utility services, and ownership of consumer durables. Target groups 10-20 year olds were accorded the wealth ranking of their household. **Appendix 4** contains summary tables relating the incidence of poverty to migration, living with parents, education level, and location for target 10-20 year olds.
2. Among 10-15 year olds, migrants are more numerous among the poor than the non-poor for both sexes, girls in particular. For both sexes, the least poor are more likely to live with one or both parents than the poor, though among girls differences are small. For both sexes, there is a high concentration of the poor in Temeke.
3. For 16-20 year olds, migration is much higher (+53%) among the poor than non-poor males, but among females rates are the same across poverty levels. Slightly more young men live with their parents than young women, and there is no poverty effect for either sex. Educational patterns are very similar for both sexes, with many more better-off subjects attending secondary school. About a third of better-off 16-20 year olds are attending secondary school, compared with less than a fifth among the poor. Finally, although there are more poor young men and women in Temeke than in Kinondoni, the pattern is much less pronounced than in the case of the 10-15 year old cohort.
4. More than a quarter (27 percent) of the poorest tercile of girls aged 16-20 were married, compared to only ten percent of the best off girls (**Appendix 4**). For 20-year old girls, the proportions are 50 percent for the poorest and 34 percent for the least poor respectively.

#### 9.2 Participatory mapping

The participatory mapping with youth groups revealed several additional issues which are pertinent to the objectives of the research:

1. The better-off mitaa in Kinondoni and Temeke had unofficial brothels, which, according

to informants, included underage girls as young as 15 (Makuti A) or 14 (Azimio North). In Mji Mpya in Temeke, which is the least poor of the three mitaa in Temeke, there is a well known brothel where young adolescents can be obtained for sex in great secrecy<sup>4</sup>.

2. In the poorest mitaa, Tambuka Reli in Temeke and Sunnah in Magomeni, unfinished or abandoned houses act as unofficial guest houses (known as 'Big Brother') where girls have sex for as little as TShs 500 (less than half a US dollar), or a small plate of chips and a leg of chicken). This is partly because many of their clients cannot afford the price of a guest house.
3. There are certain 'gesti bubu' (silent guest houses) which are not licensed and are therefore cheaper where rooms are either rented by sex workers, including underage girls. There is also a bar in Makuti B which is frequented by very young girls looking for customers.
4. All open spaces are dangerous, particularly the playing fields near the river valley in Magomeni. This is where unemployed young men meet to smoke marijuana or use other drugs, and crossing that area, particularly at night, can lead to one being robbed, or, if you are a girl, raped. In Tambuka Reli, they are also used for sex with small girls because *grown up men are ashamed to take them to a guest house, and younger men do not have the money to pay for a guest house.*
5. In Tambuka Reli, one of the young men participating in the mapping proudly informed the researchers they had largely eliminated the issue of small girls engaging in prostitution, by gang raping the girls. This was supported with approval by the local leader.

### **9.3 Findings from group discussions with girls and young women**

Picture codes, Venn diagrams and a mobility matrix were used to identify key aspects of vulnerability in particular relationships, contexts, situations and localities. Kinondoni mitaa (from richest to poorest) are Makuti B, Makuti A and Sunnah, and in Temeke Mji Mpya, Azimio Kaskazini, and Tambuka Reli. In each mtaa, three separate sessions (one for each of the research tools) were held with groups of 20 girls aged 12-20. In addition, in Azimio, groups of 10-12 boys of the same age also developed their own Venn diagrams on vulnerability.

#### *9.3.1 Vulnerability, age and gender*

Sex with an older person: The picture showing an older man being caught by his wife as he is about to have sex with a very young girl elicited responses in all the mitaa that this was a common event. Many men slept with housegirls (Makuti A) or other young girls because 'they are hot'. In the poorest mitaa in Temeke and Magomeni, it was also associated with witchcraft. It was reported that if a man wanted riches he had to sleep with his daughter.

On the other hand, young girls prefer older men who they call ATMs because 'you press the button and the money comes out' (Makuti A). Older men are less demanding and care for them better (Makuti A) and girls can access education or material things through having an older lover (Tambuka Reli and Makuti B). By contrast, younger men are too demanding and have no money (Makuti A) and the girls look down on them as small boys (Makuti B).

<sup>4</sup> This enabled us to have a discussion with some of the girls from the brothel later in the research. See below

However, it is also a secret activity as girls who are known to be doing this are looked down on (Makuti B) and it exposes the girls to genital injuries because they are still too small and their genitals are not fully developed (all mitaa in Temeke) as well as the dangers of early pregnancy, STIs and HIV infection.

Sex with underage girls was not regarded as rape or sexual abuse by the respondents, or even the researchers themselves during the feedback session, provided that the girl accepted the gifts, however small.

In Magomeni particularly, but also Tambuka Reli, they associated the picture with incest, saying that the man is the girl's father. They also claimed that this was common and in the feedback discussions with researchers, the researchers themselves claimed that it was not incest provided that the girl agrees. For Temeke, this applies to a girl of any age but for Magomeni, the age of 'informed consent' was put at 9. Thus, if the girl is perceived to be an active agent (not forced in her sleep), it removes the incest. By contrast, however, all the mitaa said that legal action should be taken against the father. This has not happened. At the most, if the mother discovers the incest, she demands a divorce.

Perhaps because any hint of consent removes the idea of abuse, the suggestions of the respondents as to what to do about the situation relates to girls behaving themselves better, not wearing sexy clothes and not having 'tamaa<sup>5</sup>' for things like expensive clothes, cell phones and money. The responsibility and blame lay not with the man but with the girl.

Older woman with young boy: The picture depicted a woman finding her boyfriend in the arms of another woman. However, particularly in Temeke, the other woman was regarded as a 'sugar mummy' and they said that this was also common. The older woman cares for the boy in the same way that the older man cares for the girl and young boys accept this as the way to access money, clothes etc. Therefore the boy should also not have 'tamaa' for these things and should stick to his age group.

### 9.3.2 *Recreational vulnerabilities*

A very common form of recreation, particularly in Magomeni, is the dance 'Rusha Roho'. Anyone who has something to celebrate announces that they will hold a 'Rusha Roho' and, as they commented in Temeke, one of the advantages is that you do not have to send out invitations. As soon as it is announced, people will come. Originally this was a dance for women only who dance in a circle. However, men have now invaded this dance which, despite its great popularity, also seriously increases the vulnerability of girls and young women. These dances were seen as very dangerous for girls because:

1. The boys and young men attending get drunk and use drugs a great deal
2. During the dance, men attach themselves behind a girl, hold on to her waist and masturbate (*kubaashia*) by rubbing themselves against the girl's buttocks as she dances. Sometimes girls are unaware that this is happening but even if they are aware, they have to be careful in how they try and stop the man as any hint of being arrogant can lead to threats of her being raped later, or actually being raped.
3. During the dances, girls are constantly being propositioned for sex. Again they have to be careful about how they refuse any proposition as too categorical or demeaning a refusal can lead to rape. On the other hand many girls agree, which leads to them losing

- direction and dropping out of school (Makuti B). The young men standing around (nicknamed ‘dungadunga’) praise the girl for her dancing and convince them to have sex.
4. Girls who dance too sexily, or who wear short skirts are also in danger of being raped and in Tambuka Reli, just going without a male partner exposes the girl to the danger of rape. The same is true of going to a Rusha Roho which is far from their homes.
  5. Many children attend and imitate what their elders are doing. They also participate all night which leads them to drop out of school.

While these dances seem to be the most popular form of entertainment in the neighbourhood, it was emphasised over and over again that they are dangerous for girls. This was stated particularly in Temeke, while in Magomeni and Temeke the girls suggested that such dances should be held in dance halls where there would be some security rather than in the compound of someone’s home where there is no control. This would also mean that children would be barred from participating. A participant from Sunnah even suggested that Rusha Roho should be banned, although this recommendation smacked of ‘right answer syndrome’ as the girls were all attending the Rusha Roho themselves.

### 9.3.3 *Self protection*

One picture showed a woman finding a condom in a pair of trousers she is washing and the other showed a picture of a woman finding contraceptive pills in her daughter’s bag. Reactions to both forms of protection were largely negative, particularly in relation to girls protecting themselves.

1. If the condom belonged to the husband, there were mixed feelings. On the one hand, he was being unfaithful and finding the condom will cause conflict in the family, which might lead to divorce and the children suffering (all mitaa). On the other hand, the wife will be grateful (even ‘wise’ Sunnah) because her husband is protecting her (all mitaa).
2. If the condom belongs to the boy, an ambiguous response was also given. On the one hand the boy will be beaten after the mother tells the father (Sunnah, North Azimio, Tambuka Reli) or at least warned (Makuti A, Makuti B, Mji Mpya), and regarded as a ‘prostitute’ (Makuti A, Makuti B, Tambuka Reli). On the other hand, they will be happy that the boy is a ‘real man’ (Makuti A, Makuti B), and that he is protecting himself (Sunnah, Mji Mpya, North Azimio, Tambuka Reli). In Sunnah, they said that some mothers will even think that the boy is stupid for ‘eating a sweet inside its wrapper’.
3. If the condom belongs to the daughter then she will be seen as a hopeless prostitute (Makuti A, Makuti B, Sunnah, Tambuka Reli), beaten (Makuti A, Makuti B, North Azimio, Tambuka Reli) shunned by the family (Mji Mpya) and even kicked out of the house (Makuti A, Makuti B). Only in Sunnah did the girls say that some mothers will be happy that the girl is protecting herself. Thus it is not common for girls to carry condoms (Makuti A)

However, the girls in all the mitaa stated that parents should stop being angry and sit down and educate their children on the dangers of early sex. In Tambuka Reli, they also suggested that condom sales to children should be banned.

### 9.3.4 *Gays*

The last picture, which shows two men kissing was included at the suggestion of the male researchers. It elicited strong reactions. In general it was agreed that such behaviour was

common (particularly in Magomeni. In Sunnah they said it is now a fashion) but unacceptable and people indulging in such behaviour should be ostracised, beaten and even have legal action taken against them, especially if it is older men seducing young boys. There should also be more education on the dangers of anal sex, particularly in regard to the weakening of the sphincter leading to uncontrolled defecation, as well as the dangers of HIV infection. This education should be directed at boys whose ‘tamaa’ leads them to accept anal sex in order to access money and clothes (Tambuka Reli). Although Tambuka Reli was also the only mtaa which recognised that being gay is a question of biological and sexual orientation, they shared the general disgust at such behaviour. They said such behaviour made men impotent (psychological castration?)

All the mitaa in Kinondoni also talked about girls accepting anal sex, with the same judgemental attitudes towards them. The woman will have difficulty given birth and should be ostracised.

### 9.3.5 Movement and vulnerability

Using a ‘mobility matrix’, group participants were asked to show where they visited during the week, the frequency of those visits and the danger areas when they went to these places. They were asked to rank the most dangerous areas.

Overall, girls became vulnerable as soon as they left the environs of their homes, as they are subject to permanent propositioning along the way to wherever they want to go, whether they are going to shop, to school, to visit relatives and friends or to areas of recreation. One of the researchers calculated that she was propositioned between 10 and 30 times a day. The frequency was summed up by two groups of girls in North Azimio (**Figure 1**):

**Figure 1: Incidence of sexual harassment**

Activity	Incidence
Visiting relatives	Frequent. Both on the way to and from, and in the home.
School	Frequent
Rusha roho/disco	Very often. You can be propositioned more than 10 times
Tuition	Sometimes/frequent
Beach	Frequent:. You can be hit on more than 20 times and raped
Market	Frequent/sometimes
Shops	Sometimes/frequent
Saloon	Sometimes/frequent
Church/Mosque	Rare

Harassment comes in stages. The first is ‘kushoboka’ where the man is calling out to the girl as she goes past, flirting with her, even though he may not know her. Girls do not take this very seriously but it is following by ‘kutongoza’ which literally means to seduce (which of course it is if the propositioning is successful) but starts as a proposition to have sex with the girl.

Rape: As stated above in relation to Rusha Roho, in all cases the girl has to be careful about how she replies because any reply that is construed as being arrogant, or showing off, can be ‘punished’ by rape. This applies to whether they are walking or going by public transport. Thus distance from school and commercial areas could be a key factor in measuring

vulnerability (which can put better off girls more at risk because their parents are more likely to send them to schools further away from home, and commercial services such as markets may not be situated so close to their homes).

Rape, however, is a difficult category as we found out during the feedback discussions with the researchers at the end of the research. They expressed the commonly held view in their communities that:

1. If the girl has taken a man's gifts, provided that she is over the age of 9, it is not rape. Rape therefore implies no kind of former relationship or softening up of the girl.
2. Forced sex by one person is not rape either. In order for it to be called rape, it has to be more than one person forcing sex on the girl.

The four mitaa which mentioned rape said that it was not such a common occurrence but it has serious effects on the girls who are raped (Azimio North, Makuti A).<sup>6</sup> This is an area which needs further research as the common definition of rape as forced sex or sex with a minor might not be shared by the girls themselves who therefore underestimate the frequency of rape:

1. The girl is exposed to STIs, including HIV and unwanted pregnancy leading to difficulties giving birth (Mji Mpya).
2. Girls are usually raped because they show off in front of men, or if they refuse a man (Makuti B).
3. The fear of rape is common as it can happen in many places including when crossing playing fields, going down the small paths between houses etc.
4. The ever present threat of rape puts girls in a Catch 22 situation. In order to protect themselves from other men, you have to have a boyfriend.

*'If you have a boyfriend, you avoid being raped' (Mji Mpya)*

At the same time, the boyfriend will also expect sexual favours, probably with even less chance of using a condom.

### 9.3.6 Social services

Schools were mentioned by all mitaa as nearly all respondents had been or were still going to school. Vulnerability came in two ways.

1. On the way to and from school, in particular if they have to get on a daladala<sup>7</sup>. Both the bus conductors and the drivers proposition the girls and many girls agree to the propositions because of the transport situation in Tanzania where students (of whatever age) only pay one sixth of what adults pay, as a result of which the buses are very loath to take students in their buses. Thus, students often have to wait for hours at the bus stop and even return home way into the night, which makes them vulnerable in the dark streets around the majority of their houses. In addition girls save their bus fare money to be able to buy some food at school (such as fried cassava). In Mji Mpya, they gave the names of

---

<sup>6</sup> In a recent survey, REPOA (2007) found that rape was considered a 'major problem' by 17 percent of Dar es Salaam respondents, (16 percent nationwide), ranking rape the second lowest problem after witch killings. Child abuse (18 percent in Dar es Salaam, 20 percent nationwide) was a slightly more serious problem. This survey however needs to be analysed more in terms of the views of different age groups.

<sup>7</sup> Common nickname for small private commuter buses

two students who had to drop out of school because they got pregnant by bus conductors. Mji Mpya is the better-off mtaa in Temeke, and in Makuti B, which is the better off area in Magomeni, they also mentioned that many people travel longer distances to school by bus (in search of schools with better academic reputations and also because a higher percentage of girls go to secondary school) thereby making them more vulnerable to harassment on the way. Thus it would seem that in the better off areas, girls are more vulnerable because of the desire to spend less time at the bus stop (and maybe avoid punishments by parents if they arrive home late) whereas in the poorer mitaa, Sunnah and Tambuka Reli, girls take conductors as boyfriends because they save their bus fares and get some extra money. In Sunnah, they mentioned that some girls can wait at the bus stop for three hours until the bus with their boyfriend conductor arrives.

2. At school, girls are propositioned by their fellow pupils, with whom they have to be careful in their responses as above, and by teachers who either punish a girl who refuses, or offer them exam papers in advance in exchange for sex. Yet, despite the harassment which leads to some girls accepting their teachers (one girl in Makuti A was sent out of class every day and ended up failing her exams because she refused the teacher), if they do accept they are looked down on by their fellow pupils. For example, in Tambuka Reli they are called 'beans from Mbeya' because Mbeya beans cook fast with a minimum of water. The teachers or the other boys are not blamed but the girl herself. Only in Mji Mpya, which is the better off mtaa in Temeke, did girls also mention tuition where the teachers also exchange marks for sex.

Hospitals were not mentioned in the research but in the preliminary training, the young researchers also mentioned that doctors also took advantage of their position to fondle and proposition the girls when they were sick. Several of the researchers gave personal experiences.

Finally in Makuti A, girls complained that they were permanently pestered when they went to the water pump. The men knew what time they went and hung around to proposition them.

### 9.3.7 *Commercial areas*

These are divided into two; the saloons where they go to do their hair and the shops, markets and small market stalls where they are sent to buy food and other necessities for the household.

In the saloons, they distinguished between saloons with male hairdressers where they were constantly being propositioned and many girls agree to the propositions because, again, they save the little money they have, and saloons with female hairdressers who, they said, are often semi-sex workers who teach them bad habits and pressurise them to find boyfriends in the same way (Makuti B, North Azimio). In some cases (Makuti A), the hairdresser becomes the go-between for a man, convincing the girl on his behalf. Male-run saloons are also used for selling drugs (Sunnah) mainly to men.

With regard to the shops, market stalls and markets, girls are vulnerable on the way, particularly at night, or on the small pathways between crowded housing, to any man who feels like propositioning them on the way. For example in Makuti B (the richer mtaa) the market is some distance away and: *'whatever path we follow we are propositioned by all kinds of men.'*

In North Azimio, they gave the example of a girl who was raped because she refused a man on the way so he waited for her the next day, raped her and disappeared. At the market and in the shops they are constantly being propositioned by the stall holders and shop owners and given small gifts and extra food to get them to agree. The girls complained that this amounted to pestering them as the men never give up. In Makuti A and B, this is compounded by fondling their buttocks and breasts (in Makuti A they said that nearly all girls have to undergo this) and if they complain they are insulted. However, once again, some of the girls agree out of 'tamaa'.

#### 9.3.8 *Recreational areas*

The two principal areas of recreation mentioned in all the mitaa were the beach and rusha roho.

**Beach:** At weekends, boys and girls contribute money to hiring transport to take them to the beach where they can swim, eat and socialise. However, while it seems to be the most enjoyable recreation for the girls it is also fraught with danger, especially if the girls go alone. Rape is a common occurrence for the same reasons as mentioned elsewhere, short skirts (even in the sea), refusing the proposition of a boy or just being alone.

Thus in several mitaa they stressed that girls have to go with a boyfriend, or if they have no boyfriend, to find a partner in order to protect them (Makuti A), but they should expect that the partner will want to have sex as part of the deal. The boyfriend/partner pays for the bus fare. Also if it is a distant beach and the group sleeps over, you have to get a boyfriend otherwise 'you will regret for ever' (Mji Mpya). However, if the boyfriend is not very strong, he can also be beaten and even sodomised (Makuti A) and some boys get sodomised anyway (Azimio North). Even if the girl is swimming, and she is wearing a short costume, boys threaten to rape her in the sea and they fondle her by force (Sunnah) or they try to rape her when she comes out of the sea (Azimio North). Others (in Sunnah) said that it was OK to go with your boyfriend or even better with your family but if you are on your own: '*You are like a carcass with the crows wanting to peck at you*'.

Apart from the threat of rape, unprotected sex is common and boys boast of how many girls they slept with while at the beach (Makuti B). Tambuka Reli girls (from the poorest mtaa) said that the beach is also a place for sex work.

**Rusha Roho and local discos:** Rusha Roho are common at weekends and attended by large numbers and people dance all night. Girls also enjoy these although it is a place of continual propositioning. As stated in the response to the pictures, if girls refuse too harshly, or dance too sexily ('men go crazy over shaking hips' Mji Mpya), or their clothes are too short, or even if they go to a rusha roho some distance from their home, they are in danger of being raped or even gang raped. Participants gave several examples of this happening (Tambuka Reli). Similarly if they go to a club or a local disco without a boyfriend, they are subject to persistent pestering including unwanted fondling and pulling up of the skirt while dancing.

In Azimio North, they said that young sex workers also take advantage of Rusha Roho to go about their business, which might contribute to the idea that all girls dancing sexily are actually sex workers.

In response to this, girls suggested that Rusha Roho should be held in dance halls, with guards on the gate to ensure protection of the dancers and also to ensure that children cannot enter.

Girls from Mji Mpya thought that rusha roho is a place where girls are in danger of being raped. However, in Makuti B, they stressed that girls also make themselves vulnerable by taking off their clothes as they dance and by staying until very late, by which time it is dangerous to go home so they have to sleep with their boyfriend, or find a boyfriend. Children also learn from watching their elders.

Playing grounds: These are not so dangerous while the football or other games are going on. Rather, because they are open spaces, often on the edge of built up areas, they have become the haunts of drug users who rob passers-by and also rape girls especially at night. However, in Tambuka Reli, girls also said that the coaches try to seduce them.

Visiting friends and relatives: The primary danger comes from the journey to and from the friends and relatives. However, in Mji Mpya they also mentioned that the friend/relative can be used by a man to proposition the girl on their behalf.

### 9.3.9 Places of worship

In general, they were identified as places where sexual harassment takes place rarely and the analysis given was more anecdotal of specific cases than a generalised fear of harassment. Thus in Mji Mpya, one girl was made pregnant when she was still under 18, by a madras teacher who then had to marry her to cover up his shame. In Azimio North they talked of a girl who had a baby by a pastor.

## 9.4 Frequency and magnitude of factors related to vulnerability 26

Participating groups of girls were asked to develop a Venn diagram which showed what made them vulnerable and how these factors interlinked. This exercise served to contextualise vulnerability within a wider range of problems and challenges facing girls and young women and provide insights into the causes of different types of vulnerability. The major issues raised in the various mitaa were as follows (**Figure 2**):

**Figure 2: Ranking personal problems, by research site**

Kinondoni			Temeke		
Makuti B	Makuti A	Sunnah	Mji Mpya	Azimio Kask	Tambuka Reli
Prostitution	Poverty	Poverty	Robbery	Lack of education	Unsafe sex
Rusha Roho	Rape	Lack of education	Lack of education	Robbery	Orphanhood
Unemployment	Orphanhood	Unemployment	Orphanhood	Early marriage	Lack of education
Orphanhood	Disease	Drugs	Early marriage	Early pregnancy	Unemployment
Drugs	Abortion	Rape	Drugs	Poverty	Drugs
Early marriage	Unwanted pregnancy	Robbery	Rape	Orphanhood	Early marriage
Poverty	Lack of education	Early pregnancy	Poverty	Lack of good upbringing	Poverty

Early pregnancy	Early marriage	Orphanhood	Abortion		Abortion
Rape	Unemployment	Drunkenness	Rusha Roho		Rusha Roho
			Lack of good upbringing		

Poverty and orphanhood were mentioned in all six mitaa, followed by early marriage and lack of education (five mitaa), and rape, unwanted or early pregnancy, drugs and unemployment (4) and abortion and rusha roho (3). Others mentioned included robbery and lack of care (2), and disease and drunkenness (1).

Again, there is a strong level of consensus throughout the different mitaa although it is interesting to note that the two richer mitaa prioritised prostitution and robbery over issues such as poverty. Issues relating to sexual and reproductive health featured strongly and were strongly interlinked. Maybe one surprising finding was the high prevalence of early marriage, which is more usually associated with rural areas. Also interesting is that not a single mtaa mentioned AIDS as a key vulnerability factor. AIDS, for them, is the outcome of other vulnerability factors, not the factor itself.

Poverty was seen as increasing vulnerability in several ways:

1. Girls, and also boys were pushed into offering sexual favours in order to get basic necessities on a 'nipe nikupe' basis ('you give me, I give you') (Mji Mpya). Even the strategy of multiple partners in a situation of poverty is seen as a kind of 'safety net' to avoid sinking back into poverty if their partner falls on hard times.

*A girl should have many branches. If one branch breaks, you move to the next branch (Makuti B)*

*You need three stones to balance the cooking pot. In other words, girls need multiple partners. If one man is broke, you move to the next (Makuti A)]*

2. This was exacerbated by 'tamaa.' Girls in Azimio North said that poverty is not such a big deal as they mostly live with their parents, but for those with tamaa for expensive clothes, going to discos and eating chips it became a problem, making the girls vulnerable to STIs, AIDS and pregnancy.
3. Poverty also leads to idleness. Parents and guardians cannot afford to send their children to school (Sunnah) or even to vocational training (Sunnah) so the girls sit at home with nothing to do, which makes them easy prey to peer pressure to have sex for money or basic necessities (Makuti A, Sunnah). In Sunnah, this was really stressed by the girls. They said that many girls did in fact start secondary school but had to drop out along the way because parents or guardians could no longer afford the fees, with all the attendant frustrations.
4. Poverty also pushed parents to marry off their daughters. This was identified as a common problem in the poorest mtaa in Temeke, Tambuka Reli and the richest mtaa in Magomeni (Makuti B)

Orphanhood: Orphanhood was identified across the board as being a major and common vulnerability. Given the current interest in supporting relatives looking after orphans it should be stressed that in nearly all the mitaa, the participants noted that orphans were being seriously mistreated by their relatives.

1. Relatives don't care for the orphans so they are forced out to live a life on the streets (Makuti A and B) where they take drugs (boys) and become sex workers (girls).
2. Orphans are taken out of school and made to work for their relatives (Makuti B, Sunnah, Tambuka Reli). Girls are turned into domestic workers for their relatives (Sunnah). Even worse 'if you stay with your aunt, she sells you to men' (Tambuka Reli).
3. Orphans do not get their basic necessities and are forced into transactional sex to get them (Mji Mpya). Although this was seen as having sex to access basic necessities, food, clothing and money, it was still characterised as tamaa by Tambuka Reli.
4. Where there was an orphanage, the perception was that the support given to that orphanage did not benefit the orphans themselves but rather the people who owned and ran the orphanage (Makuti B).
5. Orphans need counselling but do not get it (Azimio North).

Early marriage: Early marriage was seen as a major and very common issue. It comes about in two ways:

1. The girls are forced to get married by their parents who need the money (Azimio North, Tambuka Reli). The parents also take them out of school to marry them off (Makuti A).
2. The girls decide to get married as a way of escaping the very poor life they lead (Azimio North, Makuti B), or because they cannot continue with education (Mji Mpya).

As a result, the girls lose their basic right to education (Mji Mpya).

The consequences of early marriage were also identified by the girls:

1. The girls are not ready for marriage, they are too young so they fail to settle down, which leads to early divorce and loss of all support (Mji Mpya, Azimio North, Makuti B).
2. As a result they are forced into sex work to look after themselves and their children (Azimio North).
3. Even if the girls stay inside their marriage, they are frequently the victims of gender based violence. They are beaten and given little money to run the household. In some cases they run away because their husbands demand anal sex (Makuti B).
4. The outcome of early marriage is pregnancy at an early age with all its attendant dangers

**Text Box 1: Participant in Makuti A**

When I was still at school they looked for a husband for me. At the end of the school term, I was told that my grandmother in the village wanted to see me and because I loved my grandmother, I was happy to go to see her. After I left, my parents made plans to transfer me from the school but the real aim was to stop me schooling. When the time for the new term arrived, I asked my grandmother to let me go back to school but she refused saying that I was now too big for school. Because I often joked with her, I knew this was another joke until one evening I was cooking when I hear my uncle saying they had found a man, he has already made all the arrangements so all that was left was to get married. Because there were many girls at my grandmother's I thought they were talking about someone else but when I asked my sister that night who was getting married, she said she would tell me the next day.

The next day she told me everything. I didn't know what to do. My uncle came to take me back to Magomeni and told me they had found a husband for me. I decided to run away and went to Kariakoo which was where I became a sex worker and I am still selling myself up to now with my colleagues here in Makuti. All of this was caused by my parents. If they had not tried to force me to get married so young, none of this would have happened to me.

for such young girls whose bodies are not fully developed (Mji Mpya).

Issues of reproductive health: Apart from early marriage, girls in all mitaa mentioned issues relating to sexual and reproductive health. Very many girls become sexually active, often for pecuniary rather than hormonal reasons, at a very early age, in some cases even before puberty, with little or no self-protection, with the result that they also get pregnant at an early age which then seriously affects their lives, whether they decide to give birth, or to have an abortion. Many end up as sex workers.

1. Girls start having sex very young (all mitaa). They start in primary school, or 'if they are very determined to delay', just after leaving primary school (Makuti B). Some start before puberty (Makuti A) Orphans are particularly vulnerable (Tambuka Reli).
2. There is strong peer pressure for them to have sex and they are regarded as 'mshamba' (hick) if they don't (Makuti A) which leads to pregnancy and abortion.
3. At that early age they know nothing about how to protect themselves (Sunnah, Tambuka Reli) or even about their menstrual cycle (Makuti A).
4. They have sex in exchange for money (all mitaa). This also leads them to have multiple partners to get all they want. At the same time, girls recognised that they are cheated for very little money (Azimio North).
5. They are exposed to STIs. If they do get an STI, they do not know what to do and spread the diseases to others (Makuti A).
6. Pregnancy at an early age is a major and common issue (all mitaa).
7. If they get pregnant, the father usually runs away (Makuti A), denies that he is the father or says that he is too young to become a father (Sunnah). Sometimes he offers money to the girl to have an abortion.
8. If the girl is still a student she will usually have an abortion (Makuti B). Or she will abort if the father refuses the baby (Sunnah) or because she was forced to get married (Tambuka Reli). Several girls gave examples of girls who had died having an abortion (Sunnah, Mji Mpya, Azimio North). Even if the girl does not die, she can be seriously sick and become barren (Mji Mpya). If she is known to have an abortion, she can also be ostracised (Azimio North).
9. Methods described include the use of tea leaves, ashes and contraceptive pills, or using a cassava stick to provoke an abortion (Mji Mpya, Azimio North).
10. If the girl decides to have the baby, she is faced with a very tough life, trying to bring up the baby on her own with no support (Makuti A and B, Sunnah).
11. She often faces difficulties giving birth because she is weak, suffering from anaemia etc

**Text Box 2: Participant in Makuti B**

I got pregnant at the very beginning of Form 2. I met this boy who became my boyfriend and because I did not know anything about my menstrual cycle we had sex without using a condom so that first day I got pregnant but I didn't realise it until I missed my period, and I was vomiting every morning. When my pregnancy reached four months, I was ashamed of going to school but when I told my boyfriend he refused point blank that he was responsible. My mother asked me who made me pregnant. I told her and also that the boy had refused responsibility she told me this was the gift from my prostitution. They were criticising and insulting me every day saying it would have been better if they had spent money on clothes for themselves. My mother was particularly upset as I was the only child and she had really suffered to bring me up because my father is a drunkard. My mother was relying on me to help her out in future. She was struggling to sell food to send me to school. When the time came for me to deliver, I had to have a Caesarean because the baby was too big. He is now one year old and my mother has forbidden me to tell the relatives of the boy since they did not help me anything during my pregnancy.

(Makuti A).

Drugs: Drugs were usually mentioned as being an issue for the boys, although drugs use also make the boys more likely to rob and also rape. Very few girls were perceived to be taking drugs.

### **9.5 Lack of education and employment 29**

Many girls from the poorer mitaa miss out on secondary or vocational education because their parents cannot afford the fees (Sunnah, Makuti A). Some do not even finish primary school (Makuti A) This is particularly true of orphans (Tambuka Reli). Many girls want to continue with their education and are frustrated when they do not (Makuti A). They feel that others look down on them (Mji Mpya), which leads to some of them having sex in order to raise the money to continue with school. However, they struggle to develop themselves (Sunnah).

As a result, they can get no job and are exposed to the issues above (Tambuka Reli, Sunnah) and end up getting pregnant at an early age (Azimio North).

Some children also leave school of their own accord because their parents, who are not educated themselves, do not particularly value education and do not follow up on their children at school (Makuti A).

It is interesting that girls from the richest mtaa (Makuti B) did not identify lack of education as a problem, probably because the majority of them are still at school.

Lack of education leads directly to lack of employment as most young people have no marketable skills. Many therefore resort to petty business such as selling buns and rice cakes but the problem is that every household is selling the same goods, so the market is very small (Makuti B, Sunnah) and in the end many girls turn to sex work as the only way of making sufficient money (Makuti A, Sunnah).

The boys turn to robbery as a solution. In a separate group discussion, boys in Azimio North stressed that unemployment leads to a drop in self esteem and a willingness to do anything to get some money.

*'If you are educated you won't think of being a thief. The problem is that only the rich get education.'*

Robbery is very dangerous: for the most petty theft you can end up being beaten or burned to death (Azimio North).

Finally, lack of employment for their parents is what puts the household in a difficult situation in the first place, as the girls depend on their parents for education and for their necessities.

Lack of care: This was seen particularly in relation to orphans but also characterises many households as many parents have separated or divorced and re-married. The girls feel that there is no one there for them (Azimio North) as they are expected to approach the father

through the step mother with whom they do not have a good relationship. In some cases, the father drinks and forgets his family (Makuti B) though the girls said this was not a major problem.

### **9.6 Situation of migrants 30**

In both Azimio and Magomeni, a separate discussion was held with girls who have moved into the area recently to find out if moving into a new area increased their vulnerability. Girls were asked to rank their problems in order of magnitude.

In both wards, the major problem was permanent propositioning, but more so as they are regarded as 'new goods' (Magomeni). 'They pester you on the street and even if you are at home they come and knock and ask if you are selling ice cream when you have no fridge in the house' (Magomeni) or 'they come and brush their teeth outside your window in the morning' (Azimio). Even if they start to develop a friendship with a girl who has been living there for a long time, she is then turned into the go-between by the men to convince you to go out with a particular man (Azimio).

There is also a general perception that you must be involved in sex work of one kind or another, or transactional sex, especially if you move in on your own. This was not a problem in Azimio as all the girls had moved in with their relatives but those in Magomeni faced problems with their landladies who did not want any men to visit them, and on the streets they were being called prostitutes. Similarly, if they talk to a man who lives in the area, they start saying they are stealing other people's husbands.

The other main problem they face is robbery, either in their rooms or on the street. The local thieves think it is easy to rob them because they don't know them and the locals do not do anything to help them.

When asked what should be done, migrant girls follow the same principles as the others. They do not blame the situation but insist that they should refuse propositions, show self respect, wear respectable clothes and choose friends with a good character.

Researchers also investigated sex work among young prostitutes in Tambuka Reli. The results are summarised in **Appendix 2**.

### **10.0 Lessons learned from the mapping exercise 31**

While this research was intended to pinpoint specific vulnerabilities of adolescent girls in Dar es Salaam and tease out the relationship between them and how they might contribute to increased HIV infection, the overwhelming finding of this first round of research is the magnitude and multiple causes of vulnerability facing girls in general. They are subjected to sexual harassment as soon as they leave the home and in some cases inside the home as well (incest is said to be fairly common). Some attention to young girls may be quite gratifying to their self esteem and some said that they would be concerned if no man was interested in them, but it is the scale and the impunity of the propositioning that drives vulnerability. Any man, anywhere is justified in propositioning any girl, and girls have to be very careful how they deal with such propositions as outright rejection can lead to rape.

In addition, some men take advantage of their positions to reinforce their harassment,

whether it be teachers punishing or bribing with previews of exams, or shopkeepers and market stall holders offering small gifts, or even a bus conductor making it possible for the girl to get home from school before nightfall by allowing her on to the bus.

Nor are girls prepared in any way to cope with this situation. There is no life skills training in school, no concerted effort to enable girls to think and discuss together how to confront such situations, no support from adults apart from dire warnings about ‘misbehaving’. In fact, in some ways they are prepared for failure as, for example, any girl carrying a condom or contraceptive pills is regarded as a ‘prostitute’ and often chased out of the house, while her brother is considered a ‘real man’. Thus, even the few protective devices that exist are not accepted in the community.

It is therefore hardly surprising that some girls start having sex at a very young age (just after or even before puberty) and so many end up getting pregnant, having abortions and turning to sex work to feed their children after the father has run away. It is difficult to imagine what a young girl, aged 12-14 must feel when she realises that she has now become the object of every man’s desire, and is subjected to a mixture of blandishments and threats to have sex throughout every day. At the same time she is also at the age when she has her own feelings and will be interested in finding out about sex, and in getting a boyfriend of her own. She will also become aware of her ‘power’ over boys, not aware that that power is very transitory.

The men are then protected by a system which, basically, allows them to act with impunity. Even if they are caught having sex with their own daughter, they may be shamed for a while in public but no serious action is taken against them, apart from the wife demanding a divorce. When a man was caught red handed pulling a girl into the cemetery to rape her, the public did rescue the girl but no further action was taken against the perpetrator. By contrast a small time pickpocket can be stoned or burned to death. At the dances, men can masturbate against the woman dancing in front of them quite openly and no action is taken against them. They have the right to punish girls who show off by the way they dance and dress, or refuse their propositions. Gang rape was even seen as an acceptable way of punishing and removing young sex workers (as stated by the boy in Tambuka Reli with the support of the local leader).

Thus it would seem that in the urban situations we researched, where traditional and religious norms have broken down, where community ties are also weak, in particular for in-migrants, a vacuum has been created which has been taken over by an almost totalitarian patriarchal system which allows men to do what they want. Even those traditions that remain, such as

**Box 3: What is ‘tamaa’?**

Tamaa literally means desire and refers usually to the desire for things, such as more expensive food and clothes, material possessions such as cell phones etc.

In the context of the patriarchal system, tamaa is not gender neutral. It is a key concept which is almost exclusively applied to girls (even by the girls themselves) blaming them for wanting these things. As the research has showed, the tamaa for food is often because they eat only once a day and even that meal is not certain, and they have to contribute money to the buying of that food. In other cases, girls accept sexual advances as a way of accessing education etc. The behaviour of those who proposition them is not characterised as ‘tamaa’ and is not criticised or blamed in the same way. More research is needed into how and why this concept has become so prevalent, and to what extent it can also be linked to prevalent HIV prevention strategies which have been blamed by many as also being judgemental, stigmatising and gender biased.

rusha roho have been subverted. Rusha roho was traditionally a women's dance, which has been invaded by men allowing them to behave in the manner explained above. Similarly, parents used to choose a suitor for their daughters based on many considerations, including but not restricted to wealth. The suitor had to be a hard worker, come from a family with a good reputation, prove himself by his behaviour etc whereas now many girls are married off to any man, provided that he pays the money. All other considerations, including the wishes of the girl, are irrelevant.

This is made easier by three factors within the girls themselves:

4. The high levels of poverty which make any offer of money, or reduced expenses (such as saving on the bus fare or the cost of hairdressing) an attractive proposition for the girls in question.
5. The age of the girls as they enter and go through puberty. They themselves are interested in sexual exploration, they are concerned about their standing among their peers and want to compete on equal terms with them. Peer pressure to have nice clothes etc is very strong.
6. The internalisation by the girls of this patriarchal system which means that they do not blame the system or see that their rights are being violated in any way. In fact they blame themselves or one another if anything happens. Thus, if a girl has accepted whatever inducements have been offered to her, however young or unknowing she is, it is not considered incest, or rape and it is the girl's fault for accepting. Similarly if she bows to pressure or force (such as the punishment regimes for refusing a teacher) she is the one to blame. Thus, in their mind, the principal cause of all the problems is the 'tamaa' and behaviour of the girl. She was hungry and wanted some food; she wanted to have nice dress to wear; she danced sexily or wore short skirts; she went to a rusha roho which was some distance from her house; she went to the beach on her own without a boyfriend, what did she expect! Although they did recommend that legal action be taken against incest and rape, overwhelmingly they did not blame the men or the system, they blamed themselves.

This research suggests, then, that as girls enter puberty, they enter a zone where their rights are not recognised in any way. They can be married off, propositioned, threatened, humiliated, raped, even gang raped with impunity. The girls have accepted this system and resolve to use their wits and charms to play the game of life, believing that they can win and not really understanding that all the cards are massively stacked against them. Thus, if one of their number fails, gets pregnant or raped, or HIV, she is blamed as a loser in this game of life. They do not question the rules of the game.

Thus, if vulnerability of adolescent girls is to be addressed, thereby reducing the likelihood of HIV infection in them, the first thing that is required is a major re-evaluation of the circumstances in which these girls have to navigate their puberty. The impunity of the men has to be challenged, and the communities have to accept that there should be protective and supportive mechanisms to enable these girls to navigate their puberty successfully within the context of their human rights. There has to be a community recognition (not just a distant Sexual Offences Act) that sex below a certain age is unacceptable whatever the circumstances. This can only be achieved through a large scale, participatory community advocacy and education programme together with a programme of life skills for both the girls

and the boys to enable them to understand themselves and one another and develop their own protective mechanisms.

Within this overall context of vulnerability, we can make some observations concerning the preliminary research questions.

***Question 1: What factors influence the vulnerability of adolescent girls and young women to contracting HIV in an urban environment?***

Vulnerability is the likelihood that something bad may happen to a particular person or class of persons (orphans, migrants, schoolgirls). Vulnerability is high when there is a significant statistical probability that something bad will befall many members of particular groups. Vulnerability increases as one source of vulnerability is added to another. The participatory processes described above brought out perceptions of different groups of young girls and women regarding possible causes of vulnerability, whether biological, social, cultural or economic. The following causes of vulnerability may be highlighted.

1. Sexual violence and the fear of sexual violence. All the girls in the survey were aware of the possibility of sexual violence against them, which determined even their reactions to the continual propositions being made to them.
2. Orphanhood. What is important to recognise though is the overwhelming perception of the girls that the orphans are actually made more vulnerable by the way they are treated by their relatives and guardians. Of the underage sex workers interviewed in Azimio, three quarters were orphans and every mitaa pointed out that mistreatment of orphans led to them going out on the street and ending up as sex workers. This has important implications for any 'social protection' programme which looks only at the household unit and not the specific needs of the orphans themselves. Maybe there is a need to pay much more attention to how the orphans can be supported by their peers through youth programmes with adolescents
3. Early marriage. This has usually been associated with more rural environments and one of the hypotheses of the research was that a major reason for in-migration to town was to escape early marriage. However, what the research found was that early marriage was common in town, particularly in Azimio where 27% of the girls in the 16-20 age group were already married and some girls were getting married even before 16. The research also showed that marriage was definitely not a way of reducing vulnerability (though many girls thought marriage to a man with some means was the best way out of their predicament). Early marriage led to early pregnancy with the attendant problems in giving birth, and early divorce or abandonment leaving the girls with few options other than sex work.
4. Lack of education. Far fewer girls in Temeke were in secondary school 10% were already working by the age of 15. The research did not have time to investigate in detail but the incidence of brothels and child prostitution seemed to be significantly higher in Azimio as well.
5. Distance. Many of the girls in the better off or less poor mitaa were studying some distance away from their homes (because they were at secondary school, or because there are better primary schools elsewhere in Dar es Salaam. This made them more vulnerable because of the way the transport system works against students. It was clear from the research that girls in the poorer mitaa accepted the offers of the bus conductors for

financial reasons but from the less poor mitaa they accepted in order to be able to spend far less time travelling and get home at a reasonable time.

6. Nature of households. A great deal has been said about orphans but far less attention has been paid to the phenomenon of divorce/separation and step parents on the children. The remaining sex workers interviewed in Temeke all came from 'broken homes' where children are subjected to step-parenthood which is stereotyped as being negative and, from the stories they tell, very often is. The effect of this negative parenting needs to be investigated in much greater depth.
7. Migration. The focus group discussions with the girls who have moved into an area showed that they were subjected to even higher levels of harassment with even greater impunity for the men involved as the girls do not know them.
8. Pregnancy. Once a girl becomes pregnant, she is in a very precarious position. Her boyfriend often leaves her, or at the most, gives her money to have a backstreet abortion. The abortions can have disastrous consequences on her health, including death. If she decides to have the baby, she is left on her own with no support to bring up the child and no education or skills to find a job or set up her own business.
9. Physical structure. This may seem like a facetious finding but the more beautiful girls are perceived to be, the more they are subjected to harassment and blandishments to have sex, thereby making them more vulnerable. In addition, they are more likely to be perceived to be showing off and therefore needing to be 'controlled' by the men.

***Question 2: How do economic and cultural factors interact in determining vulnerability?***

The combination of extreme poverty (expressed in inability to feed oneself or one's family) and prevailing gender relations have a major effect on the vulnerability of girls and young women.

***Question 3: How do young, female migrants from other urban and rural areas differ from girls born in Dar es Salaam in terms of vulnerability?***

It was seen that in-migrants to Azimio and Magomeni did experience higher levels of harassment but this still needs to be examined in more depth in phase two of the research.

***Question 4: How do sexual networks influence levels of vulnerability among different groups of girls and young women (dependents, housegirls, schoolgirls, working girls)?***

This question needs to be addressed on a longer term basis. The trust built up in the course of this research makes it possible to move to more sensitive questioning with a higher possibility of receiving honest answers. During the sampling phase of the research, there was significant resistance to even the least intrusive of questioning. However, on the basis of the relationships developed during the research, it will be possible to move to more sensitive questioning.

The major challenge for subsequent phases of this research will be to try to document actual vulnerability as reflected in the behaviour and experiences of girls and young women in the two research sites.

## **11.0 Next steps**

### ***11.1 Understanding vulnerability***

This exploratory research has revealed much about the general nature of vulnerability among

girls and young women to HIV infection in an urban context, and has laid the groundwork for deeper analysis of causality and interrelations between different risk factors. Fortunately (we hope) most of the female subjects of this research will not be raped or contract HIV. Yet unfortunately some of them will, and it is vital to try to find out who and why. Such knowledge can inform future interventions designed to help young people avoid infection.

The major challenge for subsequent phases of this research will be to document actual vulnerability as reflected in the behaviour and experiences of girls and young women, as well as boys and young men, in the two research sites. Ultimately, infection rates will need to be measured in order to test the causal models that will be elaborated.

To achieve this will require deepening the synergy derived from using multiple research methods.

Phase two of this research programme consists of further interrelated quantitative and qualitative activities:

4. A second round of interviews with the 494 male and 543 female 10-20 year olds identified in round one of the fieldwork. These interviews will be based on an entirely new questionnaire that builds on the insights from the first round of group work and probes sexual knowledge, attitudes and practices. Given the sensitive nature of the subject, and in order to generate valid and reliable information, the questionnaire will have to be very carefully developed and tested with the researchers themselves, and with the community.
5. In light of the apparently internalised mode of male sexual domination that the first round of research has identified, further participatory work will focus on how young people 'navigate their puberty' and minimise the multiple risks they run as their sexuality develops.
6. This would also include a deeper exploration of key terms, the definition of which have been taken for granted such as rape, seduction and the term which most expresses the attitudes of people towards girls and those of the girls themselves, 'tamaa'.

Half the target girls and boys in the proposed panel are under 15, and subsequent rounds of interviews will be aimed at tracking their sexual behaviour and the potential deepening of vulnerability that this entails.

The key question of sexual networks needs to be addressed on a longer-term basis. The trust built up in the course of this research makes it possible to move to more sensitive questioning with a higher possibility of receiving honest answers. Understanding sexual networks better is arguably the greatest contribution researchers could make from the point of view of AIDS prevention.

The second round of fieldwork will also need to deepen the analysis of factors affecting vulnerability, in particular migration and orphanhood. It will also be necessary to sharpen our understanding of poverty as a major risk factor, and to locate subjects using GSM technology.

The ethics of conducting such long-term research must be carefully articulated. If, for example, researchers come across examples of intolerable abuse, they must have a strategy to deal with them. At the same time, working more and more intensively with a group of young and potentially vulnerable subjects has implications from the point of view of research objectivity, since the research may influence the behaviour that it is trying to understand.

### ***11.2 Addressing vulnerability***

Given the deep and interlocking nature of vulnerabilities of these girls, nearly all of which are not being addressed by the standard ABC prevention strategies, there is a need to build into the next round of research a strategy to address some of the root causes of vulnerability, in particular the entrenched patriarchal system which puts young girls at a permanent disadvantage while convincing them that this is the natural order of things.

Such a research would also address the ethical issue raised above as the girls are already being subjected to intolerable levels of harassment and threats of abuse. Given the existence of already functioning youth groups with background of peer education and community action, it should be possible to develop a strong advocacy and education programme in the community based on two key elements

A participatory education programme on the rights of women and girls (and young people as a whole) which provokes self analysis by different groups of community members and a programme of action to protect those rights. This education programme would be for the young people themselves for also for community leaders, formal and informal, and lead to a 'moving of the goalposts' around what is acceptable and unacceptable behaviour.

A life skills programme for girls and boys enabling them to develop together their own strategies for negotiating their adolescence successfully and protect themselves throughout.

This education strategy would be based on the youth groups, training new peer educators and retraining the existing ones from a more rights based perspective, working in conjunction with local leaders. The youth groups would also be trained to involve the more vulnerable, for example orphans in their programmes and to turn their centre into a key 'safe space' for girls in the community.

This would include capacity development of the youth groups to act as advocates and counsellors.

Ideally such research would include an entrepreneurial component to address the real vulnerabilities caused by lack of resources but that may require more money than is available. However, the hypothesis of such participatory action research is that by empowering young people to work with their peers to create an alternative to the current harassment and abuse, this would significantly reduce current vulnerability and this could be measured by paying particular attention to the 10-15 cohort which participated in this first round of research.

## **Bibliography**

- Adult Morbidity and Mortality Project (no date). *The Policy Implications of Tanzania's Mortality Burden*, 4 volumes, Dar es Salaam
- Cooksey, Brian 2007. 'Is poverty the main cause of HIV/AIDS in Tanzania?', *Citizen*, Dar es Salaam, 22 March
- Erulkar, A, T. Mekbib, N. Simie and T. Gulema 2004. *Adolescent Life in Low Income and Slum Areas of Addis Ababa, Ethiopia* Population Council/Ministry of Youth, Sports and Culture, Addis Ababa
- Fenton L 2004. 'Preventing HIV/AIDS through poverty reduction: the only sustainable solution?' *Lancet* 364: 1186-87
- Halperin DT, H Epstein 2004. 'Concurrent sexual partnerships help explain Africa's high HIV prevalence: implications for prevention', *Lancet* 364: 4-6
- Human Rights Watch 2002. 'Suffering in silence: the links between human rights abuses and HIV transmission to girls in Zambia', New York
- Khan, Arjmand Banu and Ann Leonard 2002. 'Skills Training and Beyond: Expanding Livelihood Opportunities for Adolescent Girls and Young Women in Kenya', Population Council, Nairobi
- Mabala, Richard 2006. 'From HIV prevention to HIV protection: addressing the vulnerability of girls and young women in urban areas', *Environment and Urbanisation*, IIED, Vol 18(2) 407-432
- Mabala, Richard 2007. 'What drives HIV/AIDS: Poverty or inequity?', *Citizen*, Dar es Salaam, 2 April
- Mishra, Vinod 2006. 'Are the Poor More Vulnerable to HIV Infection in Sub-Saharan Africa?' PEPFAR Annual Meeting, Durban, June 12-15
- Mishra, Vinod, Simona Bignami, Robert Greener, Martin Vaessen, Rathavuth Hong, Peter Ghys, Ties Boerma, Ari Van Assche, Shane Khan and Shea Rutstein 2007. A study of the association of HIV infection with wealth in sub-Saharan Africa, DHS Working Papers, No. 31, USAID, January
- Research on Poverty Alleviation 2007. 'Views of the People 2007', unpublished.
- Shelton, James D, Michael M Cassell, Jacob Adetunji 2005. 'Is poverty or wealth at the root of HIV?', *Lancet* 366: 1057-58, September 24
- Stillwaggon, Eileen 2006. *AIDS and the Ecology of Poverty*, Oxford University Press, Oxford
- Tamasha Vijana & Tanzania Development Research Group (tadreg) 2007. 'Mapping adolescent vulnerability to HIV infection in Dar es Salaam', research proposal to Joint Learning Initiative on Children and AIDS, June
- Tanzania Commission for AIDS, National Bureau of Statistics, and ORC Macro 2005. *Tanzania HIV/AIDS Indicators Survey 2003-04*, Calverton Maryland
- Weinberger, Michelle 2007. 'Poverty, wealth and HIV/Aids: Who is at risk?', *Citizen*, Dar es Salaam, 16 April

Appendix 1: Questionnaire

Namba ya dodoso							
-----------------	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

**KUTAFUTA HALI HALISI YA MAZINGIRA YA WASICHANA  
KUZONGWA NA VVU MJINI DAR ES SALAAM**

**DODOSO**

<b>JINA LA MHOJAJI</b>	
<b>TAREHE YA MAHOJIANO</b>	
<b>SAA YA MAHOJIANO</b>	
<b>KUANZA</b>	<b>KUMALIZA</b>
<b>IMETHIBITISHWA NA</b>	<b>TAREHE</b>

<b>ENEO LA UTAFITI</b>	
<b>KATA:</b>	
<b>KINONDONI - MAGOMENI</b>	<b>TEMEKE - AZIMIO</b>
<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>JINA LA MTA:</b>	
<b>NAMBA YA MTA:</b>	
NA. YA MTA KINONDONI: 01=MAKUTI A, 02=MAKUTI A, 03=SUNA NA YA MTA TEMEKE: 01=AZIMIO, 02=MJI MPYA, 03=TAMBUKU RELI	
<b>NAMBA YA NYUMBA</b>	
NUMBER HOUSES STARTING WITH 001, 002	
<b>NAMBA YA NYUMBA</b>	
ACTUAL DISTRICT COUNCIL HOUSE NUMBER (IF THERE IS ONE):	
<b>NAMBA YA KAYA:</b>	
NUMBER HOUSEHOLDS STARTING WITH 01, 02	
<b>IDADI YA WASICHANA WENYE UMRI 10-20 WANAOISHI KATIKA KAYA</b>	
<b>IDADI YA WAVULANA WENYE UMRI 10-20 WANAOISHI KATIKA KAYA</b>	
ANDIKA NAMBA KATIKA SANDUKU UPANDE WA KULIA. IWAPO HAKUNA ANDIKA '0' (SIFURI)	

**Maelezo ya Utafiti**

Sisi ni vijana wa kata hii ya ... Tunashirikiana na shirika la Tamasha (Taasisi ya Maendeleo Shirikishi ya Vijana, Arusha) ambalo limetupa mafunzo ya kuweza kufanya utafiti kuhusu hali halisi ya vijana, hasa vijana wa kike katika mtaa huu kwa kutumia mbinu shirikishi. Lengo la utafiti ni kubaini hali hatarishi zinazowakabili vijana ili kutengeneza mikakati ya kuwawezesha na kuwalinda vijana inayoendana na hali halisi kabisa. Ni sehemu ya tafiti zinazofanyika sehemu mbalimbali duniani chini ya mpango wa kuangalia hali halisi ya watoto na vijana kuathirika na UKIMWI kuwepo katika maeneo yao ili kupata mipango na mikakati bora zaidi.

## 1.1 SIFA ZA WATU KWENYE KAYA

1.01-1.10

### MAJINA YA WANAKAYA

**'Tafadhali uniambie nani anaishi katika kaya hii. Kwanza, nani ni mkuu wa kaya?'**

01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10
Mkuu wa kaya									

**Andika majina ya wanakaya wote ambao kwa kawaida wanaishi na kula pamoja katika kaya hii ukianzia na mkuu wa kaya. Andika pia watoto wadogo. If there are more than 10 people in the household, add a second questionnaire and staple it to the first**

1.11-1.20

### JINSI YA WANAKAYA

01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10
<b>1 = - ME</b> <b>2 = - KE</b>									
<b>Hakikisha umepata jinsi ya wanakaya wote. Andika 1 au 2 kwa kila mwanakaya</b>									

1.21-1.30

### UMRI WA WANAKAYA

**'Wanakaya wana miaka mingapi?'**

01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10
<b>Andika namba mbili k.m. 56, 07, 25, 01 n.k.</b>									

1.31-1.40

### MAHUSIANO NA MKUU WA KAYA

**'Wanakaya wana mahusiano gani?'**

01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10
<b>1 = MKUU WA KAYA</b> <b>2 = MUME/MKE</b> <b>3 = MTOTO</b> <b>4 = MZAZI</b> <b>5 = MJUKUU</b> <b>6 = NDUGU MWINGINE (Ainisha _____)</b> <b>7 = MKWE/SHEMEJI</b> <b>8 = MWANAKAYA LAKINI SI NDUGU NA SI MFANYAKAZI Ainisha _____)</b> <b>9 = MFANYAKAZI KATIKA KAYA</b>									
<b>Jaza kwa ajili ya wanakaya wote</b>									

1.41-1.50

<b>HALI YA NDOA YA WANAKAYA</b>									
<i>Tafadhali uniambie nani ameo/olewa na nani hana ndoa</i>									
01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10
1=NDOA YA MKE MMOJA 2=NDOA YA WAKE WENGI; 3=HANA NDOA; 4=TALAKA/ACHANA; 5=MJANE 6. UCHUMBA/KUISHI PAMOJA 7. HAKUNA JIBU									
<i>Kamilisha kwa wanakaya wote</i>									

1.51-1.60

<b>WANAKAYA: IDADI YA WATOTO</b>									
<i>Naomba uniambie kila mwanakaya ana watoto wangapi</i>									
01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10
<i>Andika idadi ya watoto kwa kila mwanakaya (si lazima wawe wanakaa pale)</i>									

1.61-1.70

<b>ELIMU YA WANAKAYA</b>									
<i>'Tafadhali uniambie elimu ya wanakaya wote.'</i>									
01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10
1 = HANA SHULE 2 = ELIMU YA MSINGI TU 3 = SEKONDARI AU JUU ZAIDI									
<i>Jaza kwa wanakaya wote kwa namba 1, 2 au 3</i>									

1.71-1.80

<b>ALIKOZALIWA MWANAKAYA (MKOA)</b>									
<i>'Wanakaya walizaliwa wapi?'</i>									
01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10
1=ARUSHA 2=PWANI 3=DAR ES SALAAM 4=DODOMA 5=IRINGA 6=KAGERA 7=KIGOMA 8=KILIMANJARO 9=LINDI 10=MANYARA 11= MARA 12=MBEYA 13=MOROGORO 14=MTWARA 15=MWANZA 16=SHINYANGA 17=SINGIDA 18=TABORA 19=TANGA 20=RUKWA 21=RUVUMA									
<i>Chagua namba ya mkoa kwa kila mwanakaya</i>									

1.81-1.90

<b>MAPATO/KUJIKIMU KWA MWANAKAYA</b>									
<i>'Tafadhali uniambie wanakaya wanajikimu vipi.'</i>									
01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10
1= KUTUNZA NYUMBA; 2=BIASHARA NDOGONDOGO/KUJIAJIRI; 3= AJIRA RASMI; 4=AJIRA ISIYO RASMI; 5=MWANAFUNZI; 6=MSTAAFU 7=HANA AJIRA/SHUGHULI 8=KILIMO 9=MENGINE (TAJA)									
<i>Jaza kwa wanakaya wote</i>									

1.91-1.100

<b>DINI YA WANAKAYA</b>									
<i>'Tafadhali uniambie una dini gani'</i>									
01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10
1=MWISLAMU; 2=MKRISTO; 3= NYINGINE; 4=HAKUNA DINI/HAKUNA JIBU									

1.101-1.110

<b>MUDA WA KUKAA DAR ES SALAAM</b>									
<i>'Wanakaya wameishi muda gani hapa Dar es Salaam'</i>									

01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10
<b>Andika namba mbili kwenye kila sanduku k.m.. 01 =(LESS THAN ONE YEAR), 02 (1-2 YEARS) 10 (9-10 YEARS), 20... kwa idadi ya miaka.</b>									
Easy calculation: Subject came to DSM in 2007 (mwaka huu) = code 01, in 2006=02, 2005=03, 2004=04, 2003=05, 2002=06, 2001=07, 2000=08, 1999=09, 1998=10, 1997=11, 1996=12, 1995=13, 1994=14, 1993=15, 1992=16, 1991=17, 1990=18, 1980-1989=19, 1979 or before=20									

1.111-1.120

<b>MUDA WA KUKAA KATIKA MTAA HUU</b>									
<b>'Wanakaya wameishi muda gani mtaa huu?'</b>									
01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10
<b>FOLLOW THE ABOVE INSTRUCTIONS</b>									

<b>1.2 AINA NA ZANA ZA NYUMBA</b>	
<b>'Ningependa uelezee nyumba unamoishi.'</b>	
1.2.1	
<b>Aina ya sakafu</b>	
Udongo	1
Simenti/tarazo	2
1.2.2	
<b>Kuta</b>	
Matofali (simenti au yaliyochomwa)	1
Miti na udongo	2
1.2.3	
<b>Paa</b>	
Majani	1
Mabati /vigae/simenti	2
1.2.4	
<b>Choo</b>	
Ndani ya nyumba	1
Choo cha nje/kinatumika na kaya nyingine	2
1.2.5	
<b>Kupika</b>	
Kuni/mkaa	1
Jiko	2
Umeme/gesi	3
1.2.6	
<b>Taa</b>	
Koroboi, taa ya chemli n.k.	1
Umeme	2
1.2.7	
<b>Idadi ya vyumba</b>	
<b>Hesabu vyumba vyote, si stoo au choo/bafu. Andika idadi ya vyumba kwenye sanduku</b>	
1.2.8	
<b>Maji</b>	
Mabomba ndani ya nyumba	1
Mabomba uani	2
Kutafutwa kutoka nje	3
1.2.9	
<b>Umiliki wa nyumba</b>	
Mali ya mkuu wa kaya	1

Lipa kodi kwa mwenye nyumba	2
Vyumba vya kupangisha	3
Kukaa bila kulipa kodi	4
Nyingine (eleza)	5
1.2.10-1.2.21	

<b>Mali ya kaya: 'Je, kaya ina mengine yafuatayo?'</b>		
	Yes	No
Meza	1	2
Viti	1	2
Makochi	1	2
Feni (ya meza au paa)	1	2
Kabati (ya nguo/vyombo)	1	2
Redio	1	2
Chandarua	1	2
Godoro la sponji/Spring	1	2
Friji	1	2
Luninga	1	2
Baiskeli	1	2
Pikipiki/gari		
<b>Viringisha majibu sahihi</b>		
1.2.22		
<b>WAFANYAKAZI WA NYUMBANI</b>		
<b>'Una wafanyakazi wangapi (wa muda au full time) ambao hawaishi ndani ya kaya'</b>		
Wafanyakazi wa masaa		
Wafanyakazi 'full time'		
<b>Andika na. (0, 1, 2...) katika sanduku</b>		
<b>Hakikisha kwamba wafanyakazi wanaoishi kwenye kaya wameandikishwa</b>		

Asante

### HOW TO COMPUTE THE QUESTIONNAIRE NUMBER

<b>Q'AIRE NUMBER:</b>						
<b>1<sup>ST</sup> BOX</b>	<b>2ND</b>	<b>3RD</b>	<b>4TH</b>	<b>5TH</b>	<b>6TH</b>	<b>7TH</b>
<b>DISTRICT/ WARD</b>	<b>STREET NAME</b>		<b>HOUSE NUMBER</b>			<b>HOUSEHOLD NUMBER</b>
1=KINONDONI/ MAGOMENI	01=MAKUTI A 02=MAKUTI B 03=SUNA 04=		0 to 9	0 9	1 9	01 TO 09
2=TEMEKE/ AZIMIO	01=AZIMIO 02=MJI MPYA 03=T RELI 04=		0 to 9	0 9	1 9	01 TO 09

Example 1

1	0	3	0	1	6	1
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

This household is in Kinondoni (box 1), Suna Street (boxes 2 and 3); house number 016 (boxes 4, 5 and 6); household number 1 (box 7)

## Appendix 2: Description of the research sites

Below is a description of the enumerated households in the two research sites in terms of their composition, birthplaces and main activities of household members, and living conditions.

Household members were classified in relation to the head of household. **Table 2.1** describes the composition of enumerated households.

**Table 2.1: Composition of households**

	Kinondoni		Temeke		All	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>Head of household</b>	607	29	543	21	1150	25
<b>Children</b>	845	41	1148	45	1993	43
<b>Spouse</b>	329	16	489	19	818	18
<b>Other relatives</b>	183	9	289	11	472	10
<b>Grandchildren</b>	42	2	26	1	68	1.5
<b>In-laws</b>	16	1	16	0.5	32	0.5
<b>Other non-relatives</b>	15	0.5	14	0.5	29	0.5
<b>Parents</b>	11	0.5	12	0.5	23	0.5
<b>Household worker</b>	8	0.5	4	0.5	12	0.5
<b>No response</b>	12	0.5	19	1	31	0.5
<b>Total</b>	2068	100	2560	100	4628	100

Household heads, their spouses and children constituted 86 percent of the sample. The number of children was equal to the number of heads of households + spouses, showing, on average, one and a half children per household. Parents of household heads, grandchildren, in-laws and other relatives of household heads accounted for 13 percent of household members. There was only a handful of 'living-in' household workers in the two survey sites.<sup>8</sup>

### *Birthplace and migration*

**Table 2.2** summarises the region of origin of household members.

**Table 2.2: Regional origins of household members**

	Kinondoni		Temeke		All	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>Dar es Salaam</b>	907	44	1391	54	2298	50
<b>Coast</b>	138	7	425	17	563	12
<b>Tanga</b>	238	12	82	3	320	7
<b>Mtwara</b>	67	3	125	5	192	4
<b>Morogoro</b>	100	5	78	3	178	4
<b>Lindi</b>	51	2	125	5	176	4
<b>Other regions/no response</b>	567	27	334	13	901	19
<b>Total</b>	2068	100	2560	100	4628	100

Half of household members were born in Dar es Salaam while over a quarter (27%) are migrants from the four coastal belt regions to the north and south of Dar es Salaam, and

<sup>8</sup> It is not clear why more households than household heads were reported in Temeke.

Morogoro to the west. The remaining fifth (20 percent) of household members were born in Tanzania's other 19 regions.

There were more migrants in Kinondoni than Temeke (56 versus 46 percent). Temeke had a higher concentration of migrants from Coast, and in Kinondoni there were more from Tanga.

### *Household profiles*

**Table 2.3** summarises the main activities of household members in the two research sites.

**Table 2.3: Main activities of household members**

	Kinondoni		Temeke		All	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>Petty/informal business</b>	460	22	565	23	1025	23
<b>Student</b>	493	24	545	22	1038	23
<b>Unemployed/dependent</b>	413	20	649	26	1062	23
<b>Homemaker</b>	186	9	343	14	529	12
<b>Formal employment</b>	263	13	170	7	433	10
<b>Non-formal employment</b>	197	10	149	6	346	7
<b>Retired</b>	23	1	40	2	63	1
<b>No response/other</b>	33	1	73	3	106	2
<b>Total</b>	2068	100	2560	101	4628	101

Schoolgoers and dependents (young children, non-job seekers) accounted for 46 percent of all household members. Members' main sources of income were petty business and employment in the formal and informal sectors. Formal and informal employment were more significantly higher in Kinondoni than in Temeke.

### *Housing and living conditions*

Enumerators collected data on a standard set of household wealth indicators. **Table 2.4** summarises household characteristics, energy and water sources, and ownership of a range of household goods.

**Table 2.4: Household characteristics and durable goods ownership**

	Kinondoni		Temeke		All	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
<i>Household characteristics</i>						
<b>Cement floor</b>	583	97	585	97	1168	97
<b>Brick walls</b>	596	99	582	97	1178	97
<b>Iron roof</b>	576	95	580	97	1156	96
<b>Outside toilet</b>	397	66	557	93	954	79
<b>Water brought from outside</b>	442	73	502	84	944	78
<b>Charcoal/fuelwood for cooking</b>	344	57	526	88	870	72
<b>Electric lighting</b>	397	66	290	48	687	57
<i>Household goods</i>						
<b>Table</b>	595	99	585	97	1180	98
<b>Chair</b>	595	99	585	97	1180	98
<b>Couch</b>	559	93	579	96	1138	94

<b>Mattress</b>	526	87	572	95	1098	91
<b>Mosquito net</b>	566	94	492	82	1058	88
<b>Fan</b>	538	89	503	84	1041	87
<b>Radio</b>	529	88	435	72	964	80
<b>Cupboard</b>	462	77	244	41	706	58
<b>Television</b>	227	38	179	30	406	34
<b>Fridge</b>	250	41	151	25	401	33
<b>Bicycle</b>	75	12	38	6	113	10
<b>Motorcycle/car</b>	10	2	4	1	14	1

The typical house in both research sites has cement floors, brick walls, and a corrugated iron sheet roof.

Three-quarters of households used charcoal or fuelwood for cooking. A small majority of households used electric lighting while 40 percent used kerosene lamps ('koroboi' or 'chemli').

A large majority of households did not have running water or inside toilets, particularly in Temeke.

Temeke households were also much more likely than those in Kinondoni to use kerosene lamps for lighting. They were also much more likely to use fuelwood and charcoal for cooking.

Durable goods that were significantly more common in the better off district (Kinondoni) included fridges, cupboards, televisions, bicycles, radios and mosquito nets.

### **Appendix 3: Research tools for focus group discussions**

#### **First exercise**

##### **Picture codes**

1. Greet participants
2. Show the first picture and ask participants to say what they see in the picture.
3. Ask whether such things happen in their street. How and how much? Can they give examples (no names!)
4. Ask to what extent it affects the life of boys and girls. What should be done?
5. Move to the next picture

#### **Second exercise**

##### **Mobility matrix**

1. Ask participants what places they go to most in the course of a week.
2. Ask them to draw a picture of a boy/girl in the middle of a sheet of paper and draw lines out from the girl to the different places they visited during the week.
  - a. The length of the line should show the distance to the place visited.
  - b. The thickness of the line shows how often they go during the week.
3. After the drawing is finished, take each line and ask whether there are particular danger spots or danger groups on the way or at the place visited. They should show these areas with an 'X'
4. Choose the three most dangerous areas and show them by increased number of 'X'.
5. Ask for each place they visit roughly how often were they propositioned during the previous week..

#### **Third exercise**

##### **Circles of danger (to be done also with groups of boys)**

1. Greet participants
2. Ask them what issues make life difficult/dangerous for them. Ask them to name a few then if you see they have understood, ask them to write a full list.
3. After you are sure they have mentioned all the issues, tell them to choose the ten most serious. Write down their discussions as they agree.
4. Explain that for these 10, they will show both the magnitude and frequency of the issue.
  - a. Draw a boy/girl in the middle of a big sheet of paper.
  - b. Cut out/draw 10 circles. The dangers with the biggest impact will have the largest circle etc..
  - c. Then place the circles near to or far from the boy/girl depending on how frequent or common such a danger is.
5. Record the conversation and ask questions to get further clarity.
6. When they have finished, ask them whether, after the discussion they would like to change any of the dangers. Copy the drawing.
7. Ask them to rearrange the circles to show how the different dangers affect one another. Then draw arrows to show how one influences another.

#### **Appendix 4:**

#### **Discussions with 11-17 year olds involved in sex work in Tambuka Reli, Temeke**

One extra discussion was held with 15 children aged 11-17 who are involved in sex work in Tambuka Reli. Of these children, 12 are single or double orphans and the others come from families where their parents are separated or divorced. They do not like to be called 'changudoa' (prostitutes) as they feel they are working to contribute to the income of their family.

They were identified firstly through the participatory mapping exercise at the beginning of the research and secondly by going to one young man who is a regular client of these girls. When asked if he knew any such girls he replied:

*Even you brother can get one of these girls. They are so many.*

#### **Protection strategies**

**11 year old girl:** One day I was called by a man who wanted to send me to buy him a soda. I refused because I didn't see why he couldn't see the shops himself. My sisters advised me to go, I hid a knife and went with him. On the way he started to pull me off the road and he had given me no money so I took out my knife and told him to give me money. He gave me the money and I left.

**12 year old girl:** One day I was selling maandazi when a man of about 40 called me saying he wanted to send me on an errand. He pulled me towards the cemetery while covering my mouth with his hand. I told him if he takes out his penis and balls I will pierce them with a stick or bite them. Fortunately I managed to remove his hand and shout. People came running to save me but no action was taken against him.

Their answers were fairly similar to those of the other girls. It was more a question of degree than any qualitative difference. However their answers helped to deepen the understanding of the pressures faced permanently by these girls. They felt most threatened by having to start having sex at an early age which put them at risk of STI and HIV/AIDS. They also feared the poverty of having no food, which pushed them into starting sex work at an early age, as well as rape.

When asked what contributes to them starting sex work at an early age, they gave the following answers:

- Poverty, in particular a very harsh family life where you are expected to contribute to the family food budget. If you do not, you get no food.
- The desire to have sex
- Peer pressure
- Tamaa when you see your friend getting money.
- Tamaa for clothes when you have none.
- If you have an STI and no money for medicine, you have sex to get money to pay for the

medicine

However, at the most it can be called a subsistence strategy and not one that really reduces their poverty.

Younger girls aged 10-14 are paid between 50 and 300 shillings (5-25 cents), enough to buy a small plate of chips, some tripe and a chicken leg and give the rest to their parents as their contribution to the food budget. They also participate in 'upatu' as a way of saving money to buy larger items such as clothes. The older girls, aged 15 to 20 are paid slightly higher rates, between 500 and 1,000 shillings (45-90 cents) or at the most 1500–2000 shillings (\$1.3-1.7). Their clients are men of all ages.

When asked if they knew about where they could get help and treatment, none of them had ever heard of youth friendly health services. If they found they had an STI, they went to a pharmacy.

They were particularly vulnerable to STIs because of unprotected sex but also because of rape which they interpreted as gang rape, both vaginal and anal which they said is a major problem. They could be raped for:

- Seeking a relationship with a man who is not interested
- Wearing short skirts which makes people think you are a prostitute

Or they can be raped just because some men just like to show their power, that they are the boss.

They try to protect themselves by using knives, sticks, razor blades and even their teeth.

### **Life in a brothel**

One girl in Azimio agreed to give an interview to the chief researcher about her life.

My name is Makusudi. I am 17 years old. My mother left me with my grandmother in Kilombero. When I reached the age of 13, my grandmother died. I returned to Dar es Salaam to live with my father but he lost his job in 1997. When I was 14 my stepmother found a letter I was writing to my boyfriend who was helping me with the things a girl requires such as pants, sanitary pads etc. She showed my father the letter together with the clothes he had bought me. I said my friends gave them to me because I was afraid of being beaten. My father told me to stop such behaviour. He also had a system whereby each child had her own plate, spoon and cup and food was put into their plates. After that letter, they no longer put food on my plate and did not support me in any way until finally in 2005 they put my things outside and told me to leave. I decided to go to my girl friend who took me in. (By this time she must have been aged 14-15)

### **Where did you get money for necessities?**

I had more than 5 men at a time. Every day I was able to sleep with 3 of them and get 500-2000 shillings a day, although sometimes I got nothing. But I was very careful. Before going to any man, I would ask first, do you have any extra money? To beep (500-1000) or to make a call (1500-2000) When life got tougher, I looked for a job with a mama Lishe (cooked food

seller) around KIOO Ltd where I was being paid 500 a day and had to depend on myself for busfares. So I had to find a bwana who was a labourer near that factory. He was being paid 1800 a day so he had very little to give me. I had to find a bus conductor also so that he could pay for my travel. After that, my friend got a bwana and moved out so I had nowhere to stay. I got another friend who took me to his grandmother who was staying with and selling girls from different places. I was warmly welcomed, given everything I need in the first days and the system of that house was explained to me.

**What is life like inside the brothel?**

You are given a room. We were five girls from different places. When you are new you don't get clients with good money because you are not known. All negotiations are carried out by the old woman, you are just told who you are going with and when you come back you will be given your money. Usually the money is split 50-50. Unfortunately you don't know how much money the man left. If you are told he left 2000 you get 1000. You are supposed to use the money to get food. It is a tough life but what can I do?

**Why don't you go to Ohio Street or other places where you are paid more?**

I feel shy/ashamed. In Ohio, you don't know who you will meet, maybe your father, brother, uncle or any other relative. In the brothel it is easy to know who the man is before he sees you. If you realise it is a relative you keep out of the way until he leaves. But on the road it is at night, and it is not easy to recognise them. The good thing about here is also that we have somewhere to sleep.

**Do the mtaa leaders know about this business?**

I don't know whether they know or not. But it is not easy to arrest her because when others come she says they are the children of her relatives but other clients know because she also sells gongo there.

**Are you free to use a condom when you go with your client?**

It is not easy because if you start insisting, he can refuse to have sex and demand a refund, in which case you are in big trouble. You can even be seen to have 'shitted in the camp' and be chased away. But intelligent customers, of whom there are not many, use condoms. In brief, it is the client who decides whether to use condoms or not.

**In Kikwete's campaign to test for HIV, did you have the courage to go?**

Mmh, it was difficult to make the decision but one day I decided to go to the UMATI centre. I expected to be positive. But incredibly I was told I don't have HIV. I didn't believe them and told them to look carefully but they insisted I was negative. From that day, 8<sup>th</sup> December 2007, I decided to stay with one lover only who is a daladala driver. I live with him. But he also is out of a job, it is very difficult so I still go to the brothel as a place to sit and chat (kijiwe) because I am used to it. Clients come but I refuse so the old woman and the other girls criticise me and tell others that I am living with HIV. I am in a very difficult situation to stick by my decision when I have no money.

**Where do you get food now when your boyfriend has no job?**

I often go to the old woman. When I find food I join in without being invited. They insult and criticise me but I decide to be a dry fish, in other words I don't care, as long as I fill my stomach and can stick to my decision.

**What work are you prepared to do now?**

I am prepared to do any job because I am not educated, I only reached Standard 4. I am even ready to do some business and I have a friend who has a good business in fish. She says if I get starting capital of 60,000 shillings she will help me to set up my own business which is very profitable.

**Why don't you do petty business like selling maandazi?**

Around here, there is a lot of discrimination. It is not easy to get customers so it is better to buy fish or clothes because it is not dependent on who you know.

**You told me at the beginning that many girls in this trade don't tell the truth, what about you?**

(laughs). No, I am telling you the truth because I really respect those people you sent to find me and I also respect you. Also those you sent know me otherwise I doubt whether you would have got all this information, even about the brothel which is very secret. But how will my telling you all this help me?

## Appendix 5: Poverty/wealth rankings among 10-20 year olds

Table 5.1a: Poverty among 10-15 year olds, N=

<i>Females 10-15</i>	Poorest	Middle	Least poor	All
<b>Migrant</b>	31	18	20	<b>69</b>
<b>Born in Dar es Salaam</b>	51	62	41	<b>154</b>
<b>Live with parent(s)</b>	64	59	50	<b>173</b>
<b>Do not live with parents</b>	18	21	11	<b>50</b>
<b>Primary or less</b>	76	72	52	<b>200</b>
<b>Secondary</b>	6	8	9	<b>23</b>
<b>Live in Kinondoni</b>	19	35	32	<b>86</b>
<b>Live in Temeke</b>	63	45	29	<b>137</b>
<b>N=</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>223</b>
<i>Males aged 10-15</i>				
<b>Migrant</b>	21	20	10	<b>51</b>
<b>Born in Dar es Salaam</b>	55	39	47	<b>141</b>
<b>Live with parent(s)</b>	60	50	50	<b>160</b>
<b>Do not live with parents</b>	16	9	7	<b>32</b>
<b>Primary or less</b>	72	58	50	<b>180</b>
<b>Secondary</b>	4	1	7	<b>12</b>
<b>Live in Kinondoni</b>	12	26	26	<b>64</b>
<b>Live in Temeke</b>	64	33	31	<b>128</b>
<b>N=</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>192</b>

Table 5.1b: Poverty among 10-15 year olds, percent

<i>Females 10-15</i>	Poorest	Middle	Least poor	All
<i>Migrant</i>	38	23	33	31
<i>Born in Dar es Salaam</i>	64	77	67	69
<i>Live with parent(s)</i>	78	74	82	78
<i>Do not live with parents</i>	22	26	18	22
<i>Primary or less</i>	75	90	85	86
<i>Secondary or more</i>	25	10	15	14
<i>Live in Kinondoni</i>	23	44	52	39
<i>Live in Temeke</i>	77	56	48	61
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>
<i>Males aged 10-15</i>				
<i>Migrant</i>	28	34	20	32
<i>Born in Dar es Salaam</i>	72	66	80	68
<i>Live with parent(s)</i>	79	85	88	83
<i>Do not live with parents</i>	21	15	12	17
<i>Primary or less</i>	95	98	88	94
<i>Secondary or more</i>	5	2	12	6
<i>Live in Kinondoni</i>	16	44	46	33
<i>Live in Temeke</i>	84	56	54	67
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

**Table 5.2a: Poverty among 16-20 year olds, percent**

<i>Females 16-20</i>	Poorest	Middle	Least poor	All
<i>Migrant</i>	29	34	32	95
<i>Born in Dar es Salaam</i>	44	59	49	152
Live with parent(s)	45	57	49	151
Do not live with parents	28	36	32	96
<i>Primary or less</i>	63	74	56	193
<i>Secondary or more</i>	10	19	25	54
Live in Kinondoni	15	61	37	113
Live in Temeke	58	32	44	134
N=	73	93	81	247
<i>Males aged 16-20</i>				
<i>Migrant</i>	43	24	20	87
<i>Born in Dar es Salaam</i>	39	41	39	119
Live with parent(s)	55	44	40	139
Do not live with parents	27	21	19	67
<i>Primary or less</i>	68	51	40	159
<i>Secondary or more</i>	14	14	19	47
Live in Kinondoni	30	35	36	101
Live in Temeke	52	30	23	105
N=	82	65	59	206

**Table 5.2b: Poverty among 16-20 year olds, percent**

<i>Females 16-20</i>	Poorest	Middle	Least poor	All
<i>Migrant</i>	40	37	40	38
<i>Born in Dar es Salaam</i>	60	63	60	62
Live with parent(s)	62	61	60	61
Do not live with parents	38	39	40	39
<i>Primary or less</i>	86	80	69	78
<i>Secondary</i>	14	20	31	22
Live in Kinondoni	21	66	46	46
Live in Temeke	79	34	54	54
N=				
<i>Males aged 16-20</i>				
<i>Migrant</i>	52	37	34	42
<i>Born in Dar es Salaam</i>	48	63	66	58
Live with parent(s)	67	68	68	67
Do not live with parents	33	32	32	33
<i>Primary or less</i>	83	78	68	77
<i>Secondary</i>	17	22	32	23
Live in Kinondoni	37	54	61	49
Live in Temeke	63	46	39	51
N=	100	100	100	100

**Table 4.3: Incidence of marriage among 16-20 year old girls, by wealth tercile**

<b>Females 15-20</b>	<b>Poorest</b>	<b>Middle</b>	<b>Least poor</b>	<b>All</b>
<b>Married (n)</b>	27	15	10	52
<b>Percent</b>	30	14	11	18
<b>Single (n)</b>	63	91	82	236
<b>Percent</b>	70	86	89	88
<b>Total (n)</b>	90	106	92	288
<b>Percent</b>	100	100	100	100
<b>20 year old females</b>				
<b>Married</b>	10	9	6	25
<b>Percent</b>	50	28	29	34
<b>Not marries</b>	10	23	15	48
<b>Percent</b>	50	72	71	66
<b>Total</b>	20	32	21	73

Note: 'Married' includes polygamous relationships and living with fiancés (n=11, 7 of which are in the poorest tercile).

## **Appendix 6: Self-evaluation of the research process**

In general, the choice of young people as researchers proved very successful. They were well accepted, even admired, by their fellow youth who opened up to them in ways that we do not believe would have been possible with older or external researchers without a very long preparatory process. This compensates for the lack of experience and sometimes undeveloped ability to follow up on issues that arose during the discussions. However, it was clear from the final discussion at the end of the exercise that the researchers themselves shared the same preconceptions as those they were interviewing and found it difficult to think outside the box in which they are all forced to live. In future, more attention should be paid to expanding the conceptual framework of the researchers themselves before the research itself. This is a very sensitive issue as the trainers of the researchers have to be careful, at the same time, that they do not transfer their own prejudices and world view on to the researchers in the course of provoking them to take a more analytical approach.

The participatory mapping at the beginning, working with the youth in the area was also a very good 'ice breaker', creating visibility and acceptance of the researchers before they started the house to house survey. While the maps were fairly detailed, it is clear that mapping an urban area is more difficult and takes more time than doing the same in a rural situation. However, the mapping did unearth several key areas for further research such as the existence of unofficial brothels etc.

The household survey was completed successfully. However, despite the very general nature of the questionnaire, researchers reported that they faced considerable resistance from some households, in particular relating to questions on sources of income and occupations. Some felt that this was a secret attempt by TRA (Tanzania Revenue Authority) or other government officials to probe into their lives. This was neutralised to some extent by the fact that the researchers were young people from the area.

In addition, in Temeke there were several households which seemed to consist of 'unrecognised' refugees who were very uncomfortable about questions relating to place of origin. Thus, despite their poor Kiswahili, they claimed that they were born and bred in Dar es Salaam. Finally, especially in the poorer 'mitaa', householders felt that they were being exploited by researchers who were being paid good money to find out about their lives. They demanded to be given a cut of the research money before answering the questionnaire.

The discussion groups with the girls were very lively and the methodologies used provoked a lot of discussion and personal reflection and stories around the issues that were being raised. In particular the picture codes created a great deal of debate about the issues being shown. The Venn Diagrams proved a little more difficult but once they understood what they were supposed to do, the girls, once again, debated strongly on the issues arising.

Overall, the methodologies succeeded in 'opening a window' into the vulnerabilities of the girls living in the two wards, a window which was both shocking in many ways since the vulnerabilities were even stronger and more pervasive, than was hypothesised and frustrating in that this exploratory search pointed to many more windows that also needed to be opened and examined in depth.