2021

THE ANTITHESIS OF 'BUSINESS AS USUAL': YOUTH, CLASS, AND VOLUNTEER ORGANIZATIONS IN DAR ES SALAAM, TANZANIA

Chelsea Cutright
University of Kentucky, c.cutright@uky.edu
Author ORCID Identifier:
https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5941-0045
Digital Object Identifier: https://doi.org/10.13023/etd.2021.165

STUDENT AGREEMENT:

I represent that my thesis or dissertation and abstract are my original work. Proper attribution has been given to all outside sources. I understand that I am solely responsible for obtaining any needed copyright permissions. I have obtained needed written permission statement(s) from the owner(s) of each third-party copyrighted matter to be included in my work, allowing electronic distribution (if such use is not permitted by the fair use doctrine) which will be submitted to UKnowledge as Additional File.

I hereby grant to The University of Kentucky and its agents the irrevocable, non-exclusive, and royalty-free license to archive and make accessible my work in whole or in part in all forms of media, now or hereafter known. I agree that the document mentioned above may be made available immediately for worldwide access unless an embargo applies.

I retain all other ownership rights to the copyright of my work. I also retain the right to use in future works (such as articles or books) all or part of my work. I understand that I am free to register the copyright to my work.

REVIEW, APPROVAL AND ACCEPTANCE

The document mentioned above has been reviewed and accepted by the student's advisor, on behalf of the advisory committee, and by the Director of Graduate Studies (DGS), on behalf of the program; we verify that this is the final, approved version of the student's thesis including all changes required by the advisory committee. The undersigned agree to abide by the statements above.

Chelsea Cutright, Student

Dr. Monica Udvardy, Major Professor

Dr. Richard Jefferies, Director of Graduate Studies

THE ANTITHESIS OF 'BUSINESS AS USUAL': YOUTH, CLASS, AND VOLUNTEER ORGANIZATIONS IN DAR ES SALAAM, TANZANIA

DISSERTATION

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the
College of Arts and Sciences
at the University of Kentucky

By
Chelsea Cutright
Lexington, Kentucky
Director: Dr. Monica Udvardy, Associate Professor of Anthropology
Lexington, Kentucky
2021

https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5941-0045

ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

THE ANTITHESIS OF 'BUSINESS AS USUAL': YOUTH, CLASS, AND VOLUNTEER ORGANIZATIONS IN DAR ES SALAAM, TANZANIA

Youth in Tanzania make up the majority of the current growing population and therefore are increasingly a focus of local and international development concern, specifically as the rates of urban growth and unemployment are also increasing. This research builds upon existing anthropological literature, which largely addresses contemporary and urban African youths as "problems" in dire need of governmental intervention and international solutions. Through explorations of the ways in which Tanzanian youth are actively and creatively working to improve their own futures, utilizing their own agency to create opportunities, and solving their own problems in the absence of successful external intercessions, this research eschews these negative stereotypes and offers insights into how innovation and creativity are shaping the lives of Tanzanian youth and their communities during the increasing and prolonged period of youthhood known as "waithood."

Utilizing ethnographic data collected during eight months of fieldwork in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, and methodologies of participant observation, surveys, and approximately 35 semi-structured interviews, this research contributes insights into the changing definition of youth and youthhood, the contemporary trend of youth navigating un/underemployment through avenues of volunteerism, and how local, youth-run NGOs and organizations are developing and utilizing unique methods of organizing to address issues relevant to their own productivity and futures.

Drawing from literature on youth studies, organization studies, social organization, labor, and class, the data collected points to the ways in which volunteering for these youths in Dar es Salaam is shifting from a social based enterprise to a professionalization of non-profit work, leading to a market for volunteering. This market, however, looks different when exploring class differences related to reasons for participating in voluntary labor, varying from required professionalization experiences in order to earn skills to obtain employment, to actually filling in for formal employment for those for which it is not available.

Additionally, this research examines the proliferation of innovative methodologies utilized specifically by youth-run NGOs and organizations, focusing on technologically advanced methods, such as 3D animation, and sports and games. The two organizations presented as case studies demonstrate how each method allows these organizations to conduct the work that many

other groups are simultaneously involved in, but in such a way that purports to increase effectiveness, sustainability, and creativity.

Overall, this research lends a voice to the increasing, and dynamic, involvement of Tanzanian youth as leaders in their own futures, in a country where the government and civil sector loudly call for change in the media and in engagements with international governments, but does not follow this with action. I argue that the period of "waithood" for youth in Africa is increasing in length, leading to the need to develop alternative livelihood practices. The youth involved in this research represent the growing nature of the agency of young people, particularly in urban areas like contemporary Dar es Salaam, to challenge the identity of youth and to take up the reins and be proactive in ensuring their own, and their fellow youth community members', success. By literally changing the way in which volunteering is typically viewed in the Minority World, and exploring new avenues of innovation, these young people are role models for the burgeoning global youth population.

KEYWORDS: Youth, Volunteering, Waithood, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), Tanzania

Chelsea Cutright

April 19, 2021

Date

THE ANTITHESIS OF 'BUSINESS AS USUAL': YOUTH, CLASS, AND VOLUNTEER ORGANIZATIONS IN DAR ES SALAAM, TANZANIA

By
Chelsea Cutright

Dr. Monica Udvardy
Director of Dissertation

Dr. Richard Jefferies
Director of Graduate Studies

April 19, 2021
Date

DEDICATION

To Norah and Mic

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This dissertation literally would not be possible if it was not for the support of so many important people sprinkled throughout the chapters of my life. It is impossible to even begin to list everyone who has had an impact, but the following is a start:

Asante sana to all my friends in Dar who participated in this work and welcomed me into their lives. Thank you to my advisor, Monica Udvardy, and committee members, Lisa Cliggett, Steve Davis, and Kristin Monroe. Thank you to the National Geographic Society and the University of Kentucky Department of Anthropology for financial assistance to conduct this research.

K and Alex, you are where this all started. Erin Koch, thanks for answering my dash or no dash questions at 6pm, and also for all of the support over the years. Alicia H., thanks for *jumadrinkies* and all your editing assistance; you really made this better. Thanks to Cristina Alcalde for asking me to assist with the #MeToo symposium, where I met so many brilliant colleagues who gave me confidence in my own abilities. Thanks to my writing group crew: Chad, CJ, Stacie, Dennis, Tera, Dan, and Edward. I never would have taken any breaks if it hadn't been for them. My family obviously played a large part in me getting to this point, so thank you to my dad and brother. Special appreciation to my mom for being my mom. There are so many things I could not have done without her, and this is just one of them.

Finally, somehow, I was so fortunate to have the best group of graduate school friends over the years. Each and every one of them has in some way or another supported and inspired me academically, but more importantly, these people know that there are things that are more important in life, like friendship. I love you, Fuzz, Alicia, Zada, Céline, Jasper, Anna, Ruth, and Mario.

And Henry. Thank you for all of the things.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION: POWERS, PROBLEMS, AND PERCEPTIONS OF URBAN TANZANIAN YOUTH IN DAR ES SALAAM

In August 2019, I travelled to meet an interviewee, Asha[1], at the Biashara Complex in Mwananyamala, Dar es Salaam. I had met Asha through some mutual contacts at Tai Tanzania, one of the organizations with which I was working during my fieldwork. I arrived at the location she had specified, a grey concrete, multistory, office building, but had to call her to come down to get me because, as was usually the case, I had no idea where I was going. It was hot and dusty. She was running late, also usually the case, but said that she would be down shortly. I found a spot with some shade and ignored the stares of the people passing by. Being more of a business district, it was not so common to see a *mzungu*[2] standing around by themselves in this part of the city.

Eventually Asha came down to escort me up to the office where she was working. We climbed a few flights of stairs and before I knew it, we were walking into the Tanzanian Olympic Committee (TOC) office. Asha and I went into a large conference room, with a giant, shiny, wood table – probably large enough for 20 people to sit around – and pieces of Olympic regalia lining the walls. I asked if it was okay for me to walk around and look at these items. Asha seemed almost surprised that I would be interested in them. She showed me a large bronze trophy, won by Tanzania in the Commonwealth Games, a framed invitation for Tanzania to participate in the 2002 Olympic Games in Sydney, and several framed photographs of the only medals Tanzania has ever won at the Olympic Games: two silver medals in track and field events.

[1] All names have been changed to protect identity.

[2] Foreigner. Very commonly used to refer to white and/or European people.

I then noticed a framed photo of a man running with a bandaged leg (Figure 1). The photo was titled, “The Greatest Last Place Finish Ever,” accompanied by a short paragraph, and branded with the Olympic logo. It was from the Olympics in Mexico City 1968. The story described John Stephen Ahkwari, from Tanzania, completing the Olympic marathon race over an hour after the winner had been declared. He crossed the finish line, barely able to run, leg bleeding. When a reporter asked him why he kept running when it was clear he could not win, Ahkwari said, “My country did not send me to Mexico City to start the race. They sent me to finish.”

Figure 1. Photograph of framed John Ahkwari picture and story in the TOC office

I thought about Ahkwari’s words while I interviewed Asha. She is 27 years old, single, works as an unpaid intern at the TOC, and runs her own non-governmental organization (NGO). She earned a bachelor’s degree in Physical Education and Sports Science from the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM) in 2015 and decided afterwards to start her own organization combining her interests in sports and creating community change. She very quickly realized that she did not have the start-up money or the experience needed to manage this NGO on the scale she

envisioned, so she applied for some internships and a master's program. She was selected to do a master's in Sports Management at UDSM and also was offered an internship at the TOC. She restarted her small, self-funded NGO shortly after beginning these two new programs – armed with more knowledge and never-ending determination.

As I listened to Asha recount this timeline of her life, I began to see commonalities between her and the Tanzanian Olympian, Ahkwari. First, Ahkwari and Asha both embody the Tanzanian youth mentality that I became familiar with during my fieldwork. That mentality is one that is constantly in motion, reaching for goals, and proudly navigating challenges; characteristics that Tanzanians I spoke with ascribed to themselves as part of their national identity. Ahkwari did not give up. Asha did not give up. She strategically used opportunities to help her pursue her future goals, in her case, running her own organization.

This common thread of determination is what is at the center of this dissertation: Tanzanian youth (*vijana)* are navigating difficult conditions in a current environment of high unemployment and lack of opportunity, but rather than waiting for something or someone else to propel them forward, they rely on their own strengths and create their own paths, through volunteer work and creative organizational practices, and not giving up – like Ahkwari and Asha.

In this dissertation, I show how contemporary, urban Tanzanian youth navigate uncertain circumstances caused by unemployment, changing social structures, and present-day life in Dar es Salaam through alternative labor practices of volunteering (*kujitolea)*. Having youth as the focus of this work, specifically their agency and creativity, places the spotlight on their ability to "create, re-invent, and domesticate global trends into local forms" (Honwana and de Boeck 2005, 1-2). Sommers (2011, 296) argues that literature on youth has been plagued by a "limited nature (or complete absence) of information about how youth view their own situation and what motivates them to make life-altering choices." This dissertation draws from

anthropologist Karen Tranberg Hansen's interdisciplinary, multi-sited work, *Youth and the City in the Global South,* which uses case studies from Recife, Brazil; Hanoi, Vietnam; and Lusaka, Zambia to bring together youth and urban environments as "spaces for both agency and reaction" (2008, 207). My work also closely follows anthropologist Deborah Durham's work on youth in Botswana and their experiences with seeking adulthood. Durham characterizes these youth as "social shifters," which I argue to be the case for the Tanzanian youth in my work as well (Durham 2004). Additionally, Alcinda Honwana, a Mozambiquan anthropologist and leading scholar on youth in Africa, inspires my work with her concept of "waithood," describing the experience of youth in Africa of a prolonged period between childhood and adulthood (Honwana 2005; Honwana 2012). My research prioritizes Tanzanian youth's own voices and can potentially elevate society's opinion of youth and their ability to enact needed change, as well as influence how social services are provided in urban, contemporary Dar es Salaam, and perhaps even beyond. Recognizing what Tranberg Hansen (2008) calls "the double dynamic of simultaneous exclusion and inclusion," the experiences of the Tanzanian youths in this story outline how they are responding to exclusion by the formal labor market and finding inclusion through opportunities in the city and beyond.

First, a critical analysis of the meaning of a youth identity and the positionality of youthhood, locally and globally, contributes to existing conversations about youth identity, drawing on the anthropological concept of "waithood" and addressing changes in age and generation systems. This analysis makes space to explore the voices and experiences of youth in Tanzania and the unique movement of local, youth-led NGOs. Second, I provide a critical analysis of how youth participation in voluntary labor is increasingly filling a gap in access to formal employment opportunities and, while encouraged by high unemployment rates equally across gender, religion, and ethnicity, is motivated differently based on class status. Third**,**

focusing on the specific environment of local, youth-led NGOs in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, I analyze the unique contributions of youth to the culture, methods, and practices of social organizations and how class is a gatekeeper for certain types of organizational methods and practices based on social and cultural capital. [3]

1.1 The Perception of Youth: Problems and Power

In her Last Will and Testament, American civil rights activist Mary McLeod Bethune wrote, "We have a powerful potential in our youth, and we must have the courage to change old ideas and practices so that we may direct their power toward good ends" (Bethune 1955). Today, youth make up a large portion of the world's inhabitants. In 2015, sixteen percent (1.2 billion) of the world's population consisted of young people aged 15-24 years old (United Nations 2015). In 2010, a staggering 70 percent of the African population was under the age of 30, and by 2030, the youth population in Africa is expected to increase by an astounding 42 percent (United Nations 2010; United Nations 2015). This growing youth population is increasingly recognized today by scholars, government bodies, and NGOs alike, as vital to the successful future of African societies (Brennan 2006; Burgess 2005; Burton and Charton-Bigot 2010; Cole and Durham 2008; Diouf 2003; Durham 2000a; Durham 2000b; Perullo 2005; Remes 1999; Sommers 2010; Suriano 2007; Tranberg Hansen and Dalsgaard 2008; Weiss 2009). In the United Republic of Tanzania, the National Youth Development Policy (2007) states that the proportion of youths in the population is growing and urbanizing, with close to half (43%) of the total urban population aged 15-35 years old, the nation's legal definition of youth.

[3] Methodologies are defined here as the systems of procedures and rules employed by these organizations, essentially making up what the organization is. Practices are defined here as ideas, beliefs, or methods that are applied or used by the organizations to do their work.

Much historical and anthropological research has been conducted on African youth and their intergenerational relationships (Burgess 2005; Burton 2006; Burton and Charton-Bigot 2010; Christiansen, Utas, and Vigh 2006; Durham 2000a; Durham 2000b; Ivaska 2011; Tranberg Hansen 2008). Unfortunately, much of the literature concentrating on youth in urban settings reinforces negative portrayals of them, focusing on their deviant activities, including experiences with violence, drugs, and petty street crime (Abbink and van Kessel 2005; Brennan 2006; Christiansen, Utas, and Vigh 2006; Honwana and de Boeck 2005; Sommers 2015). Youth are portrayed as being in "crisis" (Burgess and Burton 2010, 2). These portrayals often rely on racial fears and depict mainly male African youths as a problem that needs to be solved (Philipps 2018; Resnick and Thurlow 2015). This has been accepted and universalized to the point that young people who do not fit the "Western cultural fantasies of children as innocent and vulnerable," as Honwana and de Boeck (2005, 3) put it, are feared, and pose a risk to society. This has disproportionately impacted how Black and African youths are viewed, as evidenced by the criminalization and discrimination of young Black people in the United States. In Tanzania, young Black males carry the history of urban discrimination (discussed in Chapter 3) and are frequently treated as such. For example, a young Canadian intern at one organization with which I worked had better success getting approved for the reservation of an event space than the young Black African male volunteer project manager – whose job it was to reserve the space – because she was treated more seriously by the government employee in charge of the reservation system.

As they grow in number, youth in Africa, "at times condemned as a lost generation of deprived, restless agents of lawlessness, at others celebrated as resilient, creative, flexible catalysts of grass-roots capitalism" (Dolan and Rajak 2016, 514), are increasingly the focus of development initiatives and, whether viewed positively or negatively, are being considered as a population with the ability to seriously impact both their local milieus and global trends. African

youth are being viewed and targeted by development initiatives, framing them simultaneously as obstacles and solutions to economic, social, environmental, and political development (Moeller 2018; Switzer 2013). For example, in Dar es Salaam, there are over 50 organizations (*mashirika)* working on youth related topics, recognizing the power of youth to have a positive effect on various issues including things like HIV/AIDS, governance, and education. At the same time, the Tanzanian government appears to view youth as a problem that needs to be solved. For example, the current Magufuli administration[4] is attempting to implement rural agricultural training for young unemployed Tanzanians by promoting the removal and relocation of youth from urban centers to rural areas, similar to the historic *ujamaa* policy (discussed in Chapter 3).

Much literature involving African youth repeats this dichotomy of youth being seen as both the future of Africa and the problem of Africa, evidenced in the language used in some anthropological book titles like "*Makers and Breakers*" (Honwana and de Boeck 2005), "*Hooligans and Heroes*" (Perullo 2005), and "*Vanguard or Vandals*" (Abbink and van Kessel 2005). Burton and Charton-Bigot write that youth "are at the center and the periphery; they are at the forefront and at the margins; they are empowered agents, and they are hapless victims; they are everywhere and nowhere, everything and nothing" (2010, 5). While it is important to acknowledge how and why African youth inhabit these mutually exclusive spaces and are at great risk of involvement in negative behaviors, this literature often does not sufficiently address the structural determinants that create this uncertain and unfortunate social positioning of urban African youth.

[4] During the writing of this dissertation, on March 17th, 2021, President John Magufuli died and was succeeded in the presidency by Vice President Samia Suluhu Hassan, who is now the first female leader of Tanzania and the 6th Tanzanian President. Magufuli's death was reported as being related to a heart condition, however, prior to his death, he had not been seen in public for about two weeks and was rumored to be in Kenya and then India, getting treatment for COVID, ironic because he was a well-known COVID denier.

The dynamic relationship of youth, volunteering, and NGOs presented in this work eschews commonly accepted negative stereotypes about African youth and demonstrates how Tanzanian youth are creating positive opportunities for themselves in response to changing social structures and reduced economic opportunities. By listening to these youth voices and experiences, we can recognize the importance of their agency, defined as "young people's ability to analyze and respond to problems impeding their social and economic advancement" (Ginwright, Noguera, and Cammarota 2006, 694). Unlike the larger body of work that ascribes little agency to young people, Switzer, in her book on Maasai schoolgirls in Kenya, argues for acknowledgement of the agency of young people, saying that while they do not have complete autonomy, they do "inhabit existing and constraining norms in ways that slowly shift cultural meanings and enable new possibilities" (Switzer 2018, 5). In my work, Tanzanian youth, while restricted by social expectations and perceptions of youthhood, utilize their agency in the sense that Switzer provides. For example, one organization comprised of young people told me that in the beginning, the elders in the community believed that using sports to teach young people could not be successful – sports are just games, in fact. However, over time, by showing elders in the community the actual work they do each day to educate young community members using sports, this organization changed an entire community's perception. The community shifted from seeing sports as a negative waste of time to seeing it as a tool for development and empowerment.

My work adds to the Africanist and anthropological research focusing on African youth that is increasingly utilizing ethnographic fieldwork and intimate knowledge to see youth "as a window to understanding broader socio-political and economic transformations in Africa" (Honwana and de Boeck 2005, 1).The persistent negative representations of urban African youth have been challenged through more recent research exposing African youth involvement in

alternative and critical social engagements, for example through hip-hop music and other artistic avenues (Perullo 2005, Uimonen 2012). In growing urban African centers, such as Dar es Salaam, youth involvement in the hip-hop music scene, for example, is argued to "give voice to many youth[s], often labeled as 'marginal', 'violent', or 'lost'. And while these labels have meaning in certain contexts, the labels 'creative', 'empowered', and 'socially-conscious' are important to comprehend the state of contemporary youth in Africa" (Perullo 2005, 97). Shifting the discourse from "'problem'-driven assumptions of youth behavior to 'collective' dimensions of youth development, we develop a more nuanced understanding of how young people navigate their environments" (Ginwright, Noguera, and Cammarota 2006, xvii). In Dar es Salaam, a collective dimension can be found in the increasing number of youth-led NGOs and the number of youth participating in voluntary labor. As Ginwright, et. al. encourage, I explore these youth experiences in these collective environments in order to see how they influence not only their own lives, but also the larger practices of organizing in their local communities and what it means to be a young person in contemporary, urban Dar es Salaam.

My research explores what Honwana and de Boeck (2005, ix) call "the complex realities of young peoples' lives" as they are "shaping and being shaped by their social world." For example, though the youth at the various organizations with which I worked were all unemployed – a designation that has a deep history in Tanzania with a negative connotation of laziness – this dissertation portrays the power of urban youth in Dar es Salaam to affect positive community change even as they navigate the burden of unemployment. Instead of perceiving Asha, who we met at the beginning of this chapter, as a young Tanzanian who failed at her first attempt to start an NGO, as lazy and unemployed, this dissertation shifts the current dominating discourse on unemployed youth to show that unemployment does not equal stagnation, inertia,

or failure. Instead, unemployment presents opportunities through which youth are creating new meanings of youthhood, success, and labor practices.

In today's exceedingly globalized world, contemporary youth in Africa are expanding upon what it means to be part of a youth identity. This research provides space for addressing these changes, recognizing the agency young people use to define their own reality of what youth means. As singer/songwriter Patti Smith wrote in her novel *Just Kids*, "Who can know the heart of youth but youth itself?" As the identity of youth is increasingly recognized as an identity with agency, and as anthropology continues to explore how to define it, who better to ask for the meaning of a youth identity than the youths themselves? Overwhelmingly, my interviewees stated that the characteristics that define a youth exist in their minds or in practice, rather than as a numerical age. Often, these characteristics are stated as being in opposition to an older age identity. One youth interviewee described Tanzanian youth as the antithesis of "business as usual," saying that youth are constantly trying new things because they are bored with old routines, and they are distinctly recognizable by their energy and enthusiasm.

1.2 Who are Youth?: Changing Social Structures of Ageing and the Anthropology of Youth

As both population and urbanization increase, youth in contemporary, urban Dar es Salaam are navigating the concomitant changes to the structures of society that are creating unique obstacles to their successful futures while also causing their positionality as youth to look very different from Tanzanian youthhoods of the past. For example, for young Tanzanians today, adulthood is realized through achievements like owning or building a house, marrying and reproducing, or having a salaried job, but as employment becomes scarce, financial instability makes these goals increasingly unattainable (Honwana and de Boeck 2005, Honwana 2012, Stambach 2000). The disappearance of such milestones, which once defined the

advancement to adulthood, has influenced the changing identity of what it means to be a youth and what the period of youthhood looks like for young people in Tanzania. The first part of this dissertation looks at how this changing youth identity, an increasing period of "waithood," and shifts in traditional age and generation systems are all creating space for a new and unique youth presence and voice in contemporary social movements.

1.2.1 Social Structures of Ageing, Change, and Youth

Fundamental to these conversations on how we conceive and perceive of a contemporary youth identity are changing social structures. This includes changes in the ways that societies are structured by things such as gender and generation, two fundamental building blocks of kinship systems and social structure (Stone and King 2018). Most research on age, ageing, and the lifecourse in Africa involves societies that are structured by formal systems, such as age-grades and age-sets (Wulff 1995). Anthropological studies over the past decades addressed how young people, especially in Africa, assumed new social roles through their participation in ritual activities and periods of liminality (Turner 1969). Now, we must ask how youth identity is impacted when these past social structures change. With cultural shifts revising what youth means, youth scholars are increasingly asking, "What are the consequences of large-scale social and cultural transformations that disproportionately affect the lives of young people?" (Bucholtz 2002, 529).

Today, in Dar es Salaam, kinship relationships vary. The young people involved in this research come from a diversity of social structures, some still living at home, some identifying with small chosen-family or friend groups, and some single parents. Hierarchies related to age do exist; younger people characteristically defer to elders in the Tanzanian culture. However,

strict systems dictating levels of responsibilities or power are no longer common in this urban environment.

Age systems across Africa have long been a model for how African social structures are defined. Various systems of age grading, drawing on characteristics such as age cohorts and generational differences, have become somewhat of a hallmark of African cultures (Baxter and Almagor 1978; Bernardi 1985). Like kinship systems, "age-systems attempt to create cognitive and structural order within and for a population by creating categories based on age and generation" (Baxter and Almagor 1978, 5). This topic has been important to anthropologists because how a society is structured based on age is an "essential component of social structure and change" (Foner and Kertzer 1978, 1082). Age grading is a cultural universal (Baxter and Almagor 1978). An age grade is a socially recognized stage that has specific roles attached to it (Foner and Kertzer 1978). An example of this is the U.S. cultural conceptualization of the progression of childhood, adolescence, and adulthood. All societies employ age in some way to allocate social roles and create social divisions.

Age-set and generation-set societies, however, formalize their age stratification systems. They create systems that invoke particular meanings, values, and power relations (Bernardi 1985). They provide a functional structure of maintaining societies (Radcliffe-Brown 1952). An age-set, first defined by Radcliffe-Brown in 1929, is a socially recognized group of people of similar chronological age who transition from one age grade to another as a group (more generally, a cohort). One of the most famous examples of research on the subject was Evans-Pritchard's in-depth accounts of age-grades and age-sets in his study of the Nuer of Sudan (Evans-Pritchard 1940). Another example can be found of the Maasai *moran,* young males just shy of achieving manhood, as defined by the Maasai, whose role is to act as community protectors and warriors (Baxter and Almagor 1978; Burgess and Burton 2010). Movement from

one age-set into the next is not based on chronological age, but instead on sets of rules or expectations unique to that age period of the culture. A generation-set is similar but based instead on generational relationships, or structural distance between relatives – such as fathers and sons; therefore, the age differentiation within generation sets can be quite large (Baxter and Almagor 1978; Bernardi 1985).

Transitions in either practice are typically marked by an initiation ritual or rite of passage (Bernardi 1985; Evans-Pritchard 1940; Foner and Kertzer 1978). These transitions establish recognizable states—preliminal, liminal, and postliminal—whereby an individual goes through a period of separation from their original state, into a period of transition (the liminal period), and finally reintegration into society belonging to a new social identity (Turner 1969; Van Gennep 1909). Examples often highlight the disjuncture between chronological age and generational age (Cole and Durham 2008). For example, the Senegalese *Ething* hold an initiation ceremony for young people to move on to adulthood only once every twenty-five years. This means that very young children may go through the initiation and end up senior to much older men who may have missed the previous ceremony (Cole and Durham 2007).

Age-sets and generation-sets are defined and formed as they relate to changing social structures (Philipps 2018). Both are employed to achieve social order, explain differences, and outline social expectations. In Africa, age-sets and generation-sets instruct how boys become men (and how girls become women, but less commonly), what is right and wrong, and what gender and other social roles people must undertake (Burgess and Burton 2010). Mannheim (1970) compares the concept of generation to class, saying that they both "determine an individual's position within a social structure, and that position in turn informs the individual's world views irrespective of his or her choice or consciousness of it" (Philipps 2018, 3). Historically, youth often inhabited a well-defined position in relation to elders, particularly in

pastoralist societies, due to these practiced systems of delineating between ages or generations. Roles were clearly defined, and specific achievements were expected to advance out of youthhood (Burgess and Burton 2010). Age-based categories in African societies, especially those of males, were often the most essential systems of social organization, prescribing specific notions of power and knowledge to individuals based on their age-set groupings and generational positionalities (Baxter and Almagor 1978; Burgess 2005; Burton and Charton-Bigot 2010; Evans-Pritchard 1940; Falk Moore 1986; Falk Moore and Puritt 2017; Rohrer 2014, Spencer 2004).

In 1978, Baxter and Almagor asked what were the social conditions that would cause age-systems to endure or to disappear? They described age-systems as "holding time" from the past, into the present, and onto the future – providing hope and structure to the unknown that is to come. They argue that to understand why these systems would change, the social system must be looked at holistically, but typically an age-system is altered or becomes less essential due to external influences (Baxter and Almagor 1978, 23). Formal social structuring by age became less common across African societies as external influences made their way into indigenous lives. Colonialism, Christianity, capitalism, and urbanization undermined the stability of clearly defined age-groups and generational systems as young people became introduced to new ideas, rituals, and economic practices (Burgess 2005). Young people flocking to urban centers disrupted age-related practices of transition. Christian missions introduced new ideas about gender roles, marriage, and duty and discipline (Baxter and Almagor 1978; Bernardi 1985; Burgess and Burton 2010). Burgess and Burton write that these external influences "combined to end, or at least dramatically modify, the formation of formal age-sets and the intense group solidarities that such rankings aroused" (2010, 10).

Bourdieu (1993) noted that when the social structures of age classifications begin to break down, it disrupts previously imposed power dynamics, eliminating the clear division and transition between identities such as “child” and “adult.” This effectively creates the category of youth, a stage inserted in between childhood and adulthood. This refers to the length of time increasing between the end of childhood and the beginning of adulthood, resulting in the need for a youth identity (Tranberg Hansen 2008). It has also become less demarcated; there are not the specific markers, ritual or otherwise, that signal a transition from one to the other. Tranberg Hanson writes, “The uncertainty of the process compels young people to draw on diverse resources (economic, social, cultural, and political), depending on where and who they are in gender and class terms, as they negotiate their everyday lives and orient themselves toward the future” (2008, 7). Bourdieu describes age as “socially manipulated and manipulatable” (1993, 95). In a speech calling for national unity just before independence in 1961, Julius Nyerere, the first president of Tanzania, said that, “The young have had an education which is a present-day education; their ideas are present-day ideas” (1966, 204). The nationalist movement became an opportunity for youth to challenge the preexisting authoritarian structures of society, i.e., elders, leaders, age-sets, generations, etc. (Burgess 2005), highlighting formal education as a way that youth were manipulated and nationalism as a way that youth were manipulating, to use Bourdieu’s description of age.

Social, environmental, political, and economic change can have lasting impacts on accepted forms of social division, hierarchy, and processes of transition (Foner and Kertzer 1978, 1102). According to Spencer (2018, 2), “given the emphasis on peer-group solidarity, age systems become outmoded with the emergence of inequalities that are perpetuated through trade and the accumulation of wealth (or poverty) within families, leading to class distinctions.” Scholars argued that the category of “youth was changing rapidly during the twentieth century,

defined less by a set of inherited discursive constructs as by unique historical circumstances and narratives that set their generation apart from others before or after" (Brennan 2006, 221). Increasing urbanization and modernization have only reinforced this turn away from the importance of formalizing age and generational differences in contemporary, urban African societies (Burgess 2005; Falk Moore and Puritt 2017). In Dar es Salaam, these social structures are now almost entirely absent, leaving instead a more fluid conceptualization of age hierarchy that depends more on how identities such as youth are socially defined. This dissertation provides an example of how contemporary youth themselves are manipulating their circumstances to redefine what it means to be a young person in urban Tanzania.

1.2.2 Anthropology of Youth

How youth is defined today comes from an anthropological understanding of this background of age and generation relationships and exploration of how they have and are still changing. In order to understand the experiences of the youth involved in my research, the concept of a youth identity must be defined. The anthropological understanding of the youth identity captures the essence of who these young people are and how they are involved in the larger argument that youth hold power and agency to influence larger structures of society. Youth is typically defined and understood as a particular age range, falling somewhere between childhood and adulthood. In the United States, one is perceived to become an adult when they turn 18 years of age, however, this youth-to-adult age boundary varies globally. The United Nations officially defines youth as between the ages of fifteen and twenty-five (United Nations 1981). USAID defines youth as between ten and twenty-nine (USAID 2012). The African Union defines youth as between the ages of fifteen and thirty-five (African Union 2006, 3). The large variance of the agreed upon upper limit of belonging to a youth identity is one reason

anthropologists are more interested in the social and cultural definitions of what it means to be a youth and what it takes for youths to transition into adulthood, recognizing that there cannot be a cut and dry, quantitative definition across cultures.

In my experiences in Dar es Salaam, someone is considered a youth based on their actions and behaviors, and the way those are perceived as different from an adult identity, but historically youth has been defined more specifically as a concept of biological and psychological state of development, marked by the transition from childhood to adulthood (Philipps 2018). The theorizing of youth has often been done through its opposition to adulthood, with youth presented "as people in the process of becoming rather than being" (Honwana and de Boeck 2005, 34). Early conceptualizations of a defined youth identity can be found in foundational anthropological literature. Margaret Mead's work in Samoa is known for being the earliest anthropological study focusing specifically on youth (Mead 1928). Mead's work, among other early anthropologists addressing the topic of youth, conceptualizes youth identity as a liminal and transitional stage, discussing youth only as they compared to the dominant actors and practices in a society (Evans-Pritchard 1940; Malinowski 1929; Turner 1969). Victor Turner's concept of liminality, the period in the middle of an initiation process where a person is not who they once were but also not yet who they will become, also captures this idea of an identity in transition when applied to processes of ageing (Honwana 2012). Edward Tylor utilized this understanding of youth as something less than, waiting to become more, when he compared his evolutionist stages of civilization to that of human development, arguing that "the savage [is] a representative of the childhood of the human race" (1920 [1871], 284). The youth stage was understood, in these cases, as being a biological and psychological state of development representing an incomplete person on their way to becoming a complete adult (Bucholtz 2002). Youth themselves were studied anthropologically from the perspective of initiations and

transfers of knowledge from older to younger generations (Evans-Prichard 1940). These early anthropological conceptualizations of youth were later criticized for focusing on the eventuality of an adult identity and not on youth themselves (Amit 2001).

In the early half of the 20th century, youth studies were predominately the purview of sociology, typically categorizing youth within deviant subcultures, reminiscent of the earlier discussion about an African identity being construed as deviant as well (Wulff 1995; Bucholtz 2002; Rohrer 2014). This included the seminal work at the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies at the University of Birmingham, known colloquially as the Birmingham School. The Birmingham School scholars, focusing solely on English working-class youth, presented a new argument that youth existed within subcultures that stood as marginal or subordinate to the larger culture. Their work was important because it initiated the study of youth cultural practices, but the Birmingham School's focus was ultimately critiqued for over representing the influence of class on youth lives, thereby ignoring other crucial dimensions of youth identity and culture, including gender and race (Cole and Durham 2008; Rohrer 2014; Wulff 1995).

In the mid-1990s, the discipline of anthropology began a more rigorous emphasis on studying youth identity and experiences. The orientation started to shift away from a focus on youth as a transitory and relational stage, instead looking at youth as their own entities and moving away from delimiting youth cultures to addressing the cultural practices of youth (Amit 2001; Bucholtz 2002; Christiansen, Utas, and Vigh 2006). This alteration of theoretical orientation uncovered "a portrait of youth emerg[ing] which encompasses not only a transitional stage on the road to a socially recognized adulthood, but also an identity with its own social and cultural forms" (Honwana and de Boeck 2005, x). This contemporary anthropological understanding of youth contextualizes it as a social category— one that is flexible in nature and exists only in relation to specific societal structures (Rohrer 2014).

Bourdieu (1993) argues that age divisions are arbitrary, socially constructed, and rooted in divisions of power. He described the social desire to group by age (also gender and class) as a way of "imposing limits and producing an order to which each person must keep, keeping himself in this place" (Bourdieu 1993, 94). This recognizes the purpose of having a defined youth identity and argues that the interaction of individual agency with the larger societal structures results in an identity with experiences unique to its own life stage and social or cultural position (Durham 2000a, 2000b; Evans-Pritchard 1940; Rohrer 2014; Spencer 2014; Tranberg Hansen 2008).

In the 2000s, anthropological research involving youth in Africa proliferated. Anthropologists were responding to the population growth of youth while simultaneously recognizing that these young people were highly marginalized in education, employment, and other social services, generally because of invasive structural adjustment programs (SAPs), international aid, and increasing globalization practices (Amit 2001; Honwana and de Boeck 2005). Contemporary youth scholars have developed unique lenses through which they view how African youth are defined in text and in practice. Durham (2000) describes youth as "social shifters," defined as relational and dynamic in concept and context, "a social landscape of power, knowledge, rights, and cultural notions of agency and personhood" (Honwana and de Boeck 2005, 4). Philipps (2018, 8) writes, "…[youth] is a category under constant reconfiguration, gaining new meanings under new circumstances and when intersecting with other social categories, be it class, gender, education levels, or urban or rural settings." Honwana and de Boeck (2005) refer to youth as "makers and breakers," in their same named edited volume. They write, "as makers of society, children and youth contribute to the structures, norms, rituals, and directions of society while also being shaped by them. They make themselves, through inventive forms of self-realization and an ingenious politics of identity"

(Honwana and de Boeck 2005, 3). A youth identity conceptualized as such must be addressed as part of the historical and social environment where it is occurring (Christiansen, Utas, and Vigh 2006; Honwana 2012; Rohrer 2014). This complicates the attempt at an agreed upon or all-encompassing global definition. The concept of youth has been approached mostly from the viewpoint of the Minority World (the "West")[5], resulting in a dichotomous relationship between how we perceive Euro-American youth and African youth (Philipps 2018). As Tranberg Hansen says, "these terms matter" (2008, 5).

With anthropology addressing themes of adolescence, childhood, and youth, it is important to distinguish how this dissertation conceptualizes the category of youth theoretically, and not just numerically. Acknowledging the definitions provided by interviewees, I adopt Durham's concept of youth as a "social shifter," which refuses a definition based on an age grade or specific liminal period, and instead recognizes the fluidity of the concept of a youth identity that allows us to question youth's relationships to different identities, ages, subcultures, and statuses (Amit 2001). In line with other contemporary anthropologists and youth scholars, this dissertation recognizes youth as being a product of culture as well as cultural producers. Like this cyclical relationship between youth and culture, I adopt this framework in my analysis while, at the same time, the research itself demonstrates this concept of youth in practice, or as Christiansen, Utas, and Vigh put it, "youth as lived" (2006, 13). As Amit argues, "The relationship between youth and culture thus raises a wide scope of questions rather than an already demarcated field of investigation" (2001, 812). My use of the term youth is grounded in that precarity, both in a textual sense and a literal sense, open for and to change, as youth

[5] Minority World, in this context, replaces "the West" or "developed world." On the other hand, Majority World replaces "Global South" or "Third World." This rejects terminology that implies a greater- or less-than or developed or undeveloped identity and replaces that by highlighting that the majority of the world's population lives in these places that we typically described as being less advanced. I discuss my reasons for using this terminology in more depth in Chapter 2.

themselves question and respond to social constructions of identity, purpose, and future.This dissertation shows this in practice, with young Tanzanians becoming involved in local NGO work, "making" these opportunities to create their own experiences and paths to the future and shifting the social landscape around them with innovative influences on local NGOs.

Taking all of this into consideration, the definition and use of youth as a concept in this dissertation is two-fold, following the example set by Tranberg Hansen (2008) of having an operational definition of youth in combination with one that is idealistic. She writes that "all our studies clearly show that notions of youth stretch far beyond [codified] age limits, especially at the upper end, and that there is a range of simultaneously negotiated and contradictory definitions of youth" (Tranberg Hansen 2008, 32). In Tanzania, the National Policy of Youth Development (2007) officially identifies youth as those aged between 15 and 35 years, using the African Union age range. I use this national, numerical definition of youth in this work to distinguish quantitatively who the youth are within the research context but consider a broader and more flexible definition of youth that eschews the past accepted ideology of youth as an age category or transitory stage between childhood and adulthood, and replaces it with an affirmation of youth as a valid social position in and of itself.

During my fieldwork in 2019, I asked Akida, a young Tanzanian man, what it meant to him to be a youth in Tanzania. He said that "youth is about the mindset." He described youth as having a desire to take risks and to grow, and he said, "it is through these two qualities, we see that young people are able to learn and do different things around the world." Like Akida, and within this research, I understand youth beyond the confines of numerical age or a transitory stage, choosing to explore youth identity as an experience and feeling that stands on its own rather than a stage one simply passes through.

1.3 Youth Unemployment and "Waithood" as Calculated Liminality

The second part of this dissertation explores youth participation in voluntary labor. I argue that voluntary labor is increasingly filling a gap in access to formal employment opportunities for young people in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. Through my fieldwork with several youth-led NGOs in Dar es Salaam I find that, while encouraged by high unemployment rates equally across gender, religion, and ethnicity, it is class status that results in varying motivations and expected outcomes of these voluntary practices for young Tanzanians (discussed in Chapter 5). The situation of unemployment and labor practices in contemporary Dar es Salaam play the largest part in encouraging this movement towards voluntary labor and this is (re)enforced through the specific nature of the period of youthhood, or "waithood," which is explored further here.

1.3.1 The Predicament of Unemployment in Dar es Salaam

Tranberg Hansen, speaking of youth globally, writes, "a growing proportion of young people are not experiencing the transition the previous generation took for granted when leaving school and going straight into jobs" (2008, 209). Because they disproportionately account for large numbers of the overall population, youth are more likely to experience poverty, be unemployed, or have precarious employment (United Nations 2005). In 2019, 13.6% of the global youth population (67.6 million) was affected by unemployment (ILO 2020). In sub-Saharan Africa, 63% of the youth population was unemployed in 2003, even though they accounted for 33% of the labor force (Economic Commission for Africa 2005). Youth in Tanzania aged 15-24 years old face an unemployment rate of 14%.[6] Youth are especially affected by

[6] Tanzania National Bureau of Statistics. *Census – 2012.* 2016. Distributed by Tanzania Socio-Economic Database. http://www.dataforall.org/CensusInfoTanzania/libraries/aspx/home.aspx.

unemployment because, with no jobs, their avenues to become economically self-sufficient or to escape pervasive poverty are limited (AfDB 2016), thereby constraining their ability to advance, per se, to adulthood. While the Tanzanian youth unemployment rate is relatively low when compared to other countries, the official government statistics account only for formal employment and do not include the high number of Tanzanians participating in the informal labor sector.[7] In Tanzania, informal labor is understood as labor practices that lack regulation. These cover a wide range of practices, both legitimate and illegitimate (Hart 1973). If numbers of those participating in informal labor were to be added, the unemployment rates would reflect a much larger problem of unemployment. Some of the informal labor practices conducted by youth with whom I engaged were unofficial photography gigs, making and selling rugs, creating music, and, in a situation that I directly contributed to, translation and research assistance.

In response to high youth unemployment across Africa, governments, development organizations, and human rights agents search for ways to capture and incorporate the great untapped potential of the current youth population. Recognizing the significant size of the youth population combined with the epidemic lack of opportunity facing youth, organizations and agencies focused on youth try various ways of engaging them, such as through the introduction of entrepreneurial initiatives (Blowfield and Dolan 2014; Dolan and Rajak 2016). For example, Dolan writes about initiatives in Kenya to provide youth with start-up capital and training to be small-scale traders, selling household goods and other necessities throughout their neighborhood. She finds that these youth are never able to escape the pervasiveness of the poverty surrounding them; they continue to participate in a program that gives them only an

[7] Tanzania government statistics are widely accepted as unreliable. The publicly available data does not supply information on how data is collected or how they distinguish between different forms of labor and employment, which is a problem in a country with a very high reliance on informal labor. It is more likely that the unemployment number is much higher if calculating unemployment based on formal labor alone.

illusion of achieving a future goal. In my research, youth volunteers scoured social media groups for opportunities to intern or volunteer for big name NGOs, but I was told that usually these positions (if they were even able to obtain one in the first place) were very short-term, reliant on external funding for one off projects, and essentially preyed upon these young people to benefit from their labor while providing a small impression that the work would result in a more permanent situation. These initiatives often follow an economic model that replaces the security and mobility of formal employment with a contingent and individual-centered discourse of success, creating only an illusion of possibility and hope for the future without any real benefits materializing (Dolan and Rajak 2016, 515). What is often ignored in these initiatives is how African youth themselves are already actively creating alternatives to address their current depressed socioeconomic environments, as I discuss in this dissertation with volunteering and NGO participation. Ultimately, unemployment is a huge problem, but I argue that youth are creating opportunities and options to navigate this problem that can potentially influence how African youth in particular are viewed and how volunteering can be a productive answer in the absence of other formal options more broadly.

1.3.2 "Waithood" and Calculated Liminality

Seeking new opportunities, such as through volunteering, may be encouraged by unemployment rates, but it is ultimately cultivated because of the specific positionality of the current youth population in Tanzania. Independence and democratization have had impacts on social structures, and these changes continue today with the growing influences of globalization, neoliberalism, and development. This history is discussed more thoroughly in Chapter 3, but a focus here on how neoliberalism has impacted social structures in Tanzania is important. As we challenge the concept of liminality as it relates to youth identity, these changes lead to new

ways that a youth identity is conceptualized in practice and rejects the notion of youth as being a state of inaction. The creation of this unique period of active liminality is what allows for these creative avenues of self-promotion and success for the young people in this research.

The 1980s and 1990s push of neoliberalism, defined as economic policies that liberalize trade and encourage privatization of state social services, has had a unique impact on Tanzania and the entire African continent (Ganti 2014). Africanist scholars agree that most of the impacts of neoliberalism are negative. They point to neoliberalism as a project of "global social engineering" (Harrison 2010) and argue that it has ultimately failed as a development strategy because it has been unsuccessful at generating socioeconomic improvements. While argued to be a postcolonial attempt to increase Minority World economic influence, neoliberalism has nonetheless embedded itself economically and socially across the continent, even while failing at its mission to increase economic prosperity and development. The reason a neoliberal approach has survived across the sub-Saharan region is because of the strong influence from powerful external parties, such as the World Bank, compelling postcolonial African governments to amass increasingly large debts for the often-unmet promises of massive, positive economic growth and development (Harrison 2010). This is visible in the structural adjustment policies (SAPs) international lenders imposed on African states (Ferguson 2006). SAPs encouraged the separation of social services and the government, leaving a ripe opportunity for international and other outside organizations to take up the provision of social services. Consequently, NGOs have proliferated on the continent because states have been forced to outsource social services and functions (Baylies and Bujra 2000; Bernal and Grewal 2014; Ferguson 2006; Green 2014; Green 2015; Honwana 2012; Mercer 1999).

This shift in economic, political, and social ideologies, from a socialist to a neoliberal approach, has not only impacted governmental organization. It has also impacted the

surrounding social structures, as change brings different experiences of hardship, requiring more social changes to address issues left unaddressed by new economic and government systems. One result of these changes has been the growth of a Tanzanian middle-class. The SAPs and neoliberal policies introduced in the 1990s ushered in new options for rural, lower-class Tanzanians to access formal waged employment as private industries proliferated alongside international interventions (Green 2015; Lewinson 2007). With more people engaging in non-agricultural work, moving to urban areas, and having children who are then achieving higher education levels, the middle-class status grows as the next generation contributes their own income strategies and lifestyle choices in accordance with a particular classed expectation (Green 2015; Lewinson 2007). With these second-generation, middle-class youth experiencing limited opportunities for employment, which would normally provide them the means to continue a middle-class lifestyle, they instead "enact middle-income identities through dress and taste, capability with new technologies such as Internet phones, and such practices as 'volunteering' in development nongovernmental organizations" (Green 2012, 298; see also Weiss 2002), with the latter being highlighted in this research. With Tanzania's history as a nation being rooted in the philosophy of *ujamaa,* meaning "togetherness" or the idea of all contributing together as one, the introduction of a middle-class identity causes that historical ideology to break down, as very clear socio-economic differences become the norm. For example, the vast majority of the youths involved in this research were unemployed, yet it was important to them to express their "success," or social status, by advertising their association with local and international NGOs, having non-Tanzanian (white) friends, and wearing brand name clothing, all things that indicate a middle-class status in Dar es Salaam.

Globalization has also helped to create unique cultural and social experiences, particularly for youth in urban areas, and has been argued by scholars to have heightened young peoples' consciousness of opportunities and hopes, increasing their desires to obtain globally recognized objects and attach meaning to the significance of being globally relative in their social experiences (Tranberg Hansen and Dalsgaard 2008). Ironically, while increasing youth's awareness of global opportunities, scholars find that this increased awareness does not necessarily result in economic improvements. In fact, the heightened international influences of globalization tend to increase the presence of external actors, such as international NGOs and donors, which contributes to the identity of Africa as a country being impacted by globalization but not also capable of being a global influencer (Ferguson 2006). Rapid unplanned urbanization also combines with these other influences to create new conceptions of social positionality and profound social inequalities.

Across Africa, poverty, conflict, and environmental impacts have driven people to relocate from rural to urban areas, with the rate of urbanization the highest in the Majority World at 3.5% (Ncube 2012; Dolan and Rajak 2016, 516). "Economic growth, rapid urbanization, and greater political liberalization" have created new opportunities for youth while simultaneously highlighting and exacerbating power asymmetries (Resnick and Thurlow 2015, 3). The urban environment of Dar es Salaam offers a sense of opportunity through the idealization of global connection and economic status, however, young people especially continue to struggle in this environment as the idealism falls short, unable to provide concrete solutions to a rapidly expanding and changing generation seeking upward mobility.

This dissertation finds that young Tanzanians are experiencing these new circumstances created by neoliberal policies, international influences, and urbanization in a somewhat unique period that Alcinda Honwana has termed "waithood." Honwana defines waithood as, "a

prolonged adolescence or an involuntary delay in reaching adulthood, in which young people are unable to find employment, get married, and establish their own families" (2012, 4). She explains that youth in waithood are not passively sitting around, hoping their situations will change. Instead, waithood is a period of dynamism and creativity where youth discover new ways of interacting with society (Honwana 2012; Tranberg Hansen 2015). This period of waithood is rapidly becoming the norm for African youth, and "while they comprehend their position on the margins of mainstream society, they [youth] do not define it as their permanent condition; that is why they engage in social change" (Honwana 2012, 16). Honwana states that "being young in Africa today is synonymous with living in involuntary waithood" (2012, 6). In her book, *The Time of Youth*, she argues that waithood is slowly supplanting conventional adulthood. The ability to pass beyond the social categorization of youth into adulthood has become difficult to achieve (Amit 2001; Cole and Durham 2008).

The young people that I worked alongside for this research recognized themselves as not yet being identifiable adults, due to their youthfulness, age, and lack of formal employment, but they often took on more responsibilities than many of the adults I know in my own life. They used this period of waithood, or this period of the unknown, to seek out virtually any way that they could to bolster their status, economically and symbolically. This research finds youth embracing their habitation of this new period of waithood, manipulating the situation to benefit themselves and their peers, rather than submitting to a stuck positionality. Cole and Durham conceptualize the future for youth in this globalizing period as being multidimensional, with one of the dimensions being "how one substantively creates it by designing and normalizing new kinds of practices" (2008, 11). This dissertation shows the way Tanzanian youth tackle this period of waithood with participation in organizing, supporting the argument that active, and

potentially impactful, practices are emerging within a newly recognized period of calculated liminality.

1.4 Youth-Led NGOs in Tanzania and the Anthropology of Organizations

Finally, the third part of this dissertation combines the interrogation of a youth identity and the practice of volunteering as an alternative to formal employment to look at how young people impact local NGOs in Tanzania through their increasing presence in the voluntary labor sector. The characteristic of a youthful nature explained by research participants seems to broaden the field of potential ways or practices of conducting organizational outreach work. This dissertation explores 3D animation and sports as two newer, innovative models that young Tanzanians are introducing to the organizational field. In Chapter 6, I look more closely at how class, which is found to influence motivations and outcomes of individual's volunteering experiences, also impacts who has access to these disparate practices, therefore creating a classed status of youth-led NGOs.

1.4.1 Anthropology of Organizations

To expand upon the existing literature on youth, social structure, and waithood, this dissertation focuses specifically on youth's experiences of organizing with local NGOs in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. The focus on organizational practices is two-fold. First, I demonstrate throughout this work, and other youth scholars agree, that the rising youth population, and declining availability of employment, may result in an increase in youth participation in the NGO or activist/organizational sector through access to work as "full-time volunteers" (Brown and Green 2015; Brown and Price 2015). Second, by using organizational theory to explore youth's experiences within these NGO contexts, we can specifically see the impacts that youth can have

in an organizational environment through their unique alteration of organizational culture and practices.

Organizational studies were developed in the sociological discipline, but early theorists of both sociological and anthropological thought have influenced the way that people study organizations contemporarily. Originally, the main theoretical focus of the study of organizations took an administrative, or management, approach (Czarniawska 2013), focusing mostly on research of industrial sites and factory life through the 1960s. This work was concerned with efficiency and effectiveness and addressed organizing as a homogenous act to be manipulated and controlled for success (Wright 1994). The introduction of a theoretical shift to addressing organizations through the actual practices involved within them has brought us to what organizational theory is today. This focus on the cultural practices involved in organizations moves the theoretical realm away from thinking of organizations as machines, to acknowledge and draw attention to how individuals with agency, as well as multitudes of material and ideological parts, holistically impact the organizations and influence organizing on a larger scale. This type of focus draws attention to the youth-led organizations involved in this research as being made up of individuals who impact the way the organization functions. In Tanzania, while local, youth-led NGOs often emulate a set of standard practices, which I discuss in Chapter 4, they also prioritize individual impact and often encourage a less demarcated system of hierarchy.

One of the big pushes towards a practice-based approach to analyzing organizations resulted from differing ideas between organization studies and anthropology about how to define the concept of culture within organizations (Wright 1994). Organizational studies understood the culture of a company or organization to be an overarching consensus of thought and behavior that was typically written down and enforced (Schein 1991; Wright 1994).

Anthropologists studying organizations employ the notion of culture to offer "a more interpretive approach through which to understand organizations as sites for constructing meaning" (Wright 1994, 3). There has been a difference of opinion between the former viewing culture as something that an organization *has* (i.e., "an organizational culture"), to the latter viewing culture as something an organization *is* (Smircich 1983; Wright 1994). Anthropology has contributed to the recognition that organizations do not *have* a culture, but they *are* a culture, made up of the processes (or practices) that inform their cultural identity, or meaning. This subtle difference between having and being can be further understood when drawing upon Geertz's famous description of culture:

> Believing…that man is an animal suspended in the webs of significance he himself has spun, I take culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning (Geertz 1973, 5).

Understanding culture in an organizational context as something that the organization is allows researchers to ask not just what organizations do and how they could do it better, but also how is organization achieved and what does that mean (Smircich 1983, 353; Wright 1994). This challenges the idea that an organization exists as objective, material, and unproblematic (Wright 1994). This shift has helped to avoid "conceptualizing organizations as bounded units and deals with the problem of context by placing organizational settings within national and international systems of relations which are ideological, as well as material" (Wright 1994, 26).

In this sense, and drawing still from Geertz's definition of culture, organizations are cultures within themselves, made up of systems of meaning and forming social structures where action, or practices, take place (Geertz 1973). Organizational culture is viewed as a process and includes emphasis on systems, like power and knowledge, and how meaning is created and recreated through webs or networks of social structures. Geertz writes, "Culture and social structure are then but different abstractions from the same phenomena" (Geertz 1973, 145).

While organizational studies understand culture as a coherent worldview of organizations, anthropology recognizes that coherence is not a possibility, as individuals and groups with different experiences, situations, and significations will respond differently (Wright 1994). This is very clear when looking at Tanzanian youth's experiences involved with local, youth-led NGOs in Dar es Salaam. In my observations, while these organizations stood behind their cogent mission statements and value lists, the individual influences were what created the most disagreements but simultaneously were what created the most successful ideas.

Recognizing that organizations are inhabited by actual people and prioritizing the individual agency in the actions/practices that are actively taking place is vitally important, and highlighted well by Nicolini, Gherardi, and Yanow when they write:

> In the world depicted by practice-based terms, people act and interact, but they also look at, listen to, and ignore each other. They have bodies; they touch, smell, taste; they have sentiments and senses; they argue, yell, fear, get nervous, and even die. They are not solely ephemeral social entities (agents); they are living beings who inhabit a world of life that, far from constituting a 'problem,' is the object itself of study and representation (Nicolini, Gherardi, and Yanow 2003: 15).

Schatzki argues for organizations to be defined as a "bundle" of practices, saying that:

> to understand an organization as it happens demands not just a grasp of both the unfolding of the organization in objective time and the joining of past, present, and future in activity time, but in addition, an appreciation of the nexus of material arrangements in which its practices proceed and an understanding of its memory and the interactional complex that effects this memory (Schatzki 2006: 1872).

This definition, and call to examine organizations as they are happening, includes recognizing that practices have both actions and structures, which is directly in line with Bourdieu and the notion of *habitus* (Schatzki 2006; Bourdieu 1990). Nicolini, Gherardi, and Yanow also argue that a practice-based approach is ideal for looking at organizations, not only because, as Schatzki argues, organizations are made up of practices, but also because practices are not limited to a

bounded environment and they highlight the connection of people, things, and actions. They write that a practice-based approach "constitute[s] a highly promising candidate for deepening our understanding of the organizational world in postindustrial society (Nicolini, Gherardi, and Yanow 2003, 18). Practice-based theory recognizes several important elements for the field of organizational studies: 1) people and material things hold a critical role within practices of organizations, 2) people and agents (which can be material items) have individual agency, and 3) a practice-based approach recognizes the importance of exploring power and conflict because of the impact they have on social realities (Nicolini 2012).

Let us now turn to the specific focus on NGOs and local, or indigenous, forms of organizing that this dissertation addresses. New forms of organizations and organizing have arisen as global restructuring of politics and economics occur, especially in the Majority World. As perhaps noticed above, in the past, organizational studies focused on formal organizations: factories, companies, organized labor groups, and so on. Neoliberal policies and increased focus on development have led to an increase of newer forms of organizations, what we may consider informal by comparison, such as NGOs and other community-based organizations. The discourse of organizational theory surrounding these new forms continues the same trends of exploring efficiency, cohesiveness, and sustainability (Marsden 1994). Anthropology posits that a cultural relativist approach that prioritizes the indigenous or local knowledge leads to more success when focusing on these metrics (Marsden 1994), and, as demonstrated in the following pages, "issues of value and quality are [themselves] culturally determined, and if development efforts are to be truly sustainable and partnership-based much more negotiation about the harmonization of values will have to be undertaken" (Marsden 1994, 40). Working within this theoretical framework that views organizing as being the practices that are formed and altered by actors, supporting a specific cultural identity, both individually and collectively, provides the

basis for addressing how Tanzanian youth impact and are impacted by local organizations as they fold these organizational practices into their lives and futures.

1.5 Chapter Overview

This chapter has situated the following work within the broader literature of youth, social structures, and organizations. I showed how the identity of youth becomes a valid, positive, and useful social position rather than a temporary, transitional stage as youth realize and demonstrate their potential to create change and impact, not only on their own futures, but the communities and lives of other youth as well. I discussed ideas of indigenous African social structures, including age systems and generations, and how these changing concepts are altering contemporary theories of age and what it means to be a youth. I introduced the concept of "waithood" (Honwana 2012), and how youth's expected life courses have been altered by globalization, neoliberalism, and urbanization. Lastly, I reviewed the anthropology of organizations and how organizational culture and practices have developed and impacted our understanding of youth's participation in these arenas, and vice versa.

In Chapter 2, *Methods and Musings*, I describe my 2019 fieldwork and methods, as well as a discussion of the challenges and limitations I faced, such as differences of cultural conceptions of time and difficulties with access and permits. This chapter includes a critique of my own positionality as a white, American female conducting research in a postcolonial African country.

In Chapter 3, I provide an overview of the region and history of Dar es Salaam specifically, and Tanzania more broadly. In this, I situate my focus on urban youth, labor, class, and unemployment to show why these issues are particularly important in this particular contemporary, urban context. Chapter 4 explains what it means to be a "youth-led" organization and introduces the organizations that I worked with during my fieldwork,

describing common practices and challenges of organizational structure that I found in my work with these organizations. In this chapter, I argue that increasingly these youth-led organizations are adopting a more globally modern approach to organizational methodologies and look at how that impacts their work.

Tranberg Hansen calls out the uncertainty around being a youth, especially in today's urban cities, recognizing that young people are "draw[ing] on diverse resources," depending on things like class (2008, 7). This uncertainty and these differences result in many different trajectories that young people are taking and can take. Some of these trajectories for Tanzanian youth I explore in Chapter 5, *Volunteering for a Job: Tanzanian Youth, Class, and Volunteer Labor*. This chapter tackles the issue of youth unemployment in Dar es Salaam and uses ethnographic data to show how youth are manipulating volunteer experiences to improve their future opportunities, arguing that these experiences look different based on socioeconomic status, not other factors like gender or ethnicity. This chapter situates this argument in the larger discourses of capital and structural violence.

Youth themselves are also influencing the organizations they are volunteering for by introducing and encouraging new, innovative, and energetic ways of organizing and transforming the organizational culture, as analyzed in Chapter 6, *Creativity and Innovation in Organizational Practices*. As passionate volunteers, these youth interact with NGOs, with the latter providing opportunities for youth in both intentional and unintended ways. Youth-led and innovated organizational practices of animation and sports are both explored.

Chapter 7 offers concluding remarks on the data, findings, and aruguments presented in this dissertation. In this conclusion, I summarize the arguments made in the individual chapters, and address how this work contributes to the larger world, outside of Tanzania, and the lives of youth on a global scale.

CHAPTER 2. METHODS AND MUSINGS

2.1 Fieldwork

For this research, I conducted fieldwork in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania for nine months. I arrived in April 2019 and stayed until the end of December 2019. This period of time allowed me to experience the different seasons of the coastal city, very quickly learning that the rainy seasons are miserable. From April to May, the long rains contributed to my struggle with adapting to my new "home," and then again from October to December they returned with a force, as if in an effort to wash away the things I had now grown to love in this city that I initially could not wait to leave.

Upon arrival I was prepared to begin my fieldwork in earnest, as I had previously developed connections and become familiar with the area during earlier preliminary trips. I first settled in Kijitonyama, a small ward in Kinondoni District, located inland, just north of the city center (Figure 2). This location was close to two of the organizations I planned to work with, as well as being located conveniently nearby the Tanzania Commission for Science and Technology (COSTECH), the government entity that administers research grants, where I ended up spending quite a bit of time navigating bureaucracy. After three months, I moved to Mikocheni A, a ward situated along the coast of Msasani Bay. Mikocheni A has a dynamic demographic, with poorer, local residents living alongside middle- and upper-class foreigners. This move was initiated because (1) my housing situation in Kijitonyama had impacted my health and was not of a

livable quality[8], and (2) I was finding that many of the NGO offices I needed to visit were in this slightly more middle-class, commercial area. I stayed in Mikocheni A for the remainder of my time in Dar es Salaam. I found it to be very centrally located to the different wards and districts that I needed to frequent for my research, especially when taking into account the excruciating traffic jams on the main roads that were an absolute guarantee in the evening but would also randomly occur at different times of the day, days of the week, and without any sort of noticeable pattern, regularly turning an 11km drive (6.8 miles) into a two hour ordeal.

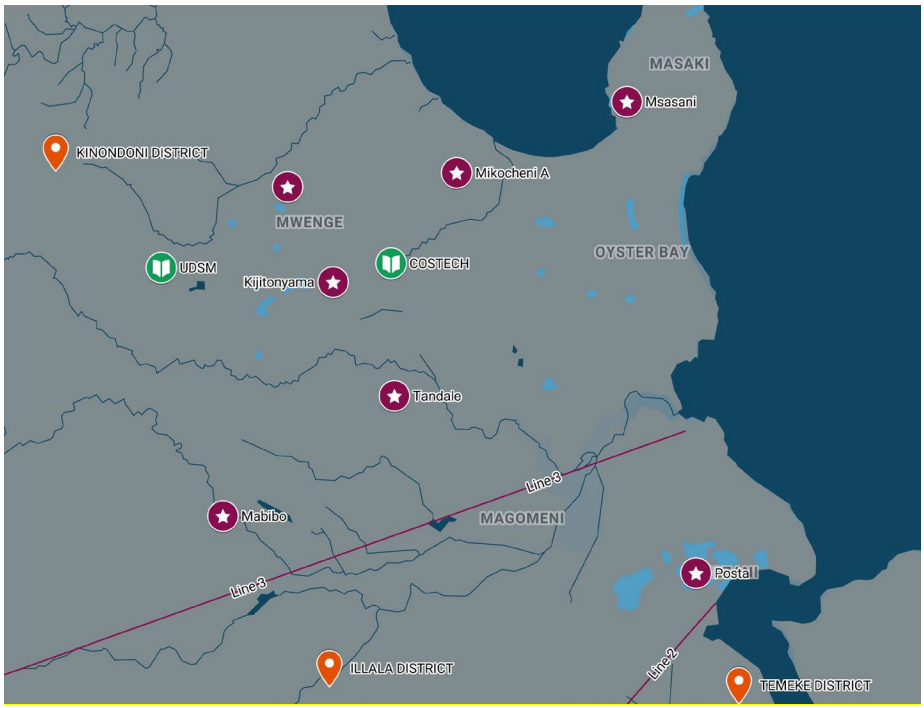

Figure 2. Map of Dar es Salaam districts, neighborhoods, and sites (Google Maps 2021)

[8] I chose my original location in Kijitonyama because I was comfortable with the standard of living common in this area (i.e. bucket showers, no air conditioning). However, in April 2019, Tanzania declared a severe dengue fever outbreak, and I contracted dengue exactly one week after arriving. To continue to live in a room with poor window screens, no air conditioning (which allows you to close the windows), and standing water outside, during an outbreak of a mosquito-born illness was not an option for me during recovery. Dengue fever was incredibly painful and having this experience so early in my research period meant I did not have any social support. The medical facilities in Dar es Salaam are also severely poor. I had to travel to three different clinics before I was even able to obtain a test for dengue fever. I ended up getting treatment (IV fluids and medication) at a private clinic with European trained doctors.

My original plan was to work closely with two local youth organizations, United Planet Tanzania and Tai Tanzania. I had met the youths running both organizations during a preliminary research trip to Dar es Salaam in 2014 and had remained in close contact with some of the youth leaders. However, upon arrival, it became clear that United Planet Tanzania was not currently functioning at a capacity that would provide me with enough data. I was introduced to the Network for Vulnerable Rescue Foundation (NVRF) through my key informant at United Planet and was pleased that they welcomed me (and my research) with open arms.

Another adjustment from the original research plan was the evolution of my research questions, or perhaps more accurately the dissolution of my research questions. This was not something that particularly alarmed me, as it is a common occurrence for research projects in anthropology, but it seems worth mentioning that what I set out to research is not at all what I ended up doing or learning. To be honest, I struggled with writing research questions in the first place because it felt presumptuous and un-anthropological. Frankly, I just did not know enough to know what I was going to end up knowing. What is produced here in this dissertation is a result of inductive reasoning; I listened to the young people I met and found out what was important to them, asked questions about those things, and what resulted was this story about their futures and the things they were doing to get to them.

This dissertation is largely about youth, volunteering, and the organizational practices of animation and sport. The topics of volunteering and sport were not even marginally on my radar as potential areas of study prior to beginning my fieldwork. If I had conducted this research project in solidarity with my original research questions and been opposed to listening to what my data and participants were saying, this is not the dissertation I would be writing. The introduction of sports as a development practice was entirely accidental through my introduction to NVRF, and somewhat karmic because it is a topic in which I have personal

interest. The topic of volunteering felt like someone handed me an edited and peer reviewed research question. It was not only the ease with which this topic developed, but the obvious importance that it held for people involved along with the questions that came from further exploration of how this topic connects to other areas and is having large impacts beyond the individual level, into the community, the region, and governmental, political, and world issues. Maintaining curiosity, never believing that I knew everything about this area that is not my "home," and really listening to what people were saying are the things that allowed my research questions and project to develop organically.

Once I moved to Mikocheni A, had finally acquired all my necessary permits, and recovered fully from dengue, I approached my fieldwork like a full-time job. While there was constant change, my typical schedule included spending 3 or 4 days a week at Tai Tanzania from 9:00 AM to 5:00 PM, and 1 or 2 days a week at NVRF from 1:00 PM to 7:00 PM. These days were spent working as if I were a full-time staff or volunteer member (*mfanyakazi wa kujitolea*). Each organization provided me with an array of tasks, and I would fit in interviews when time allowed. This schedule allowed me to conduct enough research within my timeframe but was also an extremely grueling one to continue for so many months. There were many times when I felt like I was doing too much or should have said "no" to an opportunity to which I said "yes" because it seemed too important or beneficial for my research to turn down. My fieldwork became my life there, with occasional breaks for extracurricular activities, but mostly just day after day of working. I was often utterly exhausted, also a long-lasting symptom of the dengue fever I contracted in April. When I was not working at one of the organizations, I was writing fieldnotes. When I was not writing fieldnotes, I was sleeping.

These “regular” weeks were interspersed with research related trips, which included travelling to different areas of Dar es Salaam to participate in organization-led programs at schools, community outreach events, meetings, interviews with contacts at other organizations, and topically related conferences. Additionally, I joined two organizations on a week-long trip to Ifunda, a small rural ward in Iringa District, located in central Tanzania, approximately a twelve-hour drive from Dar es Salaam. This trip was funded by an international organization to conduct a teacher training program at a girls’ hostel and vocational training center. These opportunities allowed me to see the organizations with which I was working put their work into practice and provided me a wider view of Dar es Salaam and Tanzania as a whole.

Outside of my research related activities and contributing to my overarching familiarity with the city and country, I spent my “free” time trying to take advantage of a variety of opportunities. I joined and regularly played on a women’s football (soccer) team and a co-ed touch rugby team. Both teams included Tanzanians and non-Tanzanians. I was able to travel to Zanzibar three times: once for a rugby tournament, once to visit a colleague, and once for pleasure.

Fieldwork was challenging. I felt extremely prepared on the academic and research sides of things due to my previous trips for preliminary research and language study. However, I was entirely unprepared for the intense feelings of isolation and the emotional experiences weighted in cultural differences. Dar es Salaam is a large city and not particularly known for being incredibly inviting. A Danish intern at one of the organizations described to me the social differences between Tanzanians and non-Tanzanians as the “peach versus coconut” theory, popularized by the Dutch organizational theorist Fons Trompenaars (2013). He said people within different cultures either have a hard exterior with a soft inside, like a coconut, meaning they were difficult to get to know but, once you did, they were very open, or they have a soft

presentation with a hard inside, like a peach, meaning they were outwardly friendly but more difficult to get close to. The intern and I both agreed that Tanzanians were typically the latter, overwhelmingly friendly, going out of their way to greet one another or offer assistance, but if you wanted to develop a close, more meaningful relationship with a Tanzanian, it took much more time and effort. This resulted in me often feeling like I was alone in a crowd of people. I was always busy, and always had people physically around me, but I was lacking any close friendships for quite some time. After I was able to develop two close relationships with a pair of Tanzanian women with whom I played football, my loneliness shifted instead to a feeling of lack of belonging. While these two women and I spent a lot of time together, and became quite close, it was never fully possible to understand one another's lives because of how different our experiences and realities were. These friends shared things with me about their lives that I will not repeat here, except to say that I learned things in our many, deep conversations about Tanzania, Dar es Salam, gender, and possibilities, or lack thereof, from them that made me immensely sad and overwhelmed with feelings of helplessness. Navigating these complex thoughts and emotions required a lot of energy and is still something that I am dealing with after returning to the United States.

2.2 Methods

The methods I used to conduct my research consisted of participant observation, semi-structured interviews, a survey, and archival and grey materials collection. My estimates indicate that I spent approximately 1,100 hours engaged in some form of participant observation, averaging about 44 hours per week between the two organizations. I would take notes in my notebook or on my laptop during meetings, but otherwise I was usually engaged with organizational tasks and would type up my fieldnotes at the end of each day. Often, I would

ask to participate in an activity as an observer but would very quickly be put to work. For example, one day in August, I had overheard the human resources staff member at Tai talking about conducting interviews to hire new volunteers and I asked if I could sit in during the interviews to observe how the process was conducted. The following day, when I arrived at the office to observe the interviews, I was instructed that I would administer the questions in the section of the interview guide that asked about diversity and culture in the workplace to the interviewees.

On a normal day at Tai, I would attend meetings or work on drafting and editing various proposals at the office, but I also travelled as often as I could with the project team to school visits, outside training sessions, and events. On a normal day at NVRF, I would participate in the life skills games and practice with the girls' netball team. On other occasions I would attend the club meetings, visit the kindergarten, participate in administrative meetings, and watch football, handball, or netball matches.

I conducted 34 semi-structured interviews (21 from Tai, 10 from NVRF, and 3 from other organizations). In each organization I was able to interview every single staff member (14 from Tai and 4 from NVRF). I also interviewed volunteers and participants in each organization (7 from Tai and 6 from NVRF). The interviewees were all residents of Tanzania, except for two international interns from Tai. Besides those two international interns, the staff and volunteers at the organizations with which I worked were all African. The age range of the interviewees was 19-39 years of age. Aside from two of the NVRF staff who were married to one another, every other person I interviewed presented themselves as single. I know that several of the youths had boyfriends or girlfriends, but the topic of dating was not typically brought up in the work environment. Only one person that I am aware of had a child, of whom they had joint custody. The single nature of most of these youths perhaps indicates that they had more time for

volunteering activities than youths with families might. Some of the youths lived with their natal families, while others lived on their own or with housemates. Private life matters were not discussed very openly to me or even amongst one another. Only a few of the interviewees were born in Dar es Salaam. Most of them came from rural areas outside of the city and were either first- or second-generation migrants to the city.

I interviewed almost twice as many males (n=22) as females (n=12), because there were more male staff members employed at both organizations. I used an interview question schedule as a guide and kept the interviews very casual and conversational (see Appendix A). Interviews typically ranged from 45 minutes to an hour and a half and were recorded.

I conducted one survey targeting the volunteers at Tai (see Appendix B). I wrote and distributed the survey in November 2019, utilizing Qualtrics. I asked questions related to their voluntary experiences in general, voluntary experiences specifically at Tai, and future career plans. I distributed the survey link on the WhatsApp group for Tai Darubini Volunteers and had 15 surveys submitted, of which 12 were complete. The respondents included 10 local and two international volunteers, five males and seven females, and nine current and three former volunteers. The age range of respondents was 20-27 years of age. For completing the survey, I offered a 2,000 Tsh top-up card for the phone service provider of their choice (equivalent to approximately 90 cents USD). While the survey completion rate was lower than I would have liked, the completed responses were representative of the larger voluntary body, in terms of gender, age, and local vs. international.

Additionally, I collected archival data and grey materials from both organizations, the former being defined broadly as bureaucratic data collected for the intention of research purposes (Schensul, Schensul, and LeCompte 1999) and the latter as an assortment of materials used formally and informally within the organizational contexts. The archival material collected

mostly came from online open access databases from the Tanzania National Bureau of Statistics' National Data Archive, the Tanzanian Socio-Economic Database (TSED), and the Tanzania 2012 Census. The grey material collected mostly consisted of internal organizational documents, like timetables, project concept drafts, grant proposal drafts, human resource policies and procedures, and meeting agendas. Also gathered were organization newsletters and training manuals. Some of this material is in electronic form and some I collected in physical hard copy. This material provided me an inside look at the work being done at the organizations. For example, employee handbooks and organizational policy documents allowed me to compare what the organizations had structured their work to look like with what they were actually doing in practice. The project concept drafts and grant proposals provided more than just inside information. These documents were ones that I worked on in my voluntary capacities, assisting the organizational members with writing and editing. This provided additional data through this interactive process as I gained intimate understandings of how organizational methods were being undertaken as they related to specific organizations and specific projects.

2.3 Challenges and Limitations

There were several challenges and limitations that I encountered during my fieldwork that merit explanation. These include the influence of cultural differences on experiences of time, the challenges of obtaining required permits, and some limitations of access to information.

2.3.1 Time

Early in my fieldwork, I was contacted through Facebook by Joseph Mbele, a Tanzanian professor and folklorist at St. Olaf College in Minnesota. He was interested to learn more about my research and was going to be visiting Dar es Salaam, so we arranged to meet for coffee during his trip. The morning of our meeting I used my iPhone to request an Uber with plenty of time to spare because they often had a hard time finding the pickup location and could be a bit unreliable as far as time and traffic were concerned. I arrived about five minutes early to the coffee shop we had arranged to meet at, so I stood outside to wait. When Dr. Mbele arrived, he approached me, laughing, and said that he knew I would arrive before him because I was a *mzungu*, and *wazungu* are always on time.

While this stereotype was often discussed and joked about, and was true most of the time, it also proved to be a challenge while conducting my fieldwork. There are more times than I can count in my fieldnotes where I wrote about how a meeting was canceled or I waited for someone for several hours past the time we agreed upon. Often, I would plan my week, which needed to be structured since I was working closely with two different organizations that had two different timetables, but then a big event would end up being rescheduled and I would have to adjust everything else in order to re-fit it into my later plans. Big events, like the closing ceremony of the Darubini Project with Tai, would often not start until an hour or two after the scheduled time because the guests of honor, usually important people in government positions, would not arrive on time. Volunteer training sessions, held to dispense vital information for the implementation of the project, would begin with only a few of the volunteers present, while the remainder would trickle in over the next two hours. I scheduled interviews with people, only to have them ask to reschedule every single day for an entire week.

At the time these were mild annoyances, but in retrospect these repeated occurrences meant my time spent doing fieldwork was plagued with inefficiency. Sometimes there were things that I could not reschedule, or that the change in time or schedule caused me to just miss entirely, which meant missed opportunities for collecting data that could have been useful.

However, this challenge led to an interesting awareness of cultural importance. As I mentioned before, this topic of time was often discussed, and these discussions led to a deeper understanding of how Tanzanians view time. It was often expressed in these discussions that the adherence to a planned time was less important to an individual than it is to be present and available to your community. For example, if someone stopped you along your route to get to a meeting you had scheduled, the expectation is that you would stop and interact with them; just passing by or saying you were in a hurry would be rude. Meetings often do not start on time because greetings and hospitality are of great importance culturally. Dr. Mbele (2005, 83) wrote, "Digression is integral to African life; it happens not only in journeys, but also in other activities, such as meetings, conversations, and storytelling. Such activities rarely have a fixed timeframe or trajectory: they are flexible and open-ended." Understanding and acknowledging this difference of the cultural relation to time helped me to navigate this challenge in my fieldwork.

While I have been able to recognize this important cultural lesson, it is worth noting how this difference in cultural understanding of time could have serious limitations for the organizations with which I was working. Both organizations, and arguably the majority of Tanzanian NGOs, are interacting, or at least hoping to interact, with international organizations, often in the capacity of a donor and funding recipient relationship. Because the U.S. cultural understanding of time is one that prioritizes and values strict adherence to timetables and deadlines, if Tanzanian organizations do not adjust to this value and conception of time, they could very well limit their opportunities to connect with these international benefactors.

2.3.2 Access and Permits

Challenges were also present during the process of obtaining required permits and in some areas of access to information. The first step to obtaining my research permit was to secure affiliation at a local university, and although I had made a contact previously at the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM), I was unable to make progress on obtaining the permit via email before my trip. This became a continuing theme and I quickly learned that to do any official business in Tanzania, you must be physically present. I eventually was able to meet with the chair of the UDSM Sociology and Anthropology department, who agreed to write the letter of invitation I needed to apply for the university affiliation – once the power returned to their building on campus.[9] After I received that letter, I was able to submit it to the UDSM Directorate of Research and Publication Office, who then approved my research affiliation with UDSM on May 24th. From there I attempted to submit my research permit application to COSTECH, utilizing the online submission portal, but the website was down for several days. Serendipitously I had posted in a Tanzanian Facebook social group introducing myself in the hopes of finding some social outlets and was contacted by a friendly person who worked in the President's Office of Regional Administration and Local Government. He was curious to hear more about my research and in the process of talking he shared that he knew the Director of COSTECH and said he would call him on my behalf. A few minutes later, he gave me the Director's phone number and said he wanted me to call him right away. In true Tanzanian form, when we spoke, he asked if I could send him all my application materials by email – the ones I had finally been able to upload to the online platform. About one week later, on June 19th, I

[9] I had tried calling the office for a week but was unable to get through. Eventually I went there physically, which is a long and expensive trip to make without confirmation that you will be able to see the person you need. The building that housed the Sociology and Anthropology department was undergoing some construction and they did not have power. I was told they would provide my letter when the power was restored, which might take up to one week. The secretary gave me her personal cell phone number for following up.

received an email saying my COSTECH application had been approved. It took three trips to the COSTECH office after that to get the appropriate payment receipts and passport photos, but I had my actual permit in hand on June 27th. The next process was the residence permit application, which is required for scholars conducting research in Tanzania. This required obtaining more passport photos and getting documents certified by a lawyer. I fortunately was able to contact an actual person at the immigration office, and after only two trips, I received my residence permit on July 10th. In total the permits cost me $1,250 USD plus the cost of multiple trips to the UDSM, COSTECH, and Immigration offices.

Another challenge, related to the inefficiencies throughout the various permit processes, was the lack of access to official records of demographic information for youth organizations and NGOs in Dar es Salaam. While I would question the completeness and validity of this information if it did exist, I think it still would have been beneficial data, but I was never able to make contact with any of the potentially involved ministries through any of the contact information listed online. For future research trips, I would ideally like to pursue these contacts further.

Lastly, as with perhaps any ethnographic research, I faced some challenges with access to and transparency of information from the organizations and people with which I worked. While I was welcomed extremely openly at the organizations, and it typically seemed like I was being given unrestricted access, there were several topics that I was not entirely privy to unfettered information of, such as funding and salaries. When I inquired about salaries, more specifically payment of staff, I was always told that they did not receive a regular type of salary, but instead sometimes received small amounts of income on an irregular basis. I was never offered information about exact details, such as amount or frequency. I believe there was some

cultural discomfort with sharing this type of financial information, and ultimately these were not cases of purposeful deception or dishonesty.

This also leads to the lack of information I was able to obtain about youth organization members' personal lives and, particularly, how they managed to get by in this environment of systemic unemployment, informal labor practices, and piecemeal voluntary labor positions. Economics was not at the forefront of my research topics and process, so I unfortunately did not prioritize collecting this type of data during interviews. Additionally, this type of information was not freely offered, as volunteers typically kept their personal lives fairly separate from their professional, or volunteer, lives. From the limited information I did have, I know that some volunteers had financial support from their family and others participated in the informal labor market, for example, having a small farm to grow vegetables for sale or doing unofficial personal photography. For future research addressing youths and volunteer labor in this environment, it would be important to gather data to understand these youths' lives in more context and how they manage to "get by."

2.4 Positionality

> The ethnographer, like the artist, is engaged in a special kind of vision quest through which a specific interpretation of the human condition, an entire sensibility, is forged. Our medium, our canvas, is 'the field', a place both proximate and intimate (because we have lived some part of our lives there) as well as forever distant and unknowably 'other' (because our own destinies lie elsewhere). In the act of 'writing culture,' what emerges is always a highly subjective, partial, and fragmentary - but also deeply felt and personal - record of human lives based on eyewitness and testimony. (Nancy Scheper-Hughes 1992, xii)

My own identities have informed this research from the beginning and continue to do so in the analysis and writing stages of my work. My positionality, specifically in relation to the region and population with which I chose to work, has encouraged me to consider the impact

that my presence has on the research I am conducting and the populations with which I am working. Ethnographic methodologies often recognize the importance of identifying our own individual positionalities and their impact on our research (LeCompte and Schensul 2010; Johnstone 2019, Clifford and Marcus 1986). This has required me to explore my ethnographic work in a reflexive manner, accounting for my privileges, and maintaining a near constant intention to conduct my research *with* participants, rather than *upon* them.

All experiences and views are going to be a partial picture, allowing and disallowing access to particular information and coloring the interpretation of data. There were things that I both gained and lost in my research because of my specific identities and positionality. As a young, white, American female, I was typically either granted higher social status or viewed as an intrusion that limited my access in some circumstances in a country with politics that are wary of United States intervention. The latter situation was usually felt as a "what are you going to do for me?" expectation, but also prevented me from going into particular spaces on my own, knowing that my presence would be viewed suspiciously and unwelcoming. For example, Kariakoo, the large urban African market in the city center, was a space I would go only with a Tanzanian friend because my presence would suggest a tourist with money entering a livelihood space of regular, everyday life for the sole purpose of entertainment. This suspicion was also sometimes expressed in a very blatant manner, obvious in the echoing calls of "*mzungu, mzungu!"* when I walked down the street. My positionality in these environments was visible on my skin, not allowing me the ability to meld into my surroundings as a participant observer, but instead placing me as the one being observed.

As formerly mentioned, in other circumstances my visible identity was interpreted as being someone with money and therefore to be treated as a higher social status. This was something I was hyper aware of when interacting with organizations. Most *wazungu* visiting

these organizations were doing so as volunteers, often coordinating donations to benefit the organizations. I was frequently viewed as a volunteer, even after explaining my presence as a researcher, and therefore, felt there was often a heavy expectation for me to be doing something to provide for these groups. Sometimes this occurred as outright requests to fund supplies and other times as casual conversations whereby organization members would tell me how hard everything was and how many things they needed.

In other ways this heightened status treatment was present more subtly. For example, I was always offered a chair everywhere I went. Everywhere. Even if no one else was offered a chair. Even if no one else was sitting down, and even if I tried to refuse the chair, saying I preferred to stand. I would of course accept the offer to sit in the chair, because it would be rude not to, but this situation always made me feel incredibly uncomfortable and impacted my ability to blend in and observe without altering the situation around me. Another situation that often occurred was when people at the organizations with which I was working would ask me for advice on how they should run their programs. They would ask me to share their social media posts and fundraising pleas with "my contacts." These are people who have had years of experience in their line of work and have been active in these organizations for long periods of time. Their knowledge of professional contacts and how to run their programs within the Tanzanian school systems far surpassed my understanding of these culturally specific areas of knowledge, yet they would look to me as an assumed expert.

One of the benefits of my positionality, however, was my perceived youth identity. While I was considerably older than most of the research participants, I was assumed to be a youth myself, studying other youth, due to my young appearance and likely my status as unmarried and without children. This allowed me to participate alongside the youth volunteers in their work and also spend social time with some of the young people, providing a more

complete understanding of their lives. As I got to know some of the participants more personally, it became easier for us to share and exchange information about our struggles and successes, providing the ability to see how, while our lives are objectively extremely different, we do have many things in common.

My gender, identifying as a woman, also offered some benefits. As anthropologists have contended before, women (typically white) often have access to both male and female spaces when doing fieldwork, allowing for a more holistic view of gendered lives (Behar and Gordon 1995). For me, in Tanzania, my gender and whiteness impacted the way that young Tanzanian men interacted with me, often flirtatious but protective, and with a level of respect that allowed me to be present in all-male spaces, such as being the only woman watching a World Cup soccer game in a rural bar at night. Additionally, I spoke Swahili at a decent conversational level, which provided me a measure of credibility everywhere I went. It was rare for a *mzungu* to speak the language and I enjoyed surprising taxi drivers and children with my linguistic ability.

The impact that these losses and benefits due to my identities have had on my research are essentially impossible to outline specifically. Analytically thinking about our identities and positionalities remind us that "no one is ever fully representative of every potentially important constituency or sector of a given community" (Schensul, Schensul, and LeCompte 1999, 71). Rather, we approach our work from particular positions and who we are informs the knowledge that we produce. Who I am, and who others perceive me to be, is intricately intertwined with the information I was able to access, the ways that I interpreted things I saw and heard, and how I am now choosing to transform my observations into words. I am not a Tanzanian youth, but I will endlessly be learning from those who are, and any mistakes made in this work are solely my transgressions.

It is also imperative to recognize that being a white person conducting research in a postcolonial African country will always be problematic. Being self-aware, both during fieldwork and this writing process, of how my social position influences every facet of my work is vital in order to answer to the inherent problematic nature of being a white researcher in a postcolonial African context. The history of the discipline of anthropology is steeped in racist and sexist ideologies and the history of anthropological research on the continent of Africa has been problematized by the idea of objectivity and the historical desire of the discipline to discover the "Other." Early anthropological fieldwork was predicated on the concept of travelling far away to study a culture vastly different from one's own (Amory 1997). The act of doing fieldwork can itself be a form of colonizing, or re-colonizing (Barrett 1996), as the power asymmetry of colonizer-colonized can be reproduced in the researcher-researched relationship, with the former's interpretations being overvalued. I navigated this complicated dynamic by ensuring that I was always trying to present myself as an equal to those involved in my work. This was not always easy, due to the way that my identity was often perceived as discussed previously, but my actions were often able to tamp down those perceptions as I prioritized participation at every level of my work. For example, as I discussed earlier in this chapter, I regularly joined the girls' netball team practices at one of the organizations, which I wrote about in connection to this complex power dynamic in my fieldnotes on November 19th, 2019:

> I think I have been trying so hard to not be this "white savior" figure which I find so problematic, that I have tended to overcompensate by not appreciating things for what they are. Yes, I am a white person here in Tanzania, visiting an organization and bringing donations. That situation comes with a particular set of identities and expectations that are not my right to dismiss. But just because those things make me uncomfortable does not mean that I cannot simultaneously appreciate the parts of these experiences [that] are important to the people on the other side. There is clearly a huge element of pride for [this organization] to be able to demonstrate their successes to people from "developed [Minority World] worlds," which are very different from their own. There is something [about] being…a type of person who

> might typically ignore these communities, or stereotype these children and their experiences, and instead being that presence in a way which feels more authentic to myself – which is participating, listening, and giving out as many *nipe tanos*[10] and fist bumps as I possibly can. There is this constant feeling that I wish I could do more, which basically means give more, but recognizing that over and over people keep saying that they notice how I participate and learn/do/act alongside of them and the kids is so unique, and that is my authenticity.

This type of reflexivity in my fieldwork and writing has helped me to be accountable for my interpretations by prioritizing the actual voices, words, and stories of the young people with which I worked. Reflexivity – the ability to discern and account for how our social backgrounds and positions influence, in obvious and less obvious ways, how our perspectives and knowledge may differ from those we study – is a process that we are "not expected to take leave of once one has taken leave of the field" (Nyamnjoh 2012, 66). Reflexivity requires critical self-reflection and acknowledgement of one's own space within the place or context in which you are working. Reflexivity is dynamic and creative, allowing qualitative research to "illuminate deeper, richer meanings about personal, theoretical, ethical, and epistemological aspects of the research question[s]" (Kleinsasser 2000, 155). Examples of anthropologists including reflexive material in their written work are many (see Behar 1996; Rosaldo 1989, Rabinow 1978).

Clifford Geertz (1975) provides the metaphor of "researcher as instrument," meaning the data collected must first pass through the researcher's own lenses of experiences, positionalities, and theoretical ideologies. Today, feminist anthropology argues for the recognition that "as long as there has been anthropology, the race, gender, age, and social position of the anthropologist has affected the ways in which they are received in the field and in the discipline" (Angel-Ajani 2008, 85). This is explained in Donna Haraway's idea of "situated knowledges," which are described as understanding the ways that knowledge and theory

[10] High fives.

become reality only through the specific positional perspectives that we individually inhabit (Haraway 1988; Harrison 2013). This idea rejects objectivity in the classic sense, arguing instead that greater objectivity can be obtained through the recognition and understanding of our own positions and limits as they pertain to the knowledge we claim to produce. Haraway argues that "only partial perspective promises objective vision… It allows us to become answerable for what we learn how to see" (1988, 45). All anthropological work is influenced by the positionality and personal experiences of the researcher (Clifford and Marcus 1986).

In the next chapter, the identity of Dar es Salaam as a space synonymous with an urban character and youth personality will be explored. Tracing the history of this identity to understand how this space exists today highlights the changing nature of youthhood in an environment of struggle and provides the background to explore how youth-led NGOs are involved in transformations of lived expectations and imagined futures.

CHAPTER 3. DAR ES SALAAM: *KUTAFUTA MAISHA* (“SEARCHING FOR LIFE”)

A city with a deep history of migration and diversity, although not always positive, Dar es Salaam has survived periods of anti-urban sentiment, being framed as a site of neocolonialism, and massive political efforts to establish rural areas as sites of cultural authenticity. But, as Iliffe wrote in 1979, “The state creates only subjects. The subjects create the nation, and they bring into the process the whole of their historical experience" (486). Dar es Salaam was an important colonial site throughout Tanzania’s history, but it is not the colonial situation alone that created the city as we know it. Dar es Salaam has always been an important economic center in East Africa and, although different colonial powers have left their influences, it is the citizens of Dar es Salaam and their experiences that continue to have the greatest impact on shaping the city.

This research centers around Dar es Salaam (colloquially known as Dar) because of the important and continuing influence that youth have had and are having in this region. In their research with African youth, anthropologist Tranberg Hansen argues for the importance of studying “youth” and “the city” together, recognizing that both are global categories that are growing rapidly (2008). The topics of youth and unemployment are central to the history of Dar, making it the main backdrop for the story of contemporary Tanzanian youth and their current struggles *kutafuta maisha*, or “searching for life” (Callaci 2017, 1). Since the 1950s, this idea of searching for life has meant that Dar has been a harbor for people looking to improve their fortunes, or lack of fortunes in most cases. It has been a leading destination for migrants from rural areas, bestowing new personal, economic, and cultural meaning on the city (Weiss 2002; Andreasen and Agergaard 2016; Sommers 2001). Historian Emily Callici explores the history of the urban environment of Dar in her work on popular intellectuals, reframing the history of the city, and also postcolonial Africa, as a “history of mobility” (2017, 7). People came to Dar to find

what they could not find elsewhere. In the 1960s and 1970s, it became established as a city of migrants. During the 1970s, Tanzania had the third highest urbanization rate in the world (after Mozambique and United Arab Emirates). By 1971, 82 percent of Dar's population had been born elsewhere (Callaci 2017; Burton 2005).

Today, Dar es Salaam, with just over 4.3 million people in 2012 and an estimated 6.5 million in 2020, is the most populated city in East Africa[11] and is growing rapidly – currently the second fastest growing city in Africa, behind Kampala. Projections have Dar reaching megacity status by 2030 (Rosen 2019). While no longer the political capital of Tanzania,[12] it is known for being the economic hub of the country and an important center of commerce in the East African region. Dar is situated on the east coast of Tanzania, cradled around a natural harbor on the Indian Ocean. Due to its location on the coast, the climate of Dar is typically hot and humid, but has milder temperatures than places more inland, with two consistent rainy seasons: the long rains in April-May and the short rains in November-December.

Imagining the future of Dar requires an exploration of the contemporary environment as well as the history of Dar, and in this case, how youth have always been at the center of that past and future. Additionally, understanding the unique urban environment in the present requires an examination of the history of the nation and how that history has impacted urban living in Tanzania.

The diverse history of Dar es Salaam's inhabitants has resulted in an eclectic urban flavor, with colonial and Arabic architecture both featuring prominently. Dar is 30km by 35km and is divided into three administrative districts: Kinondoni, Illala, and Temeke (Figure 2). Within

[11] Tanzania National Bureau of Statistics, June 2020, "2019 Tanzania in Figures – 2012 Census Data"

[12] Dar es Salaam was the capital city of Tanzania until 1974. Then-President Nyerere officially shifted the capital to Dodoma, but the process of relocating government ministries and offices is still a work in progress in 2021. The move has been critiqued, and ultimately not completed, because most government employees, officials, and expatriates reside in Dar es Salaam. Currently, with about half of the offices in Dodoma and half in Dar, the inefficiency of doing any government business is high, as people often must travel back and forth between the two cities to various offices.

these districts are 73 wards, which include a range of varying socio-economic residences. For example, the largest district of Kinondoni includes Msasani, the elite peninsular suburb, home to most of the expatriates residing in Dar, but Kinondoni District also includes the neighborhood of Tandale, one of the poorest settlements within the city. Ilala District includes the main city center, referred to as Posta, which is recognizable by the rapidly and vertically expanding skyline interspersed with crumbling historic architectural buildings of German, British, and Arabic influences. The famous Kariakoo Market is located in this downtown area and was originally the location of the African residential zone during the colonial period. Temeke District houses the main port and most of the industry in the city, as well as most of the lower income residences and slums. Posta, which is located directly on a natural and nearly landlocked harbor of the Indian Ocean, is an imposing metropolitan urban area at the center of Dar es Salaam. The city has grown outward from this point, and therefore from the coast, in a haphazard way, racing to keep up with the rapidly increasing population. The edges of Dar, the farthest from Posta, consist of a fairly vibrant peri-urban zone. During the 1980s, this zone began to grow in order to meet the increasing agricultural demands of the quickly expanding city (Briggs 1991).

Most of my fieldwork took place in the densely urban parts of Kinondoni District. The peri-urban environments of Dar, though connected by public transportation, were very remote to the urban areas where I worked. Like the multicultural city itself, the landscape of this urban environment varies widely from location to location. On a typical day, I would wake up in my apartment in a solidly middle-class neighborhood located on a quiet paved road around the corner from a main thoroughfare with amenities like a grocery store, gym, and coffee shop. I would travel during morning rush hour approximately 30 minutes to one organization, watching the city wake up around me from the back seat of a *bajaji*,[13] sometimes stopping to grab my

[13] A three-wheeled motorized vehicle used as a taxi. Also called a tuk-tuk.

favorite morning treat, *vitumbua,*[14] from an elderly woman on the corner, who carefully pulled each small bun out of a large, clear plastic tub in exchange for two very small coins. The morning would come on like a disco ball being switched on – bright and loud. *Piki piki*[15] would be zipping through traffic backups, *daladalas*[16] blasting their horns, the attendants pounding on the metal exterior to signal to the driver to stop to pick up a passenger. Car traffic negotiated space in some sort of secret language that presented itself as a ballet. People in business suits walked down the side of the road, dust billowing up around them. Later in the afternoon, when I would travel to a different organization, the sun would be high in the sky, beating down with the same intensity that many Tanzanians seem to have when it comes to chasing opportunity, but the heat would have settled over the city like a blanket, temporarily calming the frenzy as folks sought shade. In the evening, as the sun began to set, the call to prayer ringing through the air, the city would come alive once more. Young men would line the busy street intersections, hawking kitchenware items, small plastic toys, and any number of other very random goods. Small bars would open up shop, playing reggae or U.S. and European music, while young couples and groups of friends gathered on red plastic Coca-Cola-branded chairs, smoking cigarettes and dancing. When I gathered in those same spaces with friends I had made, I felt the energy of this city in a way that is somewhat indescribable. I felt the history of Dar, the effort of the past that has resulted in what this place is today. Young people today take center stage in Dar, but they are doing so as the ancestors of other young people who sought out opportunities in this urban environment.

---

[14] Coconut rice pancakes

[15] Motorcycle

[16] Minibuses, overcrowded forms of unofficial public transportation

3.1 *Mishemishe*: The History of the Hustle

Today, young Tanzanians in Dar es Salaam are often relying on *mishemishe*, or the hustle, to keep them afloat in this urban environment of uncertainty (Joelsson 2021). This hustle is deeply rooted in the history of the city, influenced by the past of precolonial trade, colonizing influences on sociopolitical dynamics, especially related to youth and crime, and postcolonial struggles to succeed in the globalizing modern world.

The history of the Swahili coast is rooted in trade and reliant on the importance of the Indian Ocean. In precolonial Tanzania, complex socio-political communities existed, but were not formed homogenously. Environment and kinship played a large part in very early social organization (Iliffe 1979; Feierman 1990). Natural resources were abundant and in high demand, including ivory, salt, and iron ore, and these were controlled by local chiefs, often resulting in competition favoring chiefdoms with coastal access and greater trade connections, especially as long-distance trade moved into the interior (Coulson 1982; Iliffe 1979). Much movement up and down the East African coast resulted in the establishment of individual towns and local trade between coastal Swahili people, as well as the presence of Islam. Nurse and Spear claim that the 15th century represented "a peak in the development of the Swahili towns as an indigenous form, the culmination of seven centuries of internal growth and historical development" (1985, 81). Towns, more urban than villages, were amalgamations of people from different ethnic groups, languages, occupations, and beliefs, perhaps becoming the root of a modern-day multicultural Dar es Salaam.

Before the 16th century, the East African coast was in direct contact with India and Oman through trade routes across the Indian Ocean (Coulson 1982). Around 1500, the Portuguese came to the East African coast, but were eventually forced out by Oman during the late 17th century (Nurse and Spear 1985). By the mid-19th century, under Omani Sultan Seyyid

Said, Zanzibar had become the epicenter of Indian Ocean trade, with the most valued resources being ivory, cloves, and enslaved peoples (Coulson 1982). Indian and Arabic traders and merchants, the largest buyers of ivory, began to settle in large numbers in Zanzibar. During this time, coastal interaction with inland peoples, previously almost nonexistent, increased rapidly as the long-distance trade system grew (Iliffe 1979). The main export of ivory was quickly depleted due to the increased interior access and a new export took its top profitable place: enslaved people (Iliffe 1979). By 1873, estimates say that about 20,000 enslaved people were exported from mainland Tanzania each year (Iliffe 1979, 49). Zanzibar became the epicenter of the East African slave trade; almost all the Black Africans in Zanzibar were enslaved people (Petterson 2002). Indigenous Swahili societies, like the Gogo, Zaramo, and Makonde, participated in the slave trade and large numbers of enslaved people labored on Arab clove and sugar plantations (Iliffe 1979; Coulson 1982, Petterson 2002).

The East Coast of Tanzania became an amalgamation of African, Arabic, and Persian influences, still visible today in architecture and even the Swahili language. This precolonial history of Tanzania, as Iliffe states, stresses "the capacity for survival of African traditions and institutions" (1979, 3), which played a part in Tanzania surviving colonization.

The late 19th century introduced European imperialism and a colonial capitalist economic system to the continent in order to satisfy growing production needs of industrializing European nations (Kimambo, Maddox, and Nyanto 2017). In the 1880s, during the time known as the Scramble for Africa, Britain negotiated the establishment of a Protectorate over Zanzibar and Germany gained control over what is now Tanzania but then was called German East Africa.

German administration was widely known as exceptionally brutal and unkind to the indigenous inhabitants. The German colonizers were not there to encourage the growth of the region – they were there to take what they needed. The Germans were extractive, setting up

plantations and instituting various forms of compulsory labor (Kimambo, Maddox, and Myanto 2017). The administration of the region was largely militarized, and villages were raided for food and other supplies to provide for the German troops, leaving insufficient food supplies for the local populations (Hyden 1980).

The Germans instituted both plantation agricultural practices and cash-crop focused agriculture. They had policies of labor recruitment for infrastructural projects, most notably the railway from Dar es Salaam to Kigoma (Hyden 1980). They also brought epidemic diseases and taxation. Hyden wrote, "it can be said that the German colonization of Tanganyika effectively put an end to the prosperity of the indigenous precolonial economies…wreck[ing] the fragile balance between man [sic] and nature on which these economies had rested" (Hyden 1980, 41).

The direct rule imposed by the Germans disallowed any local power or governmentality by Africans, but efforts of resistance were common across German East Africa (Iliffe 1969, 1-2). Scholars connect these efforts against imposition of colonial rule to ideologies of sovereignty. Ranger argues that these early resistance movements formed the structure and memory that would later influence anti-colonial nationalism and the fight for independence (Kimambo, Maddox, and Nyanto 2017; Ranger 1968).

One of the most famous resistance efforts during this period took place from 1905 to 1907 as a response to the oppressive and exploitative nature of the German colonizers: the Maji Maji rebellion. This uprising was spurred by the forced agricultural labor of cotton growing, but the motivation for this movement was not yet nationalistic, as later resistance efforts would become. The initiation of the movement was rooted in religious ideology, with leaders convincing Tanganyikans across ethnic groups to consume medicinal water – *maji* – which would make them immune to European bullets and encourage them to resist colonial interventions.

The impetus was not simply anti-colonial but rather a result of the fluid structures of statehood and authority existing from precolonial order pushing back against rigid control introduced by the Germans (Monson 1998). The Maji Maji rebellion took place during a time when other movements across Africa were responding to similar situations, such as resistance struggles led by Ahmadou Bamba in Senegal and Samori Ture in southern West Africa, both against the French colonial government (Babou 2007; Boahen 1987; Crowder 1968). None of these movements were successful in the sense that they achieved separation from colonial powers, but that was not necessarily the goal. The Maji Maji rebellion ended in a very brutal suppression by the Germans and around 75,000 African deaths, but demonstrated the capability of Tanganyikans to organize across ethnic and religious boundaries (Illife 1969; Kimambo, Maddox, and Nyanto 2017).

World War I (1914-1918) brought disaster to German East Africa. Famine spread across the region as Germans appropriated cattle and other supplies for their own war efforts. Africans were recruited into soldier and porter positions. Many died. As Germany retreated from the allies, the region entered a state of uncertainty (Kimambo, Maddox, and Nyanto 2017).

In 1920, after World War I, control of the region, now called the Tanganyika Territory, was given to the British. Britain wanted to integrate Tanganyika into the existing imperial system used in their other colonies. Sir David Cameron became governor of the Territory in 1925. His more liberal political beliefs contrasted greatly with the prior experience of German control, demonstrated by his governance via indirect rule, which allowed for some local participation in positions of moderate power (Hatch 1972, 84-89; Listowel 1965, Iliffe 1979). However, British colonialism was arguably just as exploitative as German rule, just in different ways. While a comparison might make British rule look more desirable, Tanganyikans still did not have much access to high-ranking, influential roles in policy making and government. The Executive Council

and Legislative Council were made up entirely of British citizens until 1945 (Listowel 1965, 106-107). Indirect rule also produced and reproduced social divisions along tribal/ethnic lines by establishing indigenous administration based on these often incorrect groupings (Iliffe 1979).

The British were originally less interested in continuing attempts to increase large-scale agriculture and instead focused on expanding peasant agriculture. Peasant agriculture grew in the 1920s. Iliffe describes peasants as "liv[ing] in small communities, cultivat[ing] land they own or control, rely[ing] chiefly on family labour and produc[ing] their own subsistence while also supplying larger economic systems including non-peasants" (Iliffe 1979, 273). The British attempted the introduction of new crops and new agricultural techniques. This was often done at the expense of ignoring successful indigenous practices (Cooper 2019). The indirect rule utilized local authorities as the go-betweens for the colonial authorities and the local populations. While certainly manipulated by the colonizers, scholars recognize that the peasant society was very active in shaping future political struggles (Feierman 1990). Resistance was not uncommon but was more often done through less visible acts, like ignoring policies.

After World War II (1939-1945), Britain tried to jumpstart colonial agriculture in order to extract the surplus value from their colonies that they needed to rebuild domestically (Iliffe 1979). They switched to an attempt to encourage large-scale farming. One example of their efforts was known as the East Africa groundnut scheme in the 1940s. They developed a plan to mechanically farm groundnuts. This involved a lot of financial investment, with large swaths of land prepared, soil tests conducted, and specialized machinery purchased. The groundnut scheme ultimately failed because of political mishandling, incorrect assessments of rainfall and soil, disease, and mechanical equipment not being suited for the particular type of land involved (Coulson 1982; Iliffe 1979; Cooper 2019).

Additionally, in the urban area of Dar es Salaam there were large efforts for labor organization and widespread striking, particularly from dockworkers and railway laborers. The strikers demanded fair pay from the Europeans who controlled these resources (Iliffe 1979), as well as improved colonial government attention to the inadequate housing and other basic urban infrastructures that were disproportionately affecting the African populated neighborhoods of Dar (Geiger 1997).

3.2 Anti-Urbanism, Youth, and Independence

In Dar es Salaam during this time, colonial officials were struggling to deal with an increasing migration of Africans into the urban area. Up until this period, the urban area of Dar es Salaam was almost entirely inhabited by non-Africans (Burton 2005). The colonial power largely viewed Africans as inherently rural and their presence in the city was confusing and dangerous. Youth in Dar were at the center of antiurban sentiments following World War II. Large numbers of youth were migrating to the burgeoning city in the inter-war period, as Burton describes, “attracted by the opportunities and excitements the territorial capital provided” (2005, 71). Cast simply as unemployed young males or sexually deviant, wayward young females, the mobility of youth was viewed as posing problems to traditional social institutions, like marriage and adulthood (Callaci 2017, 25-30; Geiger 1997). Unemployment was also a large problem during this period and disproportionately impacted African youth. By the 1950s, the term *wahuni* was in popular use. Like the word *hooligan* in English, *wahuni* was the term used for the unemployed, and therefore presumed lawless or outcast, African population in the city. Policies and proclamations seeking to remove those who were not fulfilling useful positions abounded (Burton 2005).

European colonialism supported racial segregation in Dar during this time. The Indian population grew with British Indians taking advantage of colonial protection. Three housing zones were created, which map almost exactly to the three districts of today introduced previously: Zone One – Europeans (Kinondoni), Zone Two – Indians (Asians) (Temeke), and Zone Three – Africans (Illala) (Callaci 2017, 23-24; Iliffe 1979). While there was racial, ethnic, and religious differentiation, Dar remained diverse, described as "everybody's town" (Iliffe 1979, 388).

In 1954, the Tanganyikan African National Union (TANU) was officially organized to oppose British rule. Formerly the Tanganyika African Association (TAA), TANU was headed by Julius Nyerere and was the first successful African political organization in Tanzania's history (Bienen 1967; Listowel 1965, 227). Tanganyikan peasants were instrumental in the initial rise of TANU as rural peasant producers formed the mass base for their anti-colonial resistance efforts. The leadership of TANU, however, had to strategically position themselves to benefit from both local and colonial support, which meant large-scale recruitment in urban areas (Hyden 1980; Iliffe 1979). By the mid-20th century, TANU's presence in Dar es Salaam had exploded, including the recruitment of thousands of female members with the help of Bibi Titi Mohamed (Iliffe 1979). Geiger, writing about Tanzanian women's involvement in TANU and the push for independence, presents a narrative of nationalism during this time that encouraged a broader sense of community beyond tribe, religion, and even gender (Geiger 1997).

In 1972, S.A. Kandoro, a Swahili poet, wrote regarding this time period in Tanganyika's history, "The ants have come together, and the snake has grown angry" (Iliffe 1979, 520). TANU was instrumental in winning the right to hold elections, which resulted in a TANU-controlled national government, and, ultimately independence, which was granted to Tanzania on

December 9, 1961.[17] The process to independence in Tanzania, when compared with other African colonies' experiences, is often acknowledged as exceptionally nonviolent and mostly peaceful. This has been credited in part to the British recognizing the changing tides of opportunities on the African continent and willingly agreeing to yield to the new, up-and-coming political party. Additionally, the period of the British Mandate provided something of a role model to the leaders for independence and allowed for a period of development of a ruling party in TANU to ease the exchange of control (Bienen 1967). But, as Iliffe ends his comprehensive book, *A Modern History of Tanganyika,* "it was more complicated than that" (Iliffe 1979, 576).

Julius Nyerere became the first president of the newly independent nation and remained in power until 1985. To this day, he is still known and referred to as the father of the nation, although at the beginning of TANU he was considered a youth himself (Geiger 1997). From 1967 to 1985, President Nyerere implemented his program of *ujamaa* (familyhood), or African socialism. He "defined African socialism as natural and inherent to Africa's history and culture" (Callaci 2017, 38). He outlined his ideologies for rural development, egalitarianism, and socialism in his Arusha Declaration in 1967 (Pratt 1976). The basis of his idea was relocating Tanzanians to collectivized rural villages, at first voluntarily and then later (1973) by force in Operation Vijiji.

His vision made sense during this time as Tanzania, and most African countries for that matter, lacked infrastructure and economic stability postcolonially, so they envisioned their natural resources and population as a way to achieve self-reliance. Additionally, Nyerere

[17] Zanzibar, an island off the coast of Tanganyika, had been ruled by an Arabian dynasty until it was overthrown after the colonial protection of the British was removed. Zanzibar was granted independence on December 10, 1963. The United States compelled Tanganyika to annex Zanzibar in order to prevent the revolutionaries from involving Zanzibar with the Soviet Union. On April 26, 1964, Zanzibar merged with Tanganyika and together they became the United Republic of Tanzania.

believed it important to shirk foreign aid assistance in order to build political sovereignty and self-determination (Callaci 2017). To become a nation with a specific Tanzanian culture meant rejecting Minority World cultural practices (Cooper 2019), another sentiment we see surviving in contemporary Tanzania in an exaggerated way, demonstrated for example by current President Magufuli's[18] refusal to accept COVID-19 vaccines from the "white man," calling it a foreign plot to take advantage of Africans (Reuters 2021).

Kaniki argued that "ultimately *ujamaa* meant different things for different people" (1980, 381). While there was awareness of diversity within the Tanzanian population, the goal of *ujamaa* was to reduce differences and this quite possibly helped contribute to the failure of the *ujamaa* movement because of its inability to address unique needs within a heterogeneous society. Hyden (1980) explained how under the new socialist ideologies, TANU created settlement camps throughout Tanzania that proposed to offer rural and peasant class agriculturalists certain land plots and equipment in exchange for the production of agricultural products, looking very similar to late colonial projects, and ironically similar to present-day pushes to convince Tanzanian youth to take up agricultural practices. Some historians have argued that the failure of these settlement schemes was due to the inability to properly maintain the economic and technological balances of the settlements, but Hyden also gives agency to the peasant class as being an influence on the settlement scheme failure. He argues that they resisted the control over their lives and work, and without their cooperation the settlement schemes inevitably failed to produce as they had planned (Cooper 2019).

David Birmingham (1995, 52) stated that Tanzania's democratic ideals "enabled the country to progress more smoothly than most [other African colonies]," but *ujamaa* was not without its problems. As Callaci wrote, "rural romanticism and antiurbanism…would shape

[18] See previous footnote explaining Magufuli's death in 2021.

ujamaa discourse" (2017, 36). Socialist thinkers across the African continent were saying that the rejection of urbanization was the way to achieve liberation from colonial and racial hierarchies (Fanon 1961). In Dar es Salaam, TANU forced unemployed young people and women to leave the city, continuing the colonial attempts to keep the city free from what they perceived as a dangerous population. The TANU Youth League destroyed unofficial dwellings in order to discourage urban settlement (Callaci 2017; Burton 2005). Yet, the population of Dar es Salaam grew from about 272,000 to 1.3 million during the *ujamaa* period (Callaci 2017). People heading to the city did so in "circumstances radically different from those of their parents' and grandparents' generations" (Callaci 2017, 2). Burton writes that "harassment of unemployed and underemployed urban youth in particular has continued up to the present" (Burton 2005, 276). In 1985, Nyerere was followed in the presidency by Ali Hassan Mwinyi, who worked to reverse the failing socialist policies, encouraged private enterprise, and introduced multi-party politics.[19]

Ivaska described the image of the city during this period as "decadent, unproductive, and emasculating" (Ivaska 2011, 17), beginning with colonial opposition to seeing Africans as anything other than rural dwellers, continuing into the nationalist culture of the postcolonial administration of *ujamaa*, and, I argue, remaining present today in the way that urban youth in Dar es Salaam are perceived as synonymous with the city. Historian Emily Callaci writes that "the migration of millions of young African men and women from rural villages and towns to cities during the second half of the twentieth century has been one of the most dramatic demographic shifts in human history" (2017, 1). With the failure of *ujamaa* came the rise of the *bongo* era, with the focus shifting to urban environments. *Bongo*, meaning "brains," refers to

[19] Although multi-party elections have been held since 1995, the incumbent political party, Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM), has remained in power, most recently reelecting President John Magufuli for his second term in October 2020. See previous footnote explaining Magufuli's death in 2021.

the spirit one must have "to survive in a precarious economic urban environment through creativity and street-savvy[ness]" (Callaci 2017, 17; Sommers 2001).

3.3 Dar es Salaam and Tanzania Today

Many of the youths I interviewed were born outside of Dar es Salaam, but came to the city in their early teens, seeking opportunities. Some came specifically for attending university and others to escape the grueling and unprosperous agricultural labor otherwise available to them in their home communities. Most had extended family members already established in Dar so the transition was not as tenuous as their predecessors, but they still are facing similar challenges related to access to employment opportunities, which I explore in this dissertation as they find new paths to navigate these challenges. The excitement of opportunity and precariousness of the unknown has continued to draw young people to Dar in today's increasingly globally interconnected Tanzania. This is occurring even as new struggles are created, for example, with infrastructure and the environment, but the city continues to push forward, analogous to youth themselves.

This precarious environment is tangible in Dar es Salaam today, for example, in the underfunding of transportation needs and road infrastructure. Driving anywhere in Dar almost guarantees you will get stuck in a traffic jam. Most Tanzanians use *daladalas*, small, shared minibuses that travel specific routes through the city. These are cheap but extremely dangerous, overcrowded, and follow no consistent schedule. In 2016, the Tanzanian government, with funding from the World Bank, opened a rapid transit bus line, UDART, which services a small area of the city with plans for future expansion. By the time I was in Dar in 2020, the UDART system was already plagued with problems, the biggest one being massive overcrowding issues, unable to meet demand. Uber and Taxify, ride-hailing services, have rapidly increased in

availability and usage, although they are generally out of the price range for locals and are also eliminating jobs for taxi drivers. When I first visited Dar in 2014, these ride services had not yet been introduced, but by 2019, in addition to standard cars, Uber began to include *bajaji* rides as an option and it became my most used form of transportation during my fieldwork.

Other issues include littering and environmental impacts. Tanzania banned the use of single-use plastic bags in June 2019, and although the replacement options are made of materials that decompose more quickly than plastic, these "reusable" bags are often treated as single-use plastic and discarded in the streets like the plastic bags that came before them. The large, infamous public beach just outside of the city center, Coco Beach, is at risk of being closed because the cleanup required to rid the beach of all the trash washed up each day by the ocean tides is so intensive.

According to the 2012 Census, Tanzania boasts a country-wide population of 44.9 million,[20] with much of the population residing in rural areas (70%). The urban population, however, has increased by over 40% from 2002 to 2012. Additionally, Tanzania is a country of young people, with 70.6% under the age of 30. The population is 99% African, with the 1% non-African population made up of mostly Arabs, Indians (Asians), and Europeans (Otiso 2013). Tanzanians are highly religious, with a 2010 Pew Center survey reporting that 93% consider religion to be very important in their lives. It is estimated that 60% of Tanzanians identify as Christian and 36% as Muslim. Additionally, 80% of the population, both Christians and Muslims, say they believe in some aspects of traditional African religious practices.

Swahili is the national language and is used for official business and government purposes. It was a strategic decision by Nyerere to have Swahili as the official language and Tanzania is one of only a few African countries where government affairs are handled in an

[20] These statistics refer to Tanzania Mainland and do not include the island of Zanzibar.

indigenous language and not a colonial European one. Many rural Tanzanians are fluent in Swahili as well as their familial language. English is spoken by many Tanzanians, and is taught in secondary school, but is not typically used in everyday exchanges and most working class and poor citizens are not fluent because of lack of education. Even for those who are fluent in English, Swahili is the preferred language for social interactions.

Outside funding is paramount to the success of today's Tanzania. Chinese investment across Africa has been huge since the 1960s, with well over $100 billion being invested as of 2013 (Cooper 2019). The impact is visible in Dar es Salaam. Between my fieldwork trips in 2016 and 2019, the largest building was built downtown standing 162 meters tall, the Tanzania Ports Authority (TPA) Tower, funded in part through a relationship between the TPA and China. The eight tallest buildings currently standing in all of Tanzania have been constructed post-2016. As of December 2019, work was still being done on the New Selander Bridge connecting the expatriate neighborhood of Msasani to the Central Business District downtown, funded mostly by loans from a Korean company. The Chinese government entirely funded the new University of Dar es Salaam library, which is now the largest library in Africa. Cooper claims that "governments such as those of Tanzania…would close down overnight without donor support" (2019, 158).

3.4 Tanzania in the Majority World

As referenced in Chapter 1, I elect to use the terminology of Majority and Minority World in this dissertation rather than "First and Third World, "developing" and "developed" countries, or "Global North and South." Majority and Minority Worlds are alternative terms credited to Bangladeshi photographer Shahidul Alam in the 1990s. Alam argues that this

terminology “defines the community in terms of what it has, rather than what it lacks” (Alam 2008, 87).

Majority World is used to refer to countries we typically view as less developed, while Minority world refers to those we consider to be developed. Using these terms avoids the misperception of hierarchical differences between nations and illuminates instead that the countries we often perceive as being global leaders in power and economics (the Minority World) make up less of the global population than those that are often perceived as needing improvement (the Majority World). This centers people as the most important global resource, situating them to disrupt implicit power dynamics of language. Sociologist of childhood and youth studies, Samantha Punch, uses these terms in her work, saying that it “acknowledges that the ‘majority’ of population, poverty, landmass and lifestyles is located in the [Majority World], in Africa, Asia and Latin America, and thus seeks to shift the balance of our world views that frequently privilege ‘western’ and ‘northern’ populations and issues” (Punch and Tisdall 2012, 241; Punch 2003).

Most examples of the use of this terminology come from childhood and youth studies and scholars out of Great Britain, such as Panelli et. al. (2007), who use Majority and Minority World in their work on rural childhood. Other examples come from disability studies (see e.g., Grech 2009; Grech 2012; Barnes and Sheldon 2010), geography (see Evans 2020), education, and legal scholars (see e.g., Powell, Taylor, and Smith 2008; Penn 1999; Penn 2002). In the context of my work, using these terms, as Punch argues, “highlight[s] that First World [Minority World] children are the minority while Third World [Majority World] children are the majority of the world’s child population” (Punch 2003, 278).

This etic perspective of the following ethnographic story is important in order to view the following data holistically, keeping in mind how particular histories, experiences, ideologies,

and identities are intricately woven into research questions, practices, data, and conclusions. The next chapter will switch gears to an emic perspective, introducing the organizations with which I worked closely during this research. It will look at what it means to the young people involved in these organizations to be youth-led and explain some of the standard practices that are characteristic of these types of organizations in Dar es Salaam.

CHAPTER 4. GLOBAL ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE IN TANZANIAN YOUTH-LED ORGANIZATIONS

In this chapter, I explain what it means for an organization to have an identity of being "youth-led," a term embraced by the youth involved in the organizations themselves. I introduce Tai Tanzania and Network for Vulnerable Rescue Foundation (NVRF), two local, youth-led organizations in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania with which I worked closely for this research. I also introduce several organizations that were involved on a smaller scale or tangentially through their connections to Tai or NVRF. I identify and discuss common organizational methods utilized across these youth-led organizations, as well as challenges that they share. I argue that the commonalities form a unique organizational culture within these contemporary, urban, youth-led organizations that is informed heavily by notions of global modernity. Adopting globally influenced characteristics is argued to "associate NGO work with development work as modern, professional practice" (Green 2014, 127), with the organizations fulfilling these acts that they view as required to establish a status of a legitimate NGO (Green 2010). This includes practices such as increased use of global technologies and reliance on international relationships with other organizations and international volunteers to support reputation and provide credibility. These will be discussed in this chapter using specific examples from the organizations with which I worked for this research.

4.1 Being Youth-Led: What Does This Mean?

> Because here in Tanzania…we are going to live here maybe 30, 40 years…to come. Now we have maybe these ages of 50s and 60s that decide [things] for us and we see here that these decisions are not going to perfect us in the near future, so we have to advocate for our way. I think it is the responsibility of youth if we want…development (Interview with Field Coordinator, Tai, November 4, 2019).

The organizations with which I was engaged during my fieldwork can all be identified as youth-led organizations. Youth-led simply means that they were started by youths and that the people in leadership roles are themselves youths. Being youth-led sets an organization apart from others due to the unique characteristics that are attributed to being a youth in Tanzania today. Today's youth look different than they did in the past. Once understood as a stage in transition and often represented in a negative light, we now see "African societies increasingly are looking to young people as instruments of change" (Diouf 2003, 2). African youth are being looked at as having agency and inhabiting a valid space within the structure of society. This young, contemporary, urban population across African countries is involved in politics, interacting with globalizing influences, and concerned about unemployment rates (Suriano 2007; Tranberg Hansen and Dalsgaard 2008). In many urban African contexts, youth are often found to be immersed in globalized worlds of social expression through creative outlets like U.S.-based hip-hop, and in Tanzania specifically, *bongo fleva/flava* music, the local variety of hip-hop that adopts some English language and influences of style (Perullo 2005). The experiences of young Africans are strongly influenced by these interactions between local and global pressures (Diouf 2003) and are imperative to youth desires to be involved in creating social change. They do this through innovating new practices and ideas, but also through repackaging traditional practices, like music. Music has an historical importance as found in narratives of *ngoma* groups and other nationalistic representations of music (Askew 2002; Geiger 1997), and hence is not necessarily a new generational concept. However, the African hip-hop scene provides a space for representations and communications of a specific urban youth culture, which provides an avenue for youth to express their presence as instruments of social change (Perullo 2005; Remes 1999; Sommers 2010; Suriano 2007; Tranberg Hansen and Dalsgaard 2008; Weiss 2009). As Tranberg Hansen has written from Lusaka, Zambia, youth there use music

in organizing arenas (Tranberg Hansen and Dalsgaard 2008). Creative processes of activism are evidence of this trend of "young Africans…searching for a narrative that provides a territory for the free play of their imagination" (Diouf 2003, 6). Cole argues that because youth are less connected and engaged in the older networks of "patronage and exchange," they then are in a unique position to "take advantage of new social and economic conditions" (Cole 2004). This has resulted in an influx of young people engaging with NGOs. As I argue in Chapter 5, this new generation is seeking out volunteer positions, but doing so in ways that allows them to exhibit these creative processes. This, I argue, is constructing a new organizational culture specific to youth-led organizations. This youth-led organizational culture comes with some challenges, but the organizations themselves also recognized multiple ways that being a youth-led organization brought them benefits. Some of the organizational challenges expressed were lack of experience and age discrimination. Some of the organizational benefits discussed were a better understanding of the youth situation, generational changes and differences, and a more open, relaxed working environment. These challenges and benefits are discussed in more detail below.

In many interviews with people involved in youth organizations, they stated that the biggest challenge facing their organization was the lack of experience amongst the youth leaders and members. This was expressed as leading to issues with communication, reliability, follow through, and access to funding (discussed below as age discrimination). This youthful lack of experience was acknowledged as the main source of most of the issues present in the organizations but was treated as not necessarily being such a big problem. For example, a common complaint was the difficulties of communication within the organization, both between departments and between staff and volunteers. This was a big problem, as it resulted in some fairly serious issues that needed to be addressed and overcome, however, in interviews, people

generally played this off as just how it is with an organization led by youth, while simultaneously acknowledging that it was this lack of experience due to being youths that was the problem.

This youthfulness was not only acknowledged by the youth themselves. There was also age discrimination coming from non-youths and other non-youth-led entities. This challenge is important to consider because the way others treat and interact with these youth-led organizations has an impact on how these organizations conduct their work. In Goessling (2017), Gordon's (2009) work is called upon that argues that viewing age as a social inequality is important for understanding how youth organize. Considering how a status of being youth-led leads an organization to experiences of inequitable treatment can help one to appreciate the ways that these youth-led organizations may conduct themselves differently in response.

One of the biggest benefits that was commonly expressed about being a youth-led organization was that, as youth themselves, the leaders and organization members were able to understand the experiences, challenges, and issues facing the youth that they were targeting with their work. A temporary worker at Tai said, "Youth led organizations are better for working on youth issues because 'we are here now,' meaning youth understand the issues and are living the issues." Youth know and understand their unique positionalities, experiences, and futures, and therefore are those best suited to be working on youth-related issues. Several of the youth coaches at NVRF commented that their positionality as young people instructing other young people creates an environment of openness and comfort where the young people involved can express themselves and seek advice from the youth leaders because there is much less of that age restricted hierarchy discussed previously. This micro level experience benefits the immediate workability and success of organizational practices – to have young people working directly with the youth – but at the macro level we can also see the benefit as youth are more closely connected to the current struggles impacting young people on a community-wide level

and so are better suited to make suggestions or implement programs that will benefit the youth population as a whole.

Generational differences were also espoused as being one of the direct benefits of being a youth-led organization. For example, Maria worked at an environmental organization prior to her work at Tai. There she said she was too afraid to speak up or ask questions because of the expected roles of employees specific to particular age sets. Now, at Tai, a youth-led organization, she finds that because they are all youth working there none of these age-related hierarchies are present and she feels more comfortable asking questions and making suggestions.

Another benefit related to generational differences was explained as young people having more ambition related to organizing and social change movements than the older people working in similar organizations. Elim, a Field Coordinator at Tai, said, “Youth have power to work anytime, like for yesterday we went to the event but still today we came to the office. Like, for the old person who says this is our off day, yeah, [youth] have the ambition.” The implication here is that young people have more energy or are more motivated to pursue the type of work done in these organizations. While this is not based in any sort of evidence, the fact that this is believed to be true by young people indicates an interesting ideology of the differences between age groups and how they conduct their organizational activities.

Lastly, it was expressed that a benefit of generational differences was the changing of the ways people interact, specifically with the topics of sexual reproductive health upon which some of these organizations were working. It was expressed that youth-led organizations have a more open environment of both males and females addressing and working on issues related to girls’ health and topics of puberty, sex, and pregnancy. In the past, it would have been a taboo for young males to be directly involved in educating young people about these topics, especially

the ones that relate directly to girls and women. Baraka, a volunteer for several different youth organizations, said, “Now due to the changing of the environment, changing of how the world goes, let’s say, we come to find out, okay, now we need to understand even our girls, especially for men, yes, but back then it was only women issues are only left to women.” This shift of youth-led organizations being more inclusive was said to be a big benefit to increasing access to proper education, and the success of the organizational goals to reduce teen pregnancies and school dropouts.

Overall, these benefits stated by youth members of the organizations, such as their understanding of the youth situation, having more ambition, and the changing or liberalizing of practices, seem to create a unique environment specific to youth-led organizations that prioritizes creativity, openness, and innovation. Goessling (2017) has identified this phenomenon as the creation of “places of possibility,” stating that "[i]n the neoliberal era, 'places of possibility' also provide youth opportunities to develop skills, experiences, and expertise that translate to job and education markets. These 'places of possibility' are significant in that they center youth experiences, foster learning and identity construction, and contribute to the imagining and building of a broader social movement" (Goessling 2017, 424). These “places of possibility” are unique to this youth context, demonstrated by these organizations, as being a space that is open for all to contribute and being accessible to the youth populations with which they are working.

One of the international interns reflected on some of the difficulties related to working with an organization that is run by youth, while simultaneously recognizing that it was this precise youthfulness that created the environment that made the organization so successful. She said,

> I mean, I never felt that the lack of experience was a problem in itself, because, I mean, the people were really, I mean, they understood the situation so I never felt like 'oh, I don't know how to do this,' it was always like 'we are going to find something,' and they're so creative that, you know, we're going to try, so I don't think the lack of experience was a problem in itself.

This understanding of the increased openness to creativity and equal participation characteristic of youth-led organizations recognizes the ability of youth to be leaders in their communities. For example, research on youth-led organizations in northern Ghana demonstrates how even in environments where youth are faced with extreme challenges (lack of education, employment, etc.), the ability to participate in youth-led organizational contexts positions youth to be "drivers of social change" (Grauenkaer and Tufte 2018, 401). The two main organizations with which I worked for this research both self-identified as working to create social change within their communities.

4.2 The Youth-Led Organizations

4.2.1 Tai Tanzania (Tai)

> So what Tai intends to do is to have a society where you are responsible so we want a situation whereby each youth understands their roles and their responsibility in the society in every aspect so that's why basically we provide the education that we do on reproductive health because we have seen that the majority of the affected people are the youth themselves, so as Tai aims to inspire youth and change in the society so our main focus is to ensure that youth become responsible in what they do in the society (Interview with Program Manager, Tai Tanzania, July 3, 2019).

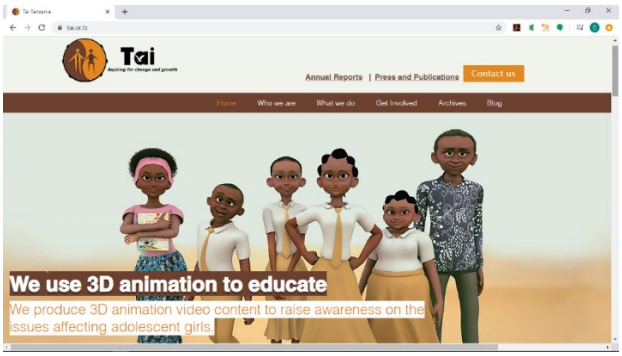

Figure 3. Screenshot of Tai Tanzania's website home page from April 14, 2020

My first interactions with Tai Tanzania (Figure 3) were in 2014, when I was doing preliminary fieldwork in Dar es Salaam. I visited their rented office space, which was in an older residential building located in Kijitonyama ward, after having met one of the co-founders through a mutual friend. At that time, their main office contained nothing more than one desk and two chairs, and the two smaller rooms located towards the back of the building were bedrooms for two of the co-founders. When I arrived at their new office space in 2019, I was pleasantly surprised to find a much improved and more professional environment.[21]

Figure 4. Outside of Tai Tanzania main office building

[21] In 2020, after my fieldwork had ended, Tai relocated again to a multi-story building in Mikocheni.

Tai's office is located down a narrow dirt side road, just off one of the main roads heading to Mwenge Market. After passing through the metal door nestled within the solid gate obscuring any view onto the property, a visitor is welcomed by a clean parking area, unused by any vehicles, lined with banana trees, some reaching high above the bordering fence line, others drooping heavily over the drive with their anticipated packages of deliciousness (
Figure 5 and
Figure 5).

Figure 5. Banana trees lining Tai Tanzania driveway

Figure 6. Main conference room area at Tai office

Entering the building through the welcoming, propped open door, one finds the main conference room area, likely to be inhabited by several staff members, volunteers, and interns, sitting around a large table, which is actually two desks pushed together to form a communal working area. The area has a bit of privacy, created by three movable room dividers, hand built out of repurposed wooden pallets, which are also used to hang several white boards, likely to be covered with scribbled meeting notes and project plans (Figure 6).

Leaving the main office area, the kitchen is located on the other side of the room, housing the very important filtered water dispenser, which unfortunately is most likely to be empty; a small mini fridge, which tends to keep things at room temperature; and a sink and counter, which at lunch time are crowded with people gathering their ordered items delivered from the street food vendor around the corner. The kitchen also has a door to the outside, which leads to a small, covered sitting area. This is typically the spot where people congregate to consume their lunches and catch up on gossip.

Back in the office, to access the remaining rooms, there is an electronic door to pass through. Entry is granted using a swipe card, which permanently lives on the ledge directly next to the door, entirely defeating the purpose of having a controlled access door in the first place. The first door on the left is the women's bathroom,[22] housing a standard sink, mirror, and squat toilet. The first door on the right is a small office space, with one desk surrounded by four chairs. The Project Team calls this space their home, but the room often gets taken over by others, as it is the only room where one could have a private or quiet working area or meeting location. Another room located to the left at the end of the short hallway is the Executive Director's office, which contains a much fancier desk than the other offices, the office printer, and its own private bathroom. At the very end of the hallway is the door to the studio, which feels like it is its own little microcosm of the Tai office. This room is carpeted, and because of this there are generally three to four pairs of discarded shoes haphazardly strewn about right outside of the entrance. Inside the studio, it is dark and cold, and usually quiet. The only airconditioned room in the building, it houses the three computers that are used to create animation videos. The animators who make these are usually found sitting in front of the computers, headphones on, oblivious to anything else going on outside of this room.

Tai Tanzania, referred to as simply Tai by almost everyone, was founded in 2012[23] by a trio of university friends who needed something to do and wanted that something to be *something*. Pooling their skills together, they created a small organization to educate and empower young people in their own local communities. It took several years, and various ideas, but eventually they harnessed the creative ability of one of their members to begin to produce

[22] The men's bathroom is a stand-alone outhouse type structure located at the back of the outdoor sitting area. I was never able to understand why they had gender specific restrooms.

[23] Officially registered in 2013.

animations to disseminate their educational models in a new way. Now their primary focus is on producing educational animation videos.

Tai's official mission is "to empower youth in Tanzania by creating awareness, building capacity, and practical engagement."[24] With a focus on impacting education, Tai espouses aspirations for change and growth within their community, but also within the personal and professional lives of the Tai members (staff, volunteers, and interns). They do this by providing a space where Tanzanian youth can come to volunteer, gain experience, and build connections, while having real impacts on the community through their work across various local projects. The organization's core values are transparency, integrity, accountability, sustainability, and equality. The word *tai* is the Swahili word for eagle, and in most of the official presentations of the organization that I heard, this connection was made clear, expressed as a link between the eagle's sharp vision and Tai's commitment to their own vision, which is having "a society where youth are responsible leaders in sustainable development."[25][26]

In 2019, Tai was implementing three active projects: The Education Scholarship Program, the Pamoja Project, and the Darubini Project. The Education Scholarship Program was implemented by Tai in response to the Tanzanian government making primary and secondary school free for all students in 2015. While certainly the reduction of school fees helped low-income families to send their children to school, there are still many secondary costs associated with the luxury of education. Sponsors may donate $175 USD to support one student for one year. The sponsorship fee provides one year of medical coverage, two sets of school uniforms,

[24] As of January 31, 2021, the mission written on Tai's website is: "Full participation of young people in the social and economic development of Tanzania."

[25] From the Tai website as of March 20, 2020 (www.tai.or.tz)

[26] As of January 31, 2021, the vision written on Tai's website is: "We are increasing access to information and facilitating dialogue on issues that prevent young people from acquiring education sufficient for them to effectively engage in transforming their lives and communities."

textbooks and stationery, sanitary pads, a meal allowance, and even a bicycle for those students who must travel more than five kilometers to their school. Currently this program supports 30 students at a secondary school in Morogoro Region.

The Pamoja Project is a project, newly implemented at the end of 2019, of which I was lucky enough to be involved with from inception. The word *pamoja* is Swahili for togetherness. Utilizing their existing animation skills, the Tai team is hoping to facilitate community dialogue regarding issues facing people with disabilities (PWD) in Tanzania. They intend to create an animated series, with each episode reflecting a disability that is commonly found, and commonly discriminated against, in Tanzania. The five disabilities they will address are blindness, albinism, deafness, physical impairment, and mental disabilities. This project utilizes human-centered design, which is a process of developing projects beginning with the subjects themselves. This method is not unique to Tai; it comes from management and technology design frameworks (Cooley 1982) and is argued to be similar to participatory action research (PAR). The Pamoja Project is in alignment with the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) 1 and 4.[27] During my fieldwork, I participated in the initial story collection, which included a stakeholder's meeting and individual interviews with members of the disabled community in Dar es Salaam. In some sort of meta example of doing ethnography of ethnography, Tai had invited four persons with disabilities to the office to participate in interviews to learn about their lives and challenges. These ideas and personal stories would be used to create the storylines for the episodes. There were three people with vision disabilities and one with physical disabilities. I interviewed a young man with partial visual impairment due to cataracts. His story allowed me to hear about cultural and social norms surrounding disability in Tanzania to which I had not had

[27] Seventeen goals in total, the SDGs were established in 2015 by the United Nations as targets to be reached to create a more sustainable future for the world. SDG 1 is to "end poverty in all its forms everywhere." SDG 4 is to "ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all."

much exposure. Tai hopes that through dissemination of these stories, they will be able to increase understanding within the community of the experiences and difficulties facing disabled Tanzanians and create community level behavioral change.

The Darubini Project was Tai's most active running project during my fieldwork. In order to address teenage pregnancy and the widespread belief and practice, regardless of new laws, of expelling pregnant girls from school, Tai aims to provide access to sexual reproductive health (SRH) information in secondary schools through the Darubini Project. They do so through the production of an animated series called *Harakati za Lucy*, which means "the struggles of Lucy." Disseminating the videos in schools, and combining them with group discussions, competitive debates, and essay writing all work together to create an exciting and engaging learning environment to encourage Tanzanian youth to ask questions and gain information about these culturally sensitive topics. The stories and topics for the episodes are created, like the Pamoja Project, utilizing human-centered design, with story collection happening from the students themselves and their real experiences. The Darubini Project has thus far been implemented in nine schools within two districts, reaching thousands of students. At the end of 2019, Tai hosted the Teen Platform, which was the culmination event for the project, bringing the overall debate winners from both Kinondoni and Temeke Districts to compete against one another and present their newly gained knowledge on SRH in front of community members and government officials. Tai plans to continue the Darubini Project in 2020, with hopes to expand to more rural regions outside of Dar es Salaam if they can secure funding.[28]

They have also implemented other successful projects in the past, one of which was the Jali Project from 2014 to 2018. This project aimed to support Tanzanian girls dealing with puberty to stay in school by raising awareness and providing education on the topic of

[28] Unfortunately, due to COVID-19, Tai was unable to continue their Darubini Project in 2020.

menstrual hygiene management (MHM) to both boys and girls, as well as donating sanitary pads to school-aged girls. By its completion, the project had reached 34 secondary schools in four regions. The main facet of the Jali Project was the Jali Training developed by Tai. This is a multi-session educational module system that covers sexual and reproductive health topics, such as puberty, menstrual hygiene, pregnancy, sexually transmitted diseases (STIs), and relationships. The training is targeted towards boys and girls in Form 1 (13-15 years old). While Tai is no longer actively running the Jali Project, they have been contracted by other groups to conduct similar trainings utilizing the Jali module system. For example, in 2019, a group called Walser's Tanzania Charity invited Tai, along with another organization called Sports for Change, to conduct a teacher training session utilizing the Jali trainings at an educational center in rural Iringa.

The work I engaged in at Tai was multifaceted. When I first started working with them in 2019, they had just recently begun the implementation of the Darubini Project. Therefore, I was able to participate and observe every step involved, including "hiring" volunteers, writing the project concept note, looking for and applying for funding, assisting with teacher training sessions, conducting pre- and post- test questionnaires, disseminating animated episodes in schools, and planning and running district debates as well as the final closing event. Tai ensured that I had an assistive role to play, which allowed me unprecedented access to see how they work on a project from the initial envisioning to project completion and everything in between.

4.2.2 Network for Vulnerable Rescue Foundation (NVRF)

> Adil used to be in a street gang known as Beach Camp. It was called Beach Camp because the area that they hung out in was the site of a trash dump, so it looked like a sandy, trash-filled beach. The members of Beach Camp did drugs and committed robberies. Some have ended up in jail or even killed. Adil's particular task within the gang was to keep and hide the things that had been stolen by other gang members. One Saturday morning in 2010, a woman was walking by Beach Camp on her way to the hospital to visit a friend and two young gang members went to rob her. The woman, unfortunately for them, fought back, and they were small boys. She screamed loud enough that some community members came to see what the problem was, found the boys attempting to rob her, and then proceeded to beat them, tie them up, and light them on fire. Adil and two of his friends and fellow gang members witnessed this. It terrified them and helped to encourage them to leave behind the life of drugs and crime.
>
> Luckily for Adil he was introduced to the director of NVRF through football. He was invited to come see what NVRF was all about and he ended up joining. Five years after joining, Adil completed the trainings to become a youth coach, and now serves as NVRF's Sports Manager, overseeing all the NVRF sports teams and leading the life skills activities. Adil says that joining NVRF helped him to change his ways and provided him a way to become a good example for his community (Fieldnotes from interview with Sports Manager, NVRF, October 10, 2019).

The first time I visited NVRF I remember standing at the edge of a giant, dusty, and deserted football[29] field, wondering how such a small organization could make any real impact in a community with so much visible poverty. As I stood there, a few children trickled onto the field – laughing, kicking around a homemade ball, boasting to others about the upcoming match. These few children were joined by a few more, and then a few more, some running onto the field still in their school uniforms but clearly not wanting to be late. Before I knew it, in front of my eyes, the desolate playing field was filled with hundreds – yes, hundreds – of children (Figure 7). The energy was vibrant and palpable.

[29] Known as soccer in the U.S. but called football almost everywhere else in the world so I choose to refer to it as football in this disertation.

Figure 7. Playing field filled with children at NVRF

NVRF's office space is a singular rented room in an old storefront in a building facing the playing fields. There is just enough space for the four staff members to sit around one large table, but it is small enough that when one person needs to get up and leave, the others must get up from their seats to let them pass. The walls are painted the brightest, greenest shade of green. There is a small row of bench chairs along the side wall, for guests to occupy or junior leaders to meet before the afternoon sessions. A shelf along the back wall holds supplies for the paper bag making project and file folders of youth enrollment paperwork, divided by age group and sport. An old refrigerator lays on its side, unplugged, and acts as an airtight cabinet to store jerseys and pinnies, while also standing in as a tabletop where communal lunches are served.

The office doors, standard double metal shop doors, common in the area for security, stay open during the day, allowing light to enter the office space and inviting passersby to stop in for a chat. The doors open out onto a small concrete porch area where people congregate and serves as a laundry area and changing room. There are clothing lines draping across half of it, proudly displaying the brightly colored and washed pinnies and jerseys from the previous days' games. The children preparing to play come here to shed their school uniforms and pull on the arguably more exciting play clothes, often quarreling over the jersey with less holes or the pinnie that does not smell as bad as the others (Figure 8).

Figure 8. Jerseys hanging to dry outside of the NVRF office

Directly across the dusty, pothole-riddled road from this small office space lies the large dirt field, peppered with potholes like a mine field, dust clouds sweeping across the surface when the wind blows a certain way. This is where the magic happens. This is where NVRF becomes even more than everything they say they are on paper, which is still quite a lot. The field is just a bit larger than a full-size American football field, with boundaries that are difficult to delimit due to overgrown weed patches, paths worn down from people cutting across for a shortcut, and areas that naturally flood when the rains come. The field stays empty for most of the day, visited only by people passing through, walking on their way to the market, or occasionally a car will speed across trying to avoid the never-ending traffic jam in Mabibo, but these occasional visitors are punctuated in their travel. The field is not their destination. Later in the day is when the field comes alive. It does not necessarily change much in its appearance, just the small additions of raggedy soccer goals, a few orange cones, and lines drawn in the dirt with a stick to indicate boundaries. What does change is the purpose. The field becomes the space where the community gathers – hundreds of children meeting to play games, community members and elders congregating on the sidelines to watch the matches (Figure 10 and Figure 10).

Figure 9. Children gathering on the NVRF playing field

Figure 10. Sunset over the community gathering at the NVRF playing field

NVRF was founded in 2008 by a group of friends who felt inclined to do something for their community. NVRF now operates in four administrative wards in Kinondoni District of the Dar es Salaam Region: Kigogo, Manzese, Mwananymala, and Mabibo. For my research, I worked with the center in Mabibo. Mabibo is a small and very poor community but is widely known for its market. Mabibo Market is a vibrant but hard place. Much of the sale and distribution of bulk quantities of fruits and vegetables is done here. Most of the labor here is contingent. Men work as porters, carrying sacks of produce on rickety bicycle carts or their shoulders. Women hawk freshly baked snack buns. Youth mill around the market area, gesturing at cars in the hopes they will pay them to find a parking spot. In the 2012 Tanzania Census, the population of Mabibo was recorded at 85,700. Youth under the age of 35 years make up more than 80% of the population. According to internal NVRF reports, 77% of the community lives below the poverty line, with 77% making their livelihood from small entrepreneurship projects and 21% unemployed.

In the beginning, NVRF's total reach across all four program sites was a mere 66 children, of which 85% were male. The second year (2009) saw a huge increase in children involved (n=271) but still 80% of those participating were males. The number of participants grew steadily year after year, but it was not until 2016 that NVRF was able to achieve gender parity. This was due to their hard work to create programs and inclusivity for girls in the community. Today, in 2019, the total number of enrolled children in the life skills games and sports activities programs is 1,180, of which 48% are female (NVRF, 2019).

NVRF has a vision to have a society without poverty, ignorance, and disease. They intend to do this through pursuing their mission "to alleviate poverty among women, and educate children and youth, and preventing labor for children and [reducing] stigma through sports and play."[30] Their core values are creativity, commitment, care, spirit, and fitness. They

[30] From the NVRF website as of March 20, 2020 (www.envaya.org/nvrf)

work to achieve their goals through a plethora of various projects, but the big overarching ideology that they utilize is using sports as an educational tool. As one NVRF participant stated, "it is the sports that bring them to learn." Sports are extremely important in Tanzanian culture. For that reason, sports will bring people to participate or watch. One of the NVRF co-founders said, probably jokingly, that they use the sports "kind of like a trick," so that the children in the community come and then they can educate them and do the work they know the children need because they have brought them there by luring them with the promise of sports. But it is more than just that, although I do think there is some truth there. The draw of sports as a development practice is also that it provides physical benefit and offers an alternative to the other activities that young people in this community may find themselves drawn. An NVRF participant and volunteer said,

> It [sports] makes youth be active mentally and physically. It helps to show them new ways of living and how to avoid bad things. Youth that are idle will take part in drugs, for example, so sports keeps them busy. NVRF uses the sports to transmit messages. If you just tell them to stop doing something, you are not giving them an alternative or something else to do, so how can you expect them to listen? The sports tell them to stop doing bad things and also provides an alternative of something for them to do and something for them to focus on (Interview with Volunteer, NVRF, December 5, 2019).

This is what NVRF intends to do – provide alternative options to the entire community to reduce poverty, child abuse, unfair labor practices, and low education levels. By providing work and entrepreneurship opportunities for youth, and organized sports teams alongside educational life skills activities, they are giving the youth in the community something to turn to instead of poorly paid manual labor, and even drugs and crime.

NVRF does their work through a multitude of community programs and projects. Their main focuses are on gender equality, child protection, education, and sports, games, and

entrepreneurship. They run a kindergarten, youth clubs, a Back-to-School Project, entrepreneurship projects, and the life skills games and sports teams, just to name a few.

NVRF Kindergarten: The NVRF Kindergarten provides children in the Mabibo community with access to free education five days a week. Before the kindergarten opened, there were no options for accessible education for this age group in the community and these children were often left alone to roam the streets during the day. When they first opened, there were only three children enrolled, but today the class is full and community members must sign up on a waiting list to have their children attend. Since 2008, between 100 and 211 children have been educated through NVRF's kindergarten each year. In 2019, the class of 136 students was run by six volunteer teachers.

NVRF Youth Clubs: NVRF organizes and runs four youth clubs that meet once per week: Environmental Club, Gender Club, Health Club, and Child Rights Club. These are led by youth members of NVRF. The clubs meet and learn about these topics and then discuss the topics at a community level. For example, I attended a session of the Health Club where they learned about the transmission of malaria and then discussed ways they could work as a Club to disseminate information in the community to reduce transmission. There are also community groups that meet once a month with adults from the community to discuss issues related to children's and youth's rights in the community.

Back-to-School Project: The Back-to-School Project is one that NVRF is particularly proud of – understandable due to its phenomenal success rate. Starting in 2011, the Back-to-School Project was created in response to high numbers of children skipping or dropping out of school. NVRF put together a team of volunteers, adults from the community, who meet with teachers to identify these at-risk children who are habitually truant. The volunteers then go directly to each household to discuss the issues with the child and their family. They develop

ways that NVRF and the community might help to support the child to return to school. In 2018, they successfully returned 112 children to school and in 2019 they successfully returned an additional 86. By the end of 2019, the local schools had 100% attendance rates and all registered Standard Seven students were sitting for their national exams (NVRF, 2019).

NVRF Entrepreneurship Projects: NVRF prioritizes assisting their youth members in finding ways to be self-sustainable. They do this by encouraging them to develop entrepreneurial projects and then NVRF will provide support of various measures to ensure the success of these projects. Currently there is a group of 15 youth who collectively work making products like soaps and rugs to generate a small income. There is also a group of youth who make paper bags and then sell them in small bulk quantities to local shop owners. NVRF helps them to purchase the materials needed for these products and the youth themselves keep 100% of the profit from their sales. It provides them with some financial support while also helping them to develop useful business skills.

Life Skills Games and Sports Teams: At the core of NVRF's programs are the life skills games and sports teams. Life skills activities are conducted three times per week, reaching a total of 1,814 children each week (NVRF 2019). These activities are held prior to the sports teams' practices for football, netball, handball, and acrobatics/drama. The sports teams are competitive teams that are trained and sponsored by NVRF and play against other regional teams. For a child to participate on a team, they are required to take part in the life skills games activities. These activities, and the teams as well, are divided into appropriate age groupings. Before each practice or match (typically three times a week), the life skills games are held. The coaches and junior leaders will lead small age groups in various small games. In Mabibo, there are 36 youth coaches (20 males and 16 females). Each youth coach supervises three junior leaders (72 junior leaders in total across all four wards). The coaches and junior leaders are

typically selected from the pool of participants in the children's programs. Those who are noticed as being particularly good leaders in their age groups and have proven to be reliable, consistent attendees can earn the chance to become a junior leader. Once they have demonstrated commitment in their role as a junior leader, they can attend trainings to become a coach. This sustainable leadership system ensures a constant supply of candidates and provides much needed "jobs" for youth members of the community.

Each game has a theme. Instructions are provided and the game is played. After the game, the theme is discussed, and the children are prompted to relate the game to their own lives. This is done through the methodology of "Reflect, Connect, Apply," which was developed by a Canadian organization called Right to Play. First, the children are prompted to reflect on the game itself – what they liked about it, what was difficult, what was easy. Next, they are asked to connect the message or theme of the game to their own lives by providing an example of how this game might be like something they have experienced. Last, they are asked to apply the message or theme by discussing how what they learned can be adapted to what they themselves do daily. One of the youth coaches said,

> Through games the children and youth are able to relate the games to their real-life problems at home and this helps them to make the right decisions. A good example is [myself], after not being able to pay school fees, [I] gave up and started to have bad company, but after having the life skills games [I] changed and now [I] focus on [my] goals.

She gave an example of a game called *Maisha ni Mduara*, meaning "life is a circle." In this game everyone stands in a circle and one person stands in the center of the circle. Another person stands outside of the circle, and they are supposed to represent a virus or a bad influence. It is the job of the circle to protect the person inside. She used to think that each person was only responsible for themselves, and that if you did not have parents there was no one to take care of you. Playing this game, she said she learned that there are more people (she called them Plan

Bs) that can help her and that she can rely on. The ones in a circle around her might include her parents, but because her parents died when she was young, the game demonstrates that even when a few people leave the circle, the rest of the circle (the community) can still protect her and keep her safe.

My work with NVRF consisted of a lot of hands-on participation. Every afternoon I was there, I would go to the field and find a group to join for the life skills games (Figure 11). I would generally choose a group that was around the age range of 8-10 years old. Most of the children involved in NVRF did not speak any English so I was able to use my rudimentary Swahili skills to understand the game instructions and group discussions. Often the children would get great pleasure in hearing me stumble through complete sentences and they absolutely loved that I would run and play along with them.

Figure 11. Shoes in a circle during a life skills game discussion at NVRF

After the life skills games I joined the girls' netball team for practice (Figure 12). I participated in the warmups and practice drills alongside them, and then we would play a practice match. If netball practice was not taking place on that day, I would observe the various football matches or handball practices. One of the NVRF youth coaches, who was one of the senior netball players, told me in an interview that none of the previous visiting *mzungu* volunteers had ever actually played with them before or wanted to learn the game by participating in their practices. She said the team really enjoyed that I did the same things as them, and my participation allowed them to trust and respect me rather than being suspicious of what this stranger in their midst was doing.

Figure 12. Young netball players watching a netball match at NVRF

4.2.3 Other Organizations

While my research focused on Tai and NVRF, there were additional organizations with which I interacted, and which were intimately connected to the work being done at Tai and NVRF. These other organizations can be characterized into three different categories: cultural exchange programs, sports for development organizations, and educational multimedia non-profits.

The two cultural exchange programs with which I became familiar were AIESEC[31] and United Planet Tanzania (Figure 14 and Figure 14).

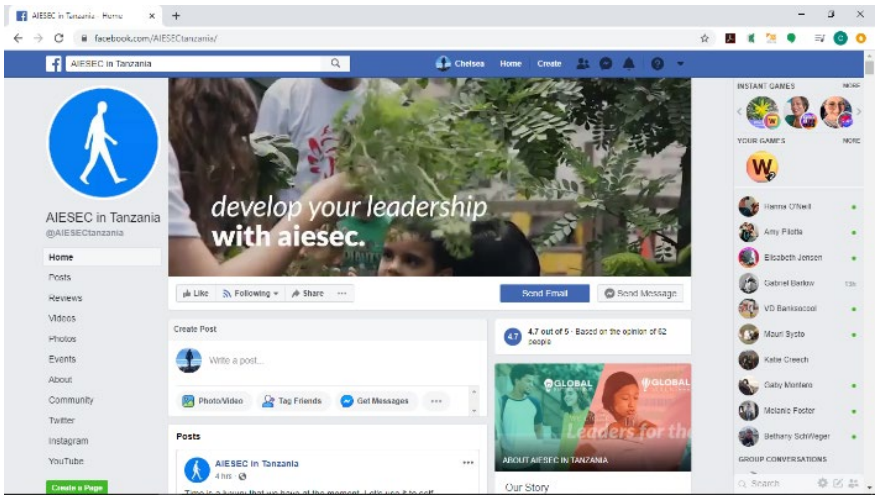

Figure 13. Screenshot from the AIESEC Facebook page on April 14, 2020

Figure 14. United Planet Tanzania logo

[31] AIESEC is a French acronym for the original name *Association internationale des étudiants en sciences économiques et commerciales*. The organization is now officially named and called AIESEC (pronounced eye-sec).

Both organizations are local chapters of much larger international organizations. AIESEC was started in 1948 in Europe and grew exponentially in the 1970s and 1980s. With chapters in over 120 countries, they provide upwards of 30,000 volunteer experiences globally each year.[32] AIESEC is youth-run and the local chapters are often organized within universities. On top of volunteer experiences, AIESEC International also offers global employment and entrepreneurship programs. For the Global Volunteer program, organizations can sign up with AIESEC to source international volunteers. AIESEC will facilitate the travel logistics, visa processing, and cultural orientation, and the local chapters often provide housing and food. The local youth involved with AIESEC gain experiences in leadership and cultural differences through their volunteer work. Both Tai and NVRF worked with the local Dar es Salaam chapter of AIESEC and had volunteer positions posted on the AIESEC website. At the time of my research, volunteers from AIESEC were active at both organizations. The three founders of Tai are all AIESEC alumni, and in fact, they all credit AIESEC with encouraging them to have the idea to start Tai Tanzania.

United Planet Tanzania is a much smaller version of AIESEC. From my understanding, the local organization began as a branch of the international office of United Planet based in the U.S. but has since been phased out of their active program listings, called Quests. United Planet Tanzania is independently registered in Tanzania and remains working underneath the international platform only in name. The local chapter in Dar es Salaam is run by one Tanzanian youth who has previous experience working with multiple NGOs and has been a helpful informant for my work. He runs the program out of a rented house where he keeps an office and where there are three bedrooms which house volunteers. During the period of my

[32] From the AIESEC website as of March 20, 2020 (www.aiesec.org)

fieldwork, United Planet had about 2-3 volunteers at any given time. Some of them worked at an orphanage in Dar es Salaam and some travelled to an orphanage in Arusha for their volunteering project. Two United Planet volunteers worked with NVRF during my research period.

The sports for development organizations with which I had interactions were Right to Play and Sports for Change Tanzania (Figure 16 and Figure 16).

Figure 15. Screenshot from the Right to Play Tanzania website on April 14, 2020

Figure 16. Screenshot of a post on the Sports for Change Facebook page from April 14, 2020

Right to Play (RTP) is a Canadian-based international non-profit organization that utilizes play to help vulnerable children around the world. Their model is to work with community partners, including schools and small local organizations, to train teachers and coaches to implement play-based learning activities and encourage group sport participation. They have local chapters in fifteen countries. According to the Right to Play website, the Tanzanian chapter, active since 2001, has reached almost one million children and has trained 1,522 teachers/coaches.[33] In Dar es Salaam, RTP works directly with 14 schools to train teachers to implement their programs. Their focus is on Play-based Learning and they have worked with the local government on the creation of their programs and manuals to match the Play-based Learning activities with the government required curriculum. Additionally, they train teachers for Positive Learning Environments in an effort to reduce corporal punishment, which is still legal and practiced in Tanzanian schools. They also work directly with smaller organizations, like NVRF, to train coaches for Life Skills Activities. The training program is seven days long and RTP pays coaches 10,000 Tsh per month, which is the approximate equivalent of $4.50 USD.[34] During my fieldwork, the country director from RTP Lebanon came to Tanzania to visit NVRF. I was also able to visit the RTP Tanzania office and have an interview with one of the Project Managers.

Sports for Change Tanzania is another sport-for-development organization with which I worked quite closely. The organization is very small, founded and led by one young Tanzanian woman (Asha) in her spare time away from her full-time job. She has a few friends who work with her, serving as volunteers, but the organization is really, truly a product of her unyielding passion and commitment to the use of sports and activities as development and educational tools. Sports for Change Tanzania started in 2016 and partnered with Tai in 2018 for their Jali

[33] From the Right to Play website as of March 20, 2020 (www.righttoplay.com/en/countries/tanzania)

[34] The average monthly wage in Tanzania is about $75 USD according to the 2010/2011 National Panel Survey.

Project. They currently run a project called Michezo Plus, working with three schools in Mwanza, Pwani, and Tanga regions, which are rural areas outside of Dar es Salaam. During my fieldwork, I was able to work with Sports for Change on their joint program with Tai Tanzania at a girls' hostel and a technical training center in Ifunda. It was a training event for the teachers there to learn play-based methodologies for increasing girls' confidence in the classroom. I worked with the founder of Sports for Change on developing specific activities for this training based in thematic learning objectives and travelled with the two organizations to conduct the training.

For the last category of educational multimedia non-profits, I became familiar with a few different organizations that are active in the media. Femina Hip is a long running organization (since 1999) that produces a magazine, along with various other online resources, to promote communication and confidence in Tanzanian youth surrounding the topics of health, sex, economics, and gender. Besides producing multimedia, Femina also partners with a wide range of organizations doing similar work to provide additional resources and support. Ubongo is a non-profit edutainment company that produces several educational 2D animated cartoon series that are broadcast all over Tanzania (**Error! Reference source not found.** and Figure 18).

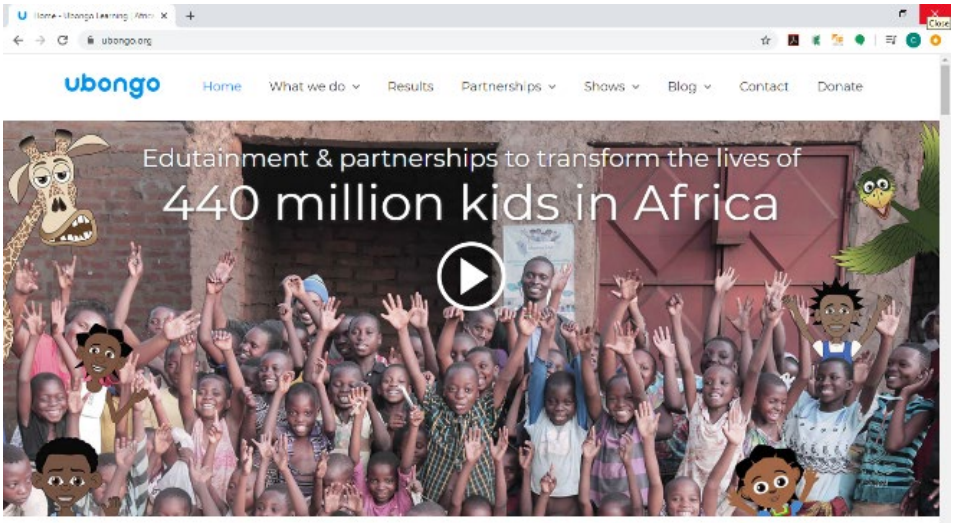

Figure 17. Screenshot of the Ubongo website from April 14, 2020

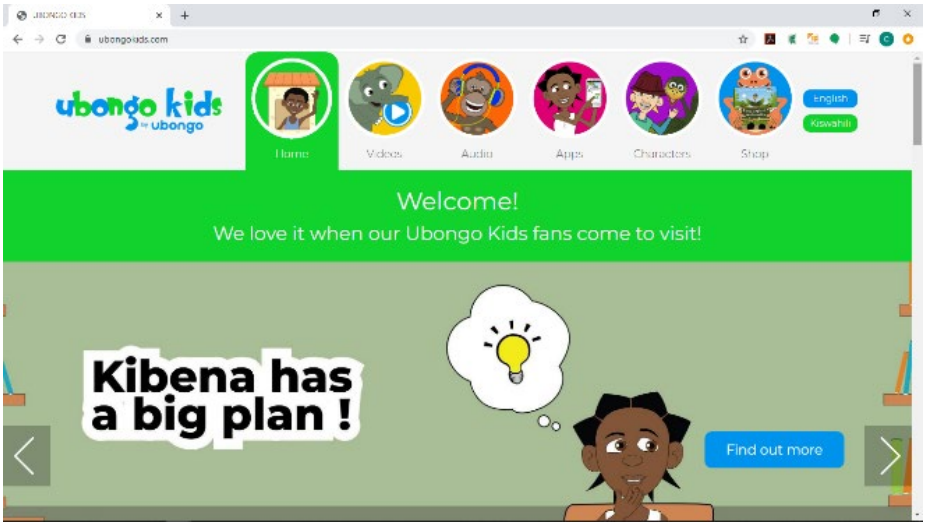

Figure 18. Screenshot of the Ubongo Kids website from April 14, 2020

4.3 Challenges of Modeling a Global Organizational Framework in a Local Context

In this section, I will look at the methods and challenges universally experienced in the local, youth-led organizational context of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. Trends commonly shared include methods of how meetings are conducted and recognition of the importance of social media use for disseminating information and organizational operations. Shared challenges include the illusion of collaboration, difficulties of funding, un- and under-paid labor practices, and the presence of international volunteers.

As discussed earlier, the shared characteristics of these youth-led organizations seem to result from the embracing of globally influenced traits that are perceived to form the base for organizational legitimacy and that these Tanzanian youth organizers use as a framework for conducting their organizational business in a way they believe to be professional and lead to success. Modeling their work after larger, well-known organizations and their practices provides some benefits, but it also results in some difficulties, as not all methodologies transfer into the local context in a way that reinforces success.

4.3.1 Organizational Structure and Etiquette

Across the organizations, patterns of common structural organization and meeting methods were revealed. Structurally, most organizations follow a hierarchical setup, with various departments falling under the purview of people in positions with power. This structure was maintained even when departments consisted of only one person. In meetings and interviews, it was joked about how a single person was an entire department but often excused by saying that there were plans in the future to increase the staff within departments. For example, in 2019, Tai employed 14 full-time staff members, all who were Tanzanian youth between 23 to 33 years old.[35] The organization is led by an Executive Director, then split into three main departments: Studio, Program, and Human Resources. The Studio department includes a Producer and three digital animators. The Program department is headed by the Program Manager, who oversees two Field Coordinators, a Program Manager Assistant/Intern, and a Project Coordinator Intern. Additional staff include Human Resources Manager, Accountant, Communications Manager, Marketing Manager, and Multimedia Coordinator. For several months during my fieldwork, the Tai team also included two paid, temporary, part-time Project Coordinator Assistants, two un-paid international interns, and two contract-work consultants (Table 1).

[35] These "employed staff" were essentially volunteers with titles as they received minimal to no pay for their work, as I discuss in more detail in Chapter 5.

Table 1. Demographics of Tai team

POSITION	AGE	GENDER	NATIONALITY
Executive Director	31	Male	Tanzanian
Producer	29	Male	Tanzanian
Animator	24, 24, 25	Female (1), Male (2)	Tanzanian (3)
Program Manager	28	Female	Tanzanian
Field Coordinator	26, 26	Male (2)	Tanzanian (2)
Program Manager Assistant	28	Female	Danish
Project Coordinator	23	Female	Canadian
Project Coordinator Assistant	unknown, 33	Female (1), Male (1)	Kenyan (1), Tanzanian (1)
Human Resources Manager	26	Female	Tanzanian
Accountant	26, 29	Male (2)	Tanzanian (2)
Communications Manager	33	Female	Tanzanian
Marketing Manager	29	Female	Tanzanian
Multimedia Coordinator	25	Male	Tanzanian

The types of departments were standardized across organizations – typically including an executive director, an accountant, and a human resources person, regardless of the size of the organization (Green 2014). For example, NVRF has a human resources manager but only "employs" four people, who are, by common definition, volunteers like the Tai staff members because they receive no payment for their work. At NVRF there is a Director (male), Program Manager (female), Human Resources Manager (male), and Finance Manager/Accountant (male), all departments that are also seen at Tai, a much larger organization.

Both Tai and NVRF follow this type of departmental setup, even though the size of their organizations does not necessarily warrant such an elaborate structure. In practice, the distinction between departments ends up being somewhat insignificant in these smaller organizations as it was quite common for staff members to do work in multiple departments,

rendering the departmental distinctions as more symbolic than real. I argue that the adoption of this departmental structure is a way to express the seriousness and professionalism of their organizations, adopting a model that is commonly found in larger, international organizational structures.

In a similar vein, the language of organizational business is English. Maria from Tai explained that this is because "we want our things to be done in an international way." The actual organizational practices, like the 3D animation episodes, sporting events, and interaction with the beneficiaries, is conducted in Swahili because much of the Tanzanian population does not speak English. However, these organizations conduct meetings, interviews, and apply for partnerships and funding all in English because it is the expected language of the global NGO community.

Through associating with signifiers of professionalism and wealth, even the daily methods of these organizations are structured based on these notions (Green 2014, 66). For example, methods of meeting etiquette were also standard across organizations. At Tai, the weekly Monday meetings, where all staff and departments come together to give progress reports from the prior week and updates on plans for the coming week, follow a rigid system. There is always a facilitator for the meeting (typically HR but sometimes this would vary). Each department gives their report in the same required format. While these methods are also standard in organizational culture elsewhere, the implementation of them in this context appears to be more of an adoption of international development practices than an enactment of processes and methods that actually result in increased organizational efficiency. In this case, the signifier of professionalism is the standardization of the way the meetings are conducted. The important part here is the production or reproduction of the signifier and not necessarily how a particular method brings value to the organization. For example, each department at Tai

was expected to showcase a PowerPoint presentation every Monday that detailed what they had accomplished the previous week and what their plans were for the upcoming week. This is a common practice in Minority World organizations. However, the PowerPoint presentations at Tai were typically unedited and looked as if they were thrown together at the last minute. The pressure was simply for there to be a presentation, not one of any particular quality, and there was never any feedback on the quality. These examples highlight a duality between the importance of serious professionalism and casual indifference. Organizational methods are strictly followed even when it is obvious that they result in inefficiencies. In the case of Tai's Monday meetings and PowerPoint presentations, the time spent on following these strict policies was ultimately wasted as the presentations provided none of the intended purposes, such as providing useful information. The perceived capital or status level of practicing these methods is the important part, and less important is whether the methods work for them in this context or not.

Other standardized attributes viewed at the organizations I worked with, and recognized in studies of local, development NGOs more broadly, included articulating clear vision and mission statements, inhabiting professional office spaces, and dress codes expected of staff and volunteers (Brown and Green 2015). Even the presence of volunteers and interns is viewed as legitimizing, with most small-scale organizations replicating "the organizational forms of international NGOs in which volunteers and interns are an established presence" (Brown and Green 2015: 67). This attachment to modeling larger international organizations provides an important sense of legitimacy to the youth involved in these organizations, especially when there are other common challenges related to being specifically youth-led that may threaten the way they are perceived by external actors, like government officials and international funders. By performing the appropriate global organizational language, they are able to offset some of

the baggage that may come from their more youth-like characteristics around things like social media use, co-working, funding, un- and under-paid labor, and volunteers.

4.3.2 Social Media Use

Social media is an important facet of youth-led organizational methodology. When volunteers at Tai were asked how they learned about the organization, most of them said through social media or the internet. As access to smartphones, and therefore mobile internet, increases, social media is quickly becoming a main avenue for accessing and disseminating information. Out of approximately 5.3 billion mobile telephone users worldwide in 2010, it is estimated that 73% of users are in the Majority World (Uimonen 2012, 37). While internet access is still relatively scarce across Tanzania, smartphone usage has exponentially increased access to internet sites like YouTube and Facebook. Many of the most popular data packs include free access to these sites. In Tanzania, it is estimated that 40% of the population has mobile phone data subscriptions, with Tanzanians tending to have "the smartest model [smartphone] they can possibly afford, an important means of daily communication and a highly valued status symbol" (Uimonen 2012, 40). The social media platforms most used are Facebook, WhatsApp, Instagram, Twitter, and LinkedIn. Organizations use social media in several different ways: community education and outreach ("doing" their work), advertising to donors, and internal communication.

As a community education and outreach tool, these youth-led organizations use their social media accounts and pages to disseminate their work. For example, Tai shares information on their Facebook page related to different topics coinciding with International Day of the Girl Child to share information about the struggles of teen pregnancy in Tanzania. Tai also shares links to their 3D animation videos to provide access to others outside of the classrooms that

they visit for in-person dissemination. When sharing these types of items, Tai tracks the number of views to see how much reach they are having in the community. Social media was constantly discussed as the future of information sharing and particularly acknowledged as targeting the youth population.

Social media is also used strategically by these youth-led organizations to advertise themselves to potential international connections, funders, donors, and partners. An active social media page is discussed as being a way to show that the organization is authentic and up to date. This is understood as being a way to perform the organizations validity – that they are an actual group doing real work – and broadcast their success. A Canadian intern at Tai told me that she saw their social media activity as capital, explaining that when she was searching for organizations with which to do her internship, she noticed that Tai's Facebook and Instagram pages were active, and she could see that they were doing actual work in their community.

Lastly, social media is also used by the youth involved with these organizations as a way of practicing internal communications. The project team at Tai kept abreast of news through a private WhatsApp group. Both Tai and NVRF had WhatsApp groups for their volunteer cohorts. Schedules of events and important training documents would be shared in these spaces. Additionally, the Tai volunteers use the volunteer WhatsApp group to share with one another other volunteer positions and job opportunities.

4.3.3 Co-Working and Collaboration

A phenomenon common amongst these youth-led organizations was that they would state they were involved in many partnerships, either with other small, local organizations or large, international NGOs, however, these partnerships were largely in name only and not actual collaborative interactions. I argue that this has two purposes. First, there is social capital that

comes with identifying other successful programs as “partners,” and secondly, there is a strategic use (or not use) of collaborative partners and partners-in-name-only related to the impacts on funding opportunities.

An example of the status associated with claiming partnerships is Tai’s relationship with Femina. Femina is one of the longest-running youth organizations in the area and is well-known and respected. There is a benefit for Tai to say they are partners, as they have increased visibility and “street cred.” Both organizations work on similar issues so it makes sense that they would “partner” and work together. However, in practice, it was observed that there was almost no interaction between the two organizations. Tai would discuss inviting representatives from Femina to their events but often would not follow through. The few times that they did invite Femina, either they were unable to make contact and get confirmation of attendance or Femina would attend an event but show up late and not participate in the way that Tai had expected.

Also, mostly with partnerships involving larger, international organizations, it was expressed to me that having the logo for an organization on your website, such as USAID or Foundation for Civil Society (FCS), increased one’s respectability. In addition to increased social capital, these connections in-name carry the potential for increased access to some funding opportunities. While being a partner in-name only might seem like it does not bring much benefit, there are unseen advantages of having a connection to gain access to information related to funding sources. For example, a staff member at Tai explained to me in an interview that “all donors want to know who else is funding you to ensure that you are trustworthy…it is easier for organizations which are known because things will happen faster for you, so if you are working with an international organization, that helps to open more doors for a small organization like Tai.” If you can establish this legitimacy through name connections, it is thought that it will help increase your access to other funding or partnership options.

Lastly, it was expressed that some partnerships in practice might be avoided specifically because of funding limitations. A staff member that I interviewed at Tai talked about how there are so many organizations working on the same types of issues, and this is a good thing because this means there are many opportunities for collaboration. Then, in the same conversation, he described a competitive environment where organizations do not want other similar organizations to know who their funders and donors are because that might increase the competitiveness of applying for funding and grants.

Other concerns related to competition were raised as well. Tai has previously connected with Ubongo, the leading animation studio in East Africa, located in Dar es Salaam, but there is no current relationship occurring between the two organizations. The founder of Ubongo, who I knew through playing recreational football, expressed great interest in working with Tai, but the leadership at Tai, from my perspective, seemed hesitant to pursue this opportunity. This may be due to perceptions of competition because there are only a few organizations in East Africa doing animated work. That being said, Ubongo is in my opinion the model of success when it comes to this type of work, and it could greatly benefit a small organization like Tai to take advantage of the opportunity to learn from them.

4.3.4 Funding Challenges

All of the youth-led organizations mentioned challenges related to funding. There is no government funding for the type of social services they are providing, and the limited funds available from international sources can be difficult to obtain. The ratio of small organizations needing funding to large organizations offering funding is highly skewed, making the nature of applying for funding highly competitive. Additionally, most of these smaller, local organizations do not employ dedicated grant writers or any staff, interns, or volunteers who have experience

in grant writing, also a remnant of the inexperience that comes with being a youth-led organization. This vastly reduces their ability to be successful at obtaining grants. Grant writing is highly specialized and the organizations to which they are submitting these applications are extremely professional and expect a certain level of competence when it comes to this type of application.

Tai's funding situation is complicated and ever changing. At the time of my fieldwork, they were engaged with several different partners to varying degrees of involvement. Through an international organization called Children's Investment Fund Foundation (CIFF) and their re-granting partner, a Tanzanian organization, Foundation for Civil Society (FCS), Tai engaged in a program called Faya, along with several other small, local organizations including Femina, TAYOA, and Shujaaz. The funding was awarded to this group entity with the expectation that they would engage together to address issues of sex education.[36] Segal Family Foundation also provides Tai with some "free" funding, which was explained to me to be funding that was not tied directly to a specific project. This funding can therefore be used for administrative purposes while other funding situations were limited to measurable outcomes of specific projects. For example, The Tanzania Data Lab (dLab) provided funds for the creation of one animated episode for the Darubini Project and the Canadian Embassy provided funds for one episode of the Pamoja Project. Tai was also engaged in partnerships that provided non-financial resources, such as AIESEC, who provides international volunteers through their cultural exchange programs, and the Global Shapers Community, which is a network providing collaboration partners and training dialogues. Other provisional funding partners include Walser's Tanzania Charity, which provides funding for Tai to conduct their training programs in tandem with work

[36] Shortly after my fieldwork ended, I found out that this funding had been pulled. The rumor was that this was because of failure of the grantee organizations to work together.

that Walser's is doing elsewhere, and Kipaji, which provides a platform for Tai to advertise their Education Scholarship and occasionally brings in money specific to that.

NVRF does not currently receive any funding from outside sources. The "staff" members contribute needed funds for expenses such as office rent and sports equipment, and they have intermittent support from partners such as Right to Play, but for most of the time, the work they do is entirely self-funded.

It was commonly expressed by the youth involved in both organizations that they believed it was more difficult for them to secure funding due to their youth-led status. A Tai staff member said, while laughing, "The challenge is - actually I don't like to think of funding as a challenge - uh, but you find a lot of old people organizations or old-people-led organizations, they get funding more smoother than us. For us, you have to be in the game for a while." The discourse seemed to be that organizations led by non-youth tended to be larger and more established, therefore they would receive more consideration when it came to deciding to whom funding was being doled out. Ironically, it was also expressed that once these organizations led by non-youth secured funding, they often looked to the youth-led organizations for assistance in actually running their projects. A volunteer at Tai said, "But elders they're just there to maybe, to write proposals and secure the money, because even the organizations that are run by the oldest people, when they get money, they are calling for youth."

Additionally, and tangentially related, the core value of transparency was often mentioned as an attribute of an organization. However, the organizations were not solidly transparent when it came to discussions and knowledge of funding. Whether this was intentional or was more of a cultural difference in what types of information were deemed appropriate to share, I cannot say.

4.3.5 Un- or Under-Paid Labor Practices

When we consider the definition of volunteering, we tend to idealize it from a perspective of those who can contribute their time, willingly and for free, to benefit others (Compion 2016). However, anthropologists and other scholars studying volunteer economies at a global level state, "While there is a sizeable body of literature on volunteerism in the [Minority World], we know rather little about voluntary labour as a mode of political, ethical and social action in African countries, even though volunteering has an extensive colonial and postcolonial history on the continent" (Prince and Brown 2016, 4). Within African cultural contexts, understandings of what is classified as voluntary labor are often more nuanced than just un-paid labor (Compion 2016), which I will discuss in more detail in Chapter 5. However, an example of these nuanced differences, related to how global modernity influences these organizations, can be found when looking at who are considered staff and who are considered volunteers, and what those titles mean. People in staff positions at NVRF and Tai (and most of the other organizations with which I worked) are actually volunteers themselves, according to the generally accepted definition of volunteer as someone who provides labor but is not paid. These "staff" members are considered staff because of the permanent nature of their position, however, in many cases they are technically volunteering their time and skills as they receive little to no salary or compensation. For example, one of my key informants, John, was paid an inconsistent amount of 200,000 Tsh per month, approximately 86 USD, from the organization with which he worked. However, the four core staff members at NVRF receive absolutely no pay for their work, but they, along with John, clearly fill a role different than the more temporary volunteer positions. This means that the hierarchy within these youth-led organizations is based on the perception of a permanent position having more power than a volunteer position,

regardless of the fact that both staff and volunteers are essentially volunteering their time without economic gain.

On the other hand, the volunteers also serve a role slightly different than the generally accepted definition of volunteer. Volunteering in this East African context includes the ability to earn small renumerations, referred to as "allowances" or *posho.* These allowances are small, infrequent, and somewhat random, but volunteers will often rely on them for their actual income and livelihood earnings. This expectation to receive some sort of payment negates the typical definition of voluntary as being free from renumeration. This difference in motivation from the U.S. or European liberal notion of giving back to those less fortunate is discussed further in Chapter 5. Volunteers at Tai overwhelmingly reported lack of appropriate compensation and transport allowance or assistance as challenges they faced at Tai, reasons for them not being able to fulfill their volunteering obligations, and things that Tai could improve upon.

Ironically, staff and volunteers seem to both struggle with the inconsistency of salaries or allowances. Often these payments are contingent on the organization's funding status and can fluctuate depending on whether there is an on-going funded project at that moment in time or not. Both staff and volunteers navigate this often by working or volunteering for several different organizations at the same time. For example, survey data found that 50% of current volunteers at Tai were simultaneously volunteering for other organizations. This increases the likelihood that at least one of their "jobs" will be providing some sort of payment during periods when the other ones are not.

Even with these similar struggles inherent to the nature of un-paid and under-paid labor, which both staff and volunteers experience in this setting, there is an underlying tension that the two roles are very different and come with different expectations. While definitionally,

one could argue, as above, that the "staff" are volunteers themselves due to low or no pay for the work they do, they still hold a higher hierarchical position that ends up being important to the structure of the organizations themselves. There was a situation during my time at Tai where this tension was very apparent. A volunteer who was extremely hard working and well liked decided to quit, and this was brought up in a weekly staff meeting. A staff member who knew the volunteer well said the reason they were quitting was because they had been expecting a transport allowance for travelling to the schools and office for the current project dissemination, but Tai had not been consistent in providing this allowance. Several other staff members quickly chimed in saying that the allowance was not a guarantee and that the volunteers are acting like they are supposed to be paid for their work. The executive director said this is a problem with recruitment of volunteers because there are plenty of people who want to volunteer for free. He also said, in so many words, that the volunteers should be grateful for the opportunity to work with Tai because Tai is providing them with skills training and valuable experiences.

4.3.6 International Volunteers: Voluntourism or Cultural Exchange?

The presence of international volunteers is also something shared across these youth-led organizations. Often youth themselves, these international volunteers provide interesting benefits to these youth-led organizations. Since the 19th century, international voluntary interlopers have been present on the African continent, beginning with Christian missionaries in the precolonial and colonial periods. Postcolonialism brought an increase of humanitarian workers, as human rights volunteering gained popularity with citizens of the Minority World flocking to African countries to do work that they viewed as helping to alleviate poverty and contribute to development. Tanzania was an attractive destination to many who were drawn to

its unique development policy of *ujamaa* (Jennings 2016). More recently, international volunteering has become professionalized and popularized by organizations such as the Peace Corps (Prince and Brown 2016). Gap-year volunteering is increasingly common, with pre-college volunteers traveling mostly from Europe, especially Scandinavian countries, to experience new places throughout the world and simultaneously partake in charitable acts (Jennings 2016). This evolution of volunteering on the African continent has led to some interrogation of the presence and intentions of international volunteers and the development of the concept of "voluntourism."

Voluntourism is understood as nonprofessional volunteers paying to have tourist experiences combined with acts of charitable work for brief periods of time and is typically made up of larger groups of people, especially youth and religious groups. Many anthropologists are critical of the increasing trend of voluntourism, specifically to the Majority World. Scholars of volunteering find that "debates about the benefits or pitfalls of volunteer tourism are largely divided between those that highlight its merits or potential, and those critical of the entire industry and its commodification of inequality" (Sullivan 2016, 144). Some view it as an opportunity to engage cross-culturally, creating more global citizens and increasing resources in resource poor areas. Those opposed to it view it as taxing already scarce resources, providing free labor that causes divestment in local interests, and increasing structural inequalities.

While these critiques certainly hold merit, in Dar es Salaam, I found that the international volunteers at the organizations with which I worked, did not fit the standard definition of voluntourists. The Tanzanian youth involved in the organizations did not view them in the same critical way that scholars have interrogated the practice of voluntourism, and furthermore, these youth-led organizations all had interactions with cultural exchange programs.

Cultural exchange programs in Tanzania bill themselves as non-profits that provide local and non-local youth opportunities for volunteering, learning about new cultures, and sharing their own culture with others. In most cases, international volunteers pay a fee to come to Tanzania and work at a specific program associated with the cultural exchange organization. Often, the organization will intermingle Tanzanian volunteers with the international volunteers to provide the cultural exchange portion of the program. The fee paid by the international volunteers is not for profit; it goes to cover the expenses for the local volunteers, providing them volunteer opportunities to which they might not otherwise have access due to limited finances. These cultural exchange organizations work with other local organizations, providing them international volunteers. Having international volunteers come to an organization often means more access to resources, whether through actual physical donations or potential contacts. International volunteers are understood as an additional source of opportunity and connection for the Tanzanian youth. The international volunteers in my research experience were also almost all single travelers, with a few pairs of friends, and they were typically staying in Tanzania for six weeks up to 1 year of voluntary experience.

For example, Sven was an international volunteer in his early 20s from Sweden, who was a United Planet volunteer working at NVRF. He had never been to Tanzania before and did not speak Swahili. Unlike several of the other international volunteers that were present during my fieldwork, Sven was not pursuing volunteering for the purpose of educational benefit, like master's thesis research or education abroad credit. Sven was in Dar es Salaam for one entire year just simply to volunteer. He used public transportation and rented a room in the United Planet guest house, which was very basically outfitted – no air conditioning, no hot water, and no television. He went every weekday to do voluntary work at NVRF, and often went on weekends for special events. He was introducing the NVRF team to the game of handball. They

previously had hosted football and netball teams, but with Sven's assistance very quickly assembled a handball team. Unlike the other sports, handball was played with both boys and girls. Sven employed his connections at home to raise enough money to purchase the needed netball equipment (balls, cones) abroad and have it shipped to Dar to donate to NVRF. His introduction of handball really did appear to be a positive addition and was well received by the NVRF staff and youth members.

From my observations, the type of international volunteering typically practiced in these local, youth-led Tanzanian NGO-contexts, like the volunteer experience of Sven, is not actually voluntourism as scholars frequently think of and critique, instead the practice is something that the local youth themselves refer to as cultural exchange. This is not, however, just a repackaging of a contested terminology, but an entirely different experience and viewpoint of the challenges and benefits of international volunteers when done on a smaller and more intensive scale. In my conversations with youth involved in these organizations, they never embraced the idea of voluntourism as a practice that was taking place there in Tanzania, and in fact, many interviewees said they had never heard of the term voluntourism.

Instead, the type of international volunteer experience taking place in the organizations in my research, provided very clear benefits to the Tanzanian youth and the NGOs themselves. One interviewee, when asked what she thought about the presence of international volunteers, said that it is about the mindset one takes when looking at international volunteers at local organizations. She said, "it might not be 100% positive, but the positive outweighs the negative, and even if people come and are just taking pictures, they are still learning about Tanzania and the world and the reality, and that is really important." Her statement underscores the monopolization of the overwhelming desire for Tanzanians to share cultural experiences with guests. This is deeply rooted in their personal relationships involving family and community

members, and this same welcoming attitude expands to international visitors as well. This interviewee expresses that any negative impact can be overcome by the more important act of learning and sharing. This way of thinking about the impacts of international volunteers was shared by all the Tanzanians I interviewed.

In many cases, the international volunteers themselves were the ones to be most acutely critical of the impact their presence had on these locally run organizations. One of my research participants, an intern from Canada, engaged in several conversations with me about their experiences as a white outsider placed into a position that had some supervisory power over local Tanzanian staff and volunteers. There was concern on the part of this intern that the position they were filling could be done more efficiently by a Tanzanian who was familiar with the culture and customs necessary to do parts of the job. Other research on international volunteers supports these self-reflective concerns. Expatriate volunteers in Lesotho brought up concerns that they were taking jobs from local residents and recognized that their presence as a token white person often shifted the tone and results of meetings with ministries or funding agencies (Wig 2016).

The viewpoints expressed by local volunteers, however, were largely statements of positive ways that international volunteers impacted these local organizations. In many cases, I had to press to get any sort of critique or negative impact even mentioned, and these then only consisted of very standard things such as language barriers and cultural differences. The overwhelming response to the impact of international volunteers on these organizations was that they brought new ideas and opened doors for cultural exchange. This was always mentioned as working both ways, with the local Tanzanian staff and volunteers saying they enjoyed learning more about different cultures and enjoyed being able to share their culture with others. Additionally, Tanzanian volunteers sought out making professional connections

with international volunteers. Social capital is gained through these relationships, as *wazungu* (term used to refer to foreigners, often white and/or European) are viewed as access points to more opportunity. International volunteers often can provide resources so local volunteers situate themselves to benefit from those resources. In these situations, both local and international volunteers expressed benefiting from the experiences. On the rare occasions that cultural differences were mentioned as being a slight difficulty, it was always done in a way of humor and lightness. For example, one volunteer at Tai said, "If you tell us [Tanzanian volunteers] 1pm, we won't come at 1pm, we will come at 2pm. But these U.K. guys, if you tell them 1pm, they will come at 1pm."

While it is easy to make light of these humorous descriptions of mild differences or difficulties expressed by these youth organization members, it is less easy to ignore the vast academic literature that discusses the real, problematic effects of voluntary tourist behaviors and motivations (Freidus 2016; Garland 2012). However, including all types of international volunteering under the umbrella concept of voluntourism leads to a conundrum, with the macrolevel evidence presented in scholarly critique of economic, environmental, and social harm being difficult to balance with the microlevel voices of the people themselves expressing their desire to continue some type of exchange with international visitors. Following a feminist anthropological approach, prioritizing objectivity in this sense would ignore the "situated knowledge" (Haraway 1988) of these Tanzanian youth (Craven and Davis 2013). Instead, prioritizing the Tanzanian youth's definition and analysis of international volunteers in their own specific contexts highlights the perspectives and voices of those involved, places them in the center as the experts of their own experiences, and calls upon myself as the researcher to consider with more weight the local, lived experiences over the theoretical, Minority World-dominated analysis created by "others."

The type of international volunteering present in the contexts where I was conducting my research does not follow the norms of problematic voluntourist activities. The smaller number of volunteers at a time and the lengthy stays of the individual volunteers, combined with the recognition by the local Tanzanian youth of a multitude of benefits provided by the presence of these international volunteers, leads us to recognize the potential of international volunteering to be conducted in a way as to not produce insurmountable negative impacts, but instead provide very real opportunities and benefits to the local youth.

In this chapter, the impact of global influence on these youth-led organizations is shown to have encouraged strict methods of how these organizations exist on an everyday basis. The structure of these youth-led organizations and how they conduct their business is heavily influenced by examples of professionalization from larger, international organizations. While these things do not automatically equal increased success for these youth organizations, they do influence many of the other methods and practices with which they engage. Being a youth-led organization leads to a particular type of organizational culture with greater involvement with global and modern concepts such as social media and international volunteering. It also results in some common challenges, as Tai and NVRF demonstrate in their struggles with collaborations, funding, and labor practices.

Next, we shift to see how these organizations, as places of possibility, and these youth, as social change makers, intersect in an environment of reduced opportunity and high unemployment in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, to create a unique situation of reciprocal benefits through the practice of volunteering.

CHAPTER 5. VOLUNTEERING FOR A JOB: TANZANIAN YOUTH, CLASS, AND LABOR

This chapter looks at the history of volunteer work across Africa, and Tanzania more specifically, and how the environment of unemployment is altering the way that youth are navigating their positionalities in today's world. I argue that volunteering has become a required step along the path out of youthhood and into adulthood for middle- and lower-class youths in Dar es Salaam, replacing previous markers, such as formal employment. I will show how this has resulted in a variety of motivations with varying expected outcomes, split along class lines related to education levels. More specifically, I will argue that educated Tanzanian youth are utilizing volunteer positions as a "stepping-stone," or resume builder, in order to obtain formal employment, which is scarce, while lesser educated youth utilize volunteer positions as an alternative to formal employment, effectively replacing waged labor with voluntary positions.

Prince summarizes the contemporary nature of volunteering in her work in Kenya, saying "Voluntary labor and volunteering emerge, then, as significant sites of struggle over livelihoods and futures, moral personhood and community, and broader issues of social value, recognition, and care" (Prince 2015: 103). Understanding the variety of purposes that volunteering has for Tanzanian youth's lives will shed light on these broader issues to which Prince refers, painting a picture of the struggle for the future in which these youth are engaged.

5.1 Tanzanian Youth and Un/Under-Employment

> Getting a job in Tanzania, it's a bit difficult. I don't know why, but as youth…they have finished their university level, but they are ending up in the streets with no jobs, stuff like that, but I can say that it is really difficult to get a job (From interview with animator at Tai)

As mentioned in Chapter 1, unemployment and underemployment are large concerns for Tanzanian youth. With education opportunities rising across Africa, resulting in a youth

population with a higher average education level, the job market has not shifted to offer employment opportunities that employ the skills of this new population of educated young people (DeJaeghere 2017; Okojie 2003; Sommers 2010). Furthermore, most Tanzanian youth are involved in the informal labor sector, which employs 88.4% of the population over the age of ten. Personal agriculture work accounts for 62.8% of those involved in this informal labor sector.[37] Additionally, the rural to urban migration patterns across the region are resulting in highly concentrated populations of youth in urban areas, like Dar es Salaam, where there are not enough jobs to fulfill the needs of this more educated youth population (Sommers 2010). The overall unemployment rate for just the urban area of Dar es Salaam is 22%, over two times the country's unemployment rate (10%).[38] The largest age group of those who are unemployed are those between 20 and 24 years of age.

High unemployment rates are common across the continent of Africa and can often be attributed in part to the complex economic situations resulting from neoliberal policies introduced in the 1990s. The introduction of SAPs, as discussed in Chapter 1, encouraged the liberalization of trade practices, shifting focus to the private sector, and divestment of social infrastructure (Honwana 2012). This has resulted in the stagnation of job creation and failing economies across many African countries. African youth themselves argue that among these unsound economic policies, other contributing factors to youth unemployment across Africa include issues with university-level education practices, and misguided implementation of youth entrepreneurship initiatives (Honwana 2012, 47). Obtaining an upper-level degree no longer delivers immediate advantages or guaranteed employment over those without access to education (Durham 2004; Moyer 2004; Cole 2004; Argenti 2007; Amit 2001). Earning a degree

---

[37] Tanzania National Bureau of Statistics. *Census – 2012.* 2016. Distributed by Tanzania Socio-Economic Database. http://www.dataforall.org/CensusInfoTanzania/libraries/aspx/home.aspx.
[38] Ibid.

has a much different meaning for youth today than it did for the previous generation (Tranberg Hansen 2008). Complaints abound that the African university system does not provide practical skills that transfer to employable skills. Nepotism and corruption are also an issue, particularly because there are so few jobs available in the formal sector (Honwana 2012). The Tanzanian government and many international NGOs more recently are shifting focus to support youth entrepreneurship, but these typically result only in empty promises.

Un- and under-employment have severe consequences for everyone. Tanzanian youth experience these consequences uniquely. Baraka, one of the youths involved in my research, told me that youth in Tanzania were defined by a "lack of financial stability, triggered by lack of formal or decent work." For all unemployed youth, financial instability is a concern. Often turning to informal and piecemeal labor practices to earn small sums of money, many youth in Tanzania participate in any opportunity to earn money that they can. In some cases, these avenues of informal employment provide advantages, such as learning a craft, like rug making or photography, and selling their products. In other circumstances, youth can be drawn to unsavory areas of informal employment, such as selling pirated movies or more overt crime, like theft. Several youth interviewees mentioned that before being involved in organizational work their idleness led to drug use and participation in crime. Chui, a young man involved with the youth health club at NVRF, told me that before NVRF he lacked access to formal employment and could not financially afford to continue his education. He participated in the informal labor practice of working as a porter in the nearby market, carrying giant sacks of produce for buyers. Finding meaning in working for NVRF has meant that his life has more consistency and keeps him away from "bad things."

For the educated and unemployed, the consequences of unemployment include a great absence of hope for the future. They attend university and obtain degrees with the expectation

that their education will be an investment in their future and a ticket to prosperity. When they struggle to gain employment after graduating, this impacts their psychological being. For the unemployed youth who have not had the advantage of an education, the reality of un- or under-employment reproduces the struggles they have already faced in their lives. Their lower economic status is reinforced and becomes a restriction keeping them from creating a better future for themselves.

One way these youth have found to navigate these untenable consequences of un- and under-employment in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, is through participation in voluntary labor, as Chui stated previously. Studies have shown how volunteering, particularly in African countries, has developed in the shadows of looming unemployment crises. In her comprehensive study on volunteering across Africa, Compion (2016) found that, contrary to her hypothesis, unemployment and poverty had a positive correlation with participation in volunteering activities. She found that volunteering "can offer some unemployed people meaningful, productive participation in social life, a sense of belonging, or an alternative avenue for self-accomplishment" (Compion 2016, 80). Drawing from other scholarly work on volunteering, Compion argued that these volunteering practices provided benefits other than financial gains, including learning employable skills, making contacts with employment opportunities, increased social connections, and useable resume lines (Compion 2016; MacDonald 1996; Putnam 2000). Similarly, and drawing on James Ferguson's work, Prince (2015) argues that volunteering in contemporary Kenya has become a "declaration of dependence" (2013: 237). Ferguson (2013) argues that African economies are seeing the decline of waged labor and the rise of informal labor, resulting in a labor-body surplus due to so many unemployed individuals. He argues that when excluded from formal labor opportunities, the unemployed have little to no economic or social value. In these scenarios, Ferguson found that individuals seek out ways to position

themselves in relation to more powerful agents and agencies, for example, as I argue, joining local NGOs as volunteers. This declaration of dependence, as Ferguson calls it, opens new opportunities for otherwise marginalized people as they turn to depending on these voluntary practices as formal labor becomes scare and therefore less vital to the creation of independent livelihoods, as I will show in the case of Tanzanian youth and their contemporary volunteering practices.

The NGO sector in Dar es Salaam increasingly is an area that offers youth an alternative to formal employment through access to labor as "full-time volunteers" (Brown and Green 2015). Youth in Tanzania today do not take advantage of these volunteering opportunities solely because they want to, but because it has become an unofficial requirement for upward social mobility, with achievement being marked by adulthood, symbolized by full-time, formal employment. The very few jobs that are available are typically unattainable to youth because, as one research participant put it, "no experience, no jobs." Because youth therefore cannot access the formal job market, they continue to be un- and under-employed, and to break this cycle, many are turning to volunteering. This volunteer labor provides the government with much needed social services, labor for free, and simultaneously provides these youth with the experiences needed to break out of their youth status by either continuing on to the formal job market, or by creating alternative positions as full-time volunteers. One research participant explained this when he said,

> Usually in Tanzania people volunteer to get experience. You see, like I said, these [employers] they don't look at the youth much, you know. They keep asking for experience, experience, experience, but where would actually someone get experience if they don't work, if you don't give them work, if you don't train them? You know? We didn't just – we weren't born with experience.

Because this experience has become commodified, it has created an environment where volunteer positions are as sought after as the jobs that they are trying to gain experience to

obtain. One research participant said, “Volunteering opportunities, you can’t imagine, they are really competitive. It’s like when I was applying at [another organization], they needed only 60 volunteers but, according to what they said, the people who applied were more than 1,000.” During my fieldwork, Tai posted a job opening for a volunteer communications intern and received over 300 applications in a one-week period. People who were called in for interviews had master’s degrees and already a lot of previous experience as volunteers. This high demand for volunteer positions has become the norm across East African countries (Prince 2015).

5.2 Changing Motivations and Trends Towards Professionalization of Volunteer Labor

Volunteering is not new in Tanzania, but voluntary labor has developed and changed since the colonial period. Voluntary labor, welfare associations, and women’s groups were common in precolonial and colonial East Africa. Indigenous women’s groups were typically organized around reinforcing social structures of societies, for example, the Barabaig of Tanzania, where women formed organizations to defend the rights of women, as recorded by George Klima in the 1950s (Udvardy 1998). However, colonial influences caused a shift in the purpose of indigenous women’s groups, particularly as traditional social structures faded. Udvardy described this change, saying “today’s women’s groups arise from women’s acute needs for access to material, informational, and economic resources” (Udvardy 1998, 1758). The colonial period also brought foreign volunteers and increased local organizations in addition to women’s groups. These often developed to fill the gaps in services left by the colonial powers, both intentionally and unintentionally (Hunter 2015). In Tanzania, the British colonizers pushed the concept of “virtuous citizenship,” which promoted ideals surrounding assimilating Tanganyikans to become moral servants to the colonial state, drawing on notions of altruism. Ideas surrounding voluntary labor changed in the 1940s and 1950s, during the late colonial

period, towards the state encouraging voluntary services to provide the social services that the state themselves could not afford. Drawing on and intersecting with precolonial practices of communal labor involving citizen subjects mobilized by chiefs, the British colonizers introduced the idea of community development to encourage Tanganyikans, especially those in rural areas, to be responsible for their own advancement, as well as the advancement of the state (Brown and Green 2015). Both models of voluntary labor, as altruistic good citizenship and providing needed services that the state could not afford, were based on conceptions of duty.

In many African countries during the 1960s and 1970s, newly independent governments relied on the voluntary labor of citizens to encourage national development (Prince and Brown 2016). Tanzania, at this point, was inextricably linked to discourses of development, with the newly independent nation being defined by policies and relations to external development agents, including NGOs and international governments (Jennings 2015). In this early postcolonial period in Tanzania, we see the previous dual conceptions of volunteerism united in an attempt by the newly independent government to create a citizenry founded on equality and self-sacrifice, as well as uniting Tanzanians to help build the nation through their participation in providing needed social services (Hunter 2015). This was the foundation of Tanzania's post-independence national development program of *ujamaa* (meaning "togetherness" or "familyhood"). This philosophy was appealing to development workers and attracted international volunteers due to its romanticized ideology of cooperativeness and social equality (Jennings 2016) and built upon notions of Tanzanian citizenship in this early postcolonial period.

Today, with the increasing professionalization of voluntary labor, "volunteering is no longer commensurate with citizenship as it was in an earlier period (even if this was replete with contradictions); it is more akin to neoliberal governance, with its emphasis on individual [responsibility] as a means of demonstrating one's moral worth" (Prince and Brown 2015: 36).

The retreat of the state due to neoliberalism has led to the contemporary increase of local and international volunteers in many African countries (Hunter 2015). Community-focused development and popularity of the ideology of "grassroots" activism are common characteristics of the NGO-ization of Africa (Prince and Brown 2016). From 1993 to 2010, the number of registered NGOs in Tanzania increased from 124 to around 1500 (Brown and Green 2015).

Contemporary scholars of volunteering, especially in Africa, understand volunteering not as a neutral act, but one that is politically and economically fraught. They describe volunteering as "a powerful concept, one that is capable of mobilizing individuals and groups and of marking out the possibilities of acting in the service of a greater good by addressing social inequalities or perceived deprivation" (Prince and Brown 2016, 4). This political and economic attachment to volunteering has created the contemporary professionalization of practices of volunteering. In the following section, I will present ethnographic information demonstrating how the opportunist orientation and desire to increase capital of various forms is present in voluntary practices among Dar es Salaam youth, but in two different kinds of motivations related to education-level and class. I will show how access to higher education and a higher-class level identification translates to volunteers whose motivations lie in increasing their personal knowledge and skills to enhance their chances of obtaining formal employment. I will also show how those identified as belonging to a lower-class, not having university-level education, are motivated by their voluntary experiences to continue to pursue volunteer activities in lieu of formal employment.

5.3 Volunteering and Socioeconomic Class in Dar es Salaam

> In modern capitalist society, youth has been a site of self-conscious social and cultural reproduction through education – the space in which society seeks to attain its potential, in which it invests in its human capital, and in which, says Michel Foucault, society "hides its dream" [1976, 81] (Honwana 2012, 11).

The practice of volunteering is entangled with notions of class. The ability to volunteer time and labor is often associated with people who have wealth and spare time. This pattern is found historically across Africa in practices of volunteering that involved the participation of middle-class, male colonial officers' wives, who were wealthy and had plenty of time to spare (Prince and Brown 2016). These colonial and early postcolonial practices of volunteering grew from notions of gendered citizenship. Most voluntary work was historically populated by women's associations because care work conducted through these voluntary practices was naturalized as a feminine gender role (Brown and Green 2015). Eventually the "gendered emphasis gave way to a more general focus on the value of voluntary labor" more broadly (Brown and Prince 2015, 34). With volunteering coming under the influences of national citizenship and development, it began to highlight economic and class differences over gender differences. In fact, gender, ethnicity, and religion did not appear to play a part in distinguishing the differences of voluntary activities by the Tanzanian youth in my research. John, one of my key informants, said, "Today, [in Tanzania], if a man can sing, a woman can too. If a man can lead, a woman can too." The local, youth-led NGOs prioritized gender parity within the staff, volunteer, and recipients involved in the organizations. Baraka, a young male volunteer, said that at one of the organizations with which he was involved there were approximately 200 volunteers and the balance of male to female actually favored female volunteers slightly. He said that this was not always the case but was a result of intentionally recruiting more female volunteers in recent years. When asked about gendered differences between male and female

staff or male and female volunteers, every interviewee stated that they did not think there was any difference in the way males and females were treated or the type of labor in which they were expected to partake. Many male volunteers spoke of the importance of supporting women and girls to be empowered leaders. Additionally, while I did not actively seek information about religious identities, I did observe that volunteers who openly identified as both Christian and Muslim (often devout) were represented in all of the NGOs, and there did not appear to be any difficulties due to religious, or ethnic, differences. The youth involved came from a plethora of various ethnic, or tribal, identities.

This classed performance of volunteering has continued into the 21st century, as evidenced by large numbers of upper- and middle-class youth from Europe and America taking gap-year volunteer trips before beginning their university educations. This continuity into contemporary practices of volunteer labor highlight the classed identities of volunteers and perpetuate inequalities between volunteers and their typically lower-classed targeted audiences (Prince 2015). Compion hypothesizes that in contemporary practices of volunteering across Africa, the demographic of upper- and middle-class individuals will continue to dominate the field of voluntary labor; however, the data shows, and she concludes, that individuals from lower socioeconomic classes are participating in voluntary labor at equal rates (Compion 2016).

My research involving Tanzanian youth's practices of volunteering supports this claim, showing that youth from a variety of socioeconomic classes, but equally across genders, are actively taking part in practices of voluntary labor. My research also shows that there are varying reasons or motivations for different class levels to participate in voluntary labor. These unique motivations between the various class levels can be connected to education levels. The common shared experience between class levels is the lack of employment opportunities. As Brown and Green (2015, 75) state, "What we see in volunteering practices in East Africa are new

processes of self-formation which respond to the changing material architectures of labor opportunities." Within these processes of self-formation, we find how class and education level impact the way an individual may use volunteer opportunities to navigate their situation of unemployment. Volunteer positions are found to fill-in for the lack of formal jobs through many different avenues. The financial resources from volunteer stipends or allowances, although small, are often pieced together from multiple volunteering positions as a form of income. Participation as a volunteer can increase access to opportunities and be a marker of status within communities. Therefore, "volunteering can be thought of as a kind of work…that renders possible new kinds of relationships to paid labor" (Prince & Brown 2016, 18). However, these relationships to labor vary depending on the ultimate desired outcome from the voluntary experience.

For this research, differential access to education for Tanzanians is understood as perpetuating social stratification and leading to class differentiations. Since the late 1970s, scholars have shown that "access to education has been the proximate determinant of class differentiation in Tanzania" (Samoff 1979: 47). This formulated partly as a neocolonial response to African countries attempting to grow their independence, creating a "formalized hierarchy which still adheres closely to late colonial norms enshrined in the secondary schools or universities of the continent" (Freund 1984, 215). Social structuring based on things like education allowed the newly independent nation states to create a myth, as Freund calls it, of the ability to realize social mobility. This expands into contemporary ideologies of education being the gateway to African citizen's upwards class movement.

Utilizing completed education level as a proxy for class, the volunteers at the youth organizations in my research demonstrate the very different reasons that Tanzanian youth have for participating in voluntary activities dependent on their education status. With the rise of the

middle-class, these youth, having access to higher levels of education, are participating in different types of volunteering and for different motivations. At Tai, out of 21 youths interviewed, only one did not have a bachelor's degree. Additionally, one Tai interviewee had a master's degree, and four Tai interviewees were presently pursing master's degrees. One the other hand, at NVRF, out of 10 youths interviewed, only two had bachelor's degrees, and only one was presently pursuing a bachelor's degree. The educational disparities of these two different youth organizations will be addressed in this section as it relates to the specific outcomes that youth are expecting from their participation in each of these organizations, and in the next chapter, as it relates to the type of work each organization conducts.

Although in this case, education level is providing the determinant for class identification, the system of class status that I use still needs to be defined. First, class should be understood as a positionality that is dynamic, able to be changed over time, and second, that different class levels are formed through their relationship or opposition to other classes (Amey and Leonard 1979, Samoff 1979). Class is a process, meaning it is created by those changes and relationships. I follow Tranberg Hansen and colleagues' model of thinking about youth and class through recognizing that class in not an essential social category, easily marked in a check box. Instead, they proposed to "think of it in terms of symbolic forms [Lawler 2005] and as a social construction bound to both economic resources and cultural practices [Liechty 2003]" (Tranberg Hansen 2008, 32). In other words, the real power of looking at and analyzing class "comes from its ability to link economic phenomena and social behavior" (Amey and Leonard 1979, 4). Therefore, when identifying class positions, I look at both economic situation and social positionality, such as education and employment. For simplicity's sake, I use the terminology of lower-class and middle-class. Each class status is defined based on education levels, types of employment, and visible, practiced lifestyle behaviors. That being said, there are obviously

social categories and macro-level dynamics of class that simply cannot be covered by this simplified definition. Other aspects, like gender and political economy, play important parts in identifying and understanding class as a social, political, and economic process, and for future work these would need to be explored more deeply.

For the lower-class categorization, I include those youth and their families who have achieved only up to the secondary level of education, and do not have the financial resources to access higher education. These individuals do not participate in conventional waged forms of employment. They often reside in areas with limited access to basic resources, including electricity, running water, and internet. They typically do not speak English.

For example, Neema is one of the volunteers at NVRF whom I identify as lower-class. Neema only completed schooling up to Form 2, which would be like an eighth-grade education in the United States. She said that she was unable to continue her education because of family problems that made it impossible to pay for school fees. Neema did not talk much about her family beyond this and currently lives without any support from them. Since Neema's experience of not being able to afford schooling, Tanzania has started to provide ordinary secondary school[39] education for free beginning in 2015, but there are still insurmountable financial barriers for many young Tanzanians because of expenses related to school uniforms, supplies, and transport to school locations sometimes very far from home (HRW 2017).

Neema is now 24 years old. She told me that when she was no longer able to continue in school, she would stay out late with her friends, who "were not good and smoked." She credits her work at NVRF with helping her to leave that sort of lifestyle behind. Neema lives alone. She rents a single room in Manzese, a slum-type area of Dar es Salaam described in

[39] Ordinary Secondary School, or O-Levels is Form 1 through Form 4. This is followed by Advanced Secondary School, or A-Levels, for two years. A national exam must be passed to advance to A-Levels.

Chapter 4, where NVRF is located. At night, after her work at NVRF is completed for the day, she stays in her room and works on making *zulia*, rugs or mats made from fabric scraps. It takes her about one day to make one mat, depending on the size, and she sells them for between 2,000 and 7,000 Tsh, or about $1 to $3 USD. She told me that when she is in her room at night working on the mats, she cannot have her light turned on because it is connected to the main hallway light and the other tenants renting rooms will get upset. Neema does not participate in the formal waged labor market. She uses her volunteer position at NVRF, a paper-bag-making entrepreneurship, and crafting *zulia* to support herself. Neema did not present herself as the type to put a lot of stock in physical appearance or material items. She had a very old flip-style cell phone; she typically wore clothes that appeared to be hand-me-downs, some of them shirts or athletic shorts from NVRF or various netball competitions she attended. She usually kept her hair natural.

For middle-class categorization, I include youth and their families who have either completed some form of higher/tertiary education or have the financial resources that would provide them access to do so. These individuals participate, or seek to participate, in formal waged forms of employment, or are employed in the government, business, or private sectors. These individuals often pursue an urban lifestyle (Green 2015; Lewinson 2007) and reside in areas and structures with ample resources, including, for example, air-conditioning and gated compounds. These middle-class youth are usually fluent in English.

An example from my research of a middle-class youth is Imani, a paid staff member at Tai. Imani had a difficult early childhood. Her birth parents were divorced when she was very young, and her birth father raised her until his death when she was only five years old. Her aunt and uncle took her in and raised her along with their two sons and four daughters. She refers to them as her father, mother, brothers, and sisters. Imani was lucky that she had family to care for

her. I heard other stories where youth who lost a parent or were orphaned were bounced around from family member to family member, or some who just ended up alone.

Imani is now 26 years old. She still lives at home with her family, who support her financially and psychologically. All her siblings have achieved university degrees and her family has always had very strict expectations for all the children to obtain a good education. Imani did not pass her O-level exams, which are required to continue the secondary school track to university, so in 2012 she went to college for a certificate and then a diploma in Human Resources at the Tanzania Institute of Accounting. She made it very clear that her family was her biggest support system helping her to achieve these successes. Every decision made about her education and future, she made in discussion with them. For example, she was not sure what she wanted to study, but they helped her to realize that she did not like doing things with numbers, but she really liked dealing with people, so human resources would be a good path for her. In 2015, she finished her diploma and started at University of Morogoro, where she earned her bachelor's degree in 2018.

Imani began working at Tai in 2019. She had applied to several jobs and was offered the position at Tai as well as a position at a bank. Her family helped her make the decision between the two jobs by framing the choice as picking between a job (the bank) and a career (Tai). She expressed how working at Tai has given her the chance to learn so many news things and really grow as a young woman. She said it can sometimes be challenging, for example, when she must deal with disciplining or disagreements with other staff or volunteers, but she can always rely on the support and advice of her mother.

The support from her family, for her education and for continuing life support, has been instrumental in Imani's success and maintenance of a middle-class lifestyle. Because of the opportunities she has been given, her education success, and her support system, she is able to

have goals for the future to advance in her job at Tai or to gain the experience needed to move into a different formal waged employment opportunity. Imani also clearly presents herself as belonging to this new middle-class. She has the latest smart phone, decked out with a pink sparkly case, and was always wearing fashionable and professional clothing, of which I do not think I ever saw her wear anything twice. She typically kept her hair short, which requires regular maintenance, but would occasionally show up at work with intricate, and expense, braided hair styles.

Both Neema and Imani, regardless of class, like all Tanzania youth, are experiencing the strain of un- and under-employment, but their respective class positions inform the way that they navigate the experiences of un- and under-employment. Regarding sub-Saharan Africa as a whole, DeJaeghere (2017, 6) says,

> Those with only a primary school education are disadvantaged when it comes to formal employment, and most end up working in the informal sector or in informal employment in the formal sector, i.e., jobs without social security benefits, paid leave or sick leave entitlements. At the same time, those who have secondary or tertiary levels of education also experience unemployment, or a longer wait for a good job in the formal sector, due to a lack of skilled jobs in the labor market or their desire for better pay.

Therefore, while youth with a variety of differing education levels are seeking out volunteer opportunities, the voluntary labor they perform has different meanings related to their different situations of identity and aspirations. Prince (2015, 85) writes,

> In the context of precarious economies and the contraction of formal employment opportunities, voluntary labor constitutes valued, if unpaid, work; it offers opportunities for those excluded from formal employment to gain a valued identity and a sense of social worth; and it makes volunteers visible to powerful institutions (state and nonstate) that hold the keys to personal growth, social recognition, and developmental futures.

Prince continues, acknowledging how youth motivations for volunteering today may be even more strongly connected to notions of future than previous generations,

> Volunteers, then, are people who are excluded from the world of formal work, professional identity, and economic stability, and some volunteers— particularly the younger, educated, and upwardly mobile generation—pursue volunteering because it brings them closer to this longed-for world of institutional work (Prince 2015, 100).

The next two sections will bring these youth's motivations for volunteering into a stronger focus through two ethnographic case studies. They show nuanced reasons for participating and variations in expected outcomes from their voluntary practices and how these correlate with the youth's social positionalities as they relate to class and education.

5.3.1 Case Study 1: Volunteering as a "Stepping-Stone"

While only 2.3% of the Tanzanian population has completed university-level education,[40] the rate at which Tanzanian students are enrolling in higher education institutions is rising. From 2011 to 2012, the percentage of students enrolling in higher education institutions in Tanzania went from 4% to 5%. This percentage increases drastically when zeroing in on the urban area of Dar es Salaam, with 13% of students enrolling in university level institutions.[41] While this number is good, and growth is being seen, higher education is still extremely limited to middle- and upper-class Tanzanians, mostly due to the cost. With a higher class correlating to an ability to earn a university degree, these youth are volunteering with a different experience than their peers without access to tertiary education. Fresh out of university, these educated, middle-class youth have reconciled their situation considering the

[40] For comparison purposes, the U.S. Census Bureau reported, in 2019, that 36% of the population ages 25 and older held a bachelor's degree.

[41] Tanzania National Bureau of Statistics. *Census – 2012.* 2016. Distributed by Tanzania Socio-Economic Database. http://www.dataforall.org/CensusInfoTanzania/libraries/aspx/home.aspx.

lack of employment opportunities, and are turning to volunteer positions, often in NGOs and other community-based organizations. Like their non-university educated peers, they recognize these volunteer positions as filling the gap between youthhood and schooling, and adulthood and employment. However, the motivations and expected outcomes of volunteering vary along class lines and education levels. Interview data clearly shows that those individuals with university-level educations, and therefore middle-class identified, provided very different explanations for why they were participating in volunteering activities than their lower-class peers. Survey data listed professional experience as the number one reason for volunteering at Tai. They reported such desired future goals as working for international organizations or starting their own local organizations. Their unemployed status and the opportunity for networking were also mentioned as motivations for volunteering. In other words, middle-class youth expressed that they were utilizing voluntary labor as a "stepping-stone" that would eventually lead them into future formal employment.

An example of one such youth is Farida. I first met Farida when she came to the Tai office for an interview for one of three new local volunteer positions for the Darubini Project. It was halfway through the project but because a few of the international volunteers were nearing the end of their programs, Tai needed to hire additional local volunteers to fill their spots. Farida arrived on time, was neatly dressed, and aced her interview. She was small-framed and spoke very quietly but politely. As I was sitting in on the interviews, I was quite surprised to learn that Farida was currently working on her master's degree in Public Health. For her studies she was doing an internship at Aga Khan, one of the premier hospitals in the city. Additionally, she had previous work experience as a teacher, with a bachelor's degree in education. After her interview concluded, there was some discussion among the interviewers about her shyness or seeming lack of confidence, but it was decided that her knowledge on the topic of SRH was very

strong, and confidence skills are much easier to teach than such specific knowledge, so Farida was offered one of the volunteer positions.

As I interacted with Farida throughout her volunteering experience, I often asked myself why she was doing this voluntary work. From my perspective, she had all the necessary training, knowledge, and skills, not only from an academic perspective, but also in the way she interacted with her peers and the responsibility with which she approached her work. It was not until later in my relationship with her that I was able to inquire as to why she elected to do this type of labor for free. In an interview, Farida explained to me that she volunteered because she wanted experience working "in the field." She listed various skills that volunteering would allow her to experience, including data collection, interviewing, surveying, and data analysis. These were all skills that she expressed having learned about in her university education, but she stated that this was only theoretical learning and she had never had the opportunity to practice or do any of these things. At Tai, she was able to assist in data entry and have a taste of data evaluation, and this now will directly translate as having experience with these skills as she applies for medical administration jobs and monitoring and evaluation (M&E) positions. When I followed up with Farida after her volunteering at Tai had ended (due to COVID-19), she shared that her master's program and internship were put on hold, but she had been able to apply for jobs and was offered one at a new health clinic in the city. She recognized how the skills she had obtained from volunteering at Tai would help her in this new position.

Farida's story is not an anomaly. Throughout my research, I met many Tanzanian youth who had college degrees, had past work experience in credible, employable, career-type fields, and who conducted themselves in ways deemed professional. In other words, in any other context I would presume these youths to be easily selected for any skilled employment opportunities. What I did not understand was why these youths were volunteering. They did not

have the spare time often associated with voluntary labor, and they certainly had the credentials to participate in formal labor practices. However, this is where the explanation lies. As Brown and Green argue, "…because opportunities for paid employment in the formal labor market are limited, they are also contributing to an expanding and increasingly professionalized volunteering sector" (Brown and Green 2015, 75). While these youths have the skills on paper, via their university-level education, there are no jobs available for them. What this has created is a unique system whereby volunteering becomes an expectation or required step along the path from childhood to adulthood. This waithood period, as discussed previously, can be occupied with participation in voluntary labor, which builds cultural capital, provides skills and experiences, and ultimately acts as a "stepping-stone" to future formal employment.

The youth I observed treated their volunteer positions as you would expect them to treat a "real," formal job. On the other side, the staff members at the organizations treated them like "real" employees, expecting them to arrive on time, abide by the dress code, and participate in required meetings and trainings. Sometimes these expectations were high, and the volunteers expressed frustration that being treated like a "real" employee was unfair, because they were volunteers. A common issue was that the volunteers would be expected to travel to the office or an off-site location for an event or meeting, but they were not provided with or compensated for transportation. Many of them did not have the extra money to pay for transport. They often made sacrifices to conduct their work as expected because they recognized the value in having the opportunity to volunteer at these organizations.

This expectation to volunteer has become normalized for these youth as part of the process to gain employment. Youths that I interviewed expressed time and again that employers wanted to see that you had experience, and their university educations did not provide that experience. Rather than questioning why either the university degree was not good enough

experience or why their university educations did not provide the correct type of experience, these youths seem to have accepted that the standard process is to obtain a degree, then to obtain experience, and then to obtain a job. For example, Michael, an accountant at one of the youth organizations, said,

> I think it is good if you volunteer first cause you get the experience, cause what [accountants] get at the university is just like preparation of accounts but there are certain procedures we are not taught, these are procedures you have to learn in an organization, yeah so like how to maybe – like [accountants] prepare something called payment vouchers, but these payment vouchers they are not taught in the university, it is something I learned after working.

Michael obtained his job as an accountant after two different volunteer positions, one for a government agency and one for the NGO who later hired him. He spoke about how, during his voluntary period at the NGO, a staff member, who also had an accounting degree, showed him how to do many of the tasks that he knew about from university, but had never had the experience of actually doing. Scholars write about voluntary labor in contemporary Kenya and Tanzania, showing how volunteers there often compete for the opportunity to attend trainings to increase their employable skills, highlighting how "people continue to seek education as a way to position themselves favorably in a changing labor market, and volunteer positions are one source of education and training for future employment in the NGO sector" (Brown and Green 2015: 74; Prince 2015). Like Farida and Michael, youth often strategically select volunteer opportunities that will complement and build upon their previous education and work experiences to result in the building of certain skills to advance their future careers.

Additionally, youth expressed rationalizations for employers to require this type of experience outside of, and in addition to, a university-level degree. One interviewee said, "Yeah, mostly [employers] want people with experience, yeah, so, I think this is because they want – they do not want to waste time to start teaching and training, so they want someone who

comes there to be full packets, like already received training and ready to work." I found myself explaining to interviewees that American university graduates would be appalled at this notion that they were essentially mandated to gain their own experience after attending university, and also appalled that they would be expected to essentially work for free before being able to get a job. Like the Tanzanian volunteer practices, American students do often participate in programs, like internships or Peace Corps-type experiences, and the motivations are similar as far as building experience and making connections, but these are more likely to be paid than the Tanzanian equivalencies. Additionally, I would argue that American students in these scenarios have a choice to volunteer, knowing that there would be employment available to them without the volunteer experience, just perhaps not the type of employment they would prefer. Their Tanzanian peers do not have this same choice. Another interviewee said,

> What [employers] want is, they look at your CV and they see you've done a couple of things that give them confidence that you'll not take them a long time to train you, like so that you take your own initiative and be proactive in learning your own basic skills, and volunteering is one of the easier platforms to do that.

This acknowledgement that these voluntary positions directly translate to CV, or resume, lines is common and brings about a secondary motivation for youth to participate in this voluntary labor. While many youth expressed actual transferable skills and practices as what they gained from volunteering, there is some evidence that participation in voluntary labor is done *only* as a resume booster, and not for the learned skills. This was demonstrated in the practice of providing certificates of completion for voluntary positions, which is a common practice across Tanzania (Prince 2015). With Tai not always being the most organized in terms of administration, these certificates were often a topic of concerned conversation because they were late to be awarded. Volunteers became nervous if they had not received them near the end of their service periods. They would then incessantly ask after the certificates. It was

explained to me that these certificates were important because they had to be presented as proof of one's work that was listed on a resume.

I found that many Tanzanian youth, while stating that they had the same motivations to increase their skills to gain employment, seemed to be relying on the volunteer positions in name and not necessarily putting much effort into pursuing the work to achieve more skills. They recognized that the experience was needed to gain further employment, but their definition of experience was simply a line on their resume and not actual demonstratable skill attainment. This was not necessarily expressed in interviews and I hypothesize this was because the youth volunteers who were interested in participating in interviews were the ones who took their volunteer positions more seriously for opportunities to gather skills and experiences. Where I did find this disparity was in observations of volunteers, their levels of participation in voluntary activities, and their informal conversations. Often during volunteer meetings at Tai, when staff members were asking for feedback and suggestions from volunteers, there would be a few outspoken individuals sharing their ideas, while the remainder of the volunteers sat there, looking bored. In social conversations outside of the official work environment there was a substantial amount of talk about the way the organization treated them and the amount of work they were expected to do. Poor communication between volunteers and staff was commonly reported as a challenge that Tai volunteers faced. I often overheard volunteers saying they would do the bare minimum because they were not appreciated enough for their work. These volunteers were there to earn a certificate and then continue with their future plans, effectively using their volunteer position as a stepping-stone with minimal effort input.

In either scenario, whether youth volunteer to gain actual skills or whether youth volunteer solely as a resume-line builder, we see Tanzanian youth manipulating their misfortunes to create better opportunities for their own futures. Rather than succumbing to this

liminal period, where adulthood is in many ways out of reach due to the lack of formal employment opportunities, we still see middle-class youth pursuing university education, even with the knowledge that a degree will not be enough to obtain their dreams of employment.

In some cases, however, even volunteering does not result in the ultimate goal of formal employment. In these situations, middle-class youth still prosper from their volunteering positions in ways that distinguish them from their lower-class peers. Prince writes about volunteers in Kenya not graduating to formal employment but still benefiting through increased social status and skills, writing, "success may lie less in the endpoint that is so rarely reached (formal waged employment) than in the ability to cultivate a certain status and project an identity that others have to take seriously" (Prince 2015, 98). By participating in voluntary positions, often at NGOs, these youth can add to the cultural capital offered by their degree. This cultural capital builds regardless of motivation factors. Due to their class positionality that allowed them access to higher education in the first place, the accumulating of cultural capital then allows youth of higher-class positions better chances and opportunities to gain formal employment after their voluntary careers (Dalsagard, Franch, and Scott 2008). They also have access to increased social capital. This accumulates through making personal connections through their volunteer experiences. This includes connecting with other youth who are volunteering, staff members at NGOs, and community and government members with whom they may interact during organizational events.

Therefore, the actual measurement of success, whether these volunteer opportunities result in increased chances of formal employment or not, becomes less important than the recognition that youth are creating new ways to access opportunities and, in some ways, reinventing what it looks like to leave youthhood and enter adulthood. As Brown and Green state, "Professionalized volunteering becomes a means through which educated East African

youth and members of the rural, professional, middle-classes fashion themselves as good citizens and as self-directed agents of community transformation" (Brown and Green 2015: 64). My research adds that the professionalization of volunteering has created opportunities unique to middle-class Tanzanian youth, whereby they gain the ability to position themselves as employable community members through their voluntary labor. The youth's acceptance and manipulation of this practice to further their own needs and future desires is also seen in lower-class youth's practices of volunteering, but the motivations and expected outcomes look different, as we will see next.

5.3.2 Case Study 2: Volunteering as a Career Replacement Option

As we saw in the statistics provided in the previous section, most Tanzanian youth do not continue past secondary school and do not obtain a university-level degree. However, we still find these less educated, often lower-class, youth participating in voluntary activities. Unlike their upper- and middle-class peers, these youth do not have the cultural capital that comes with a higher education degree, so their future employment prospects look different. The university degree, which can be combined with experience through volunteering, for their higher classed peers, is what makes a youth eligible for the very limited formal employment opportunities. So why are these lower-class youth volunteering if volunteering will not provide them with the same future labor prospects? With these lower-class youth, we end up seeing the creative use of voluntary positions as an alternative for formal employment.

One example is Neema, who I introduced earlier, and her experiences volunteering at NVRF. Before I was even formally introduced to Neema, I am sure I saw her out on the playing field at NVRF, one second scowling at a group of rowdy children, and the next second laughing alongside them as they danced together. Neema has a commanding presence. She is someone

that you just know is an authority figure simply by being in her company. She would never let you know this, however. The first time I met her, she shyly shook my hand and refused to speak, thinking I would not understand her and knowing she could not speak to me in English. Slowly, over time, I won her over with my ridiculous attempts at asking her questions in Swahili and through my participation in the girls' netball team practices. Towards the end of my fieldwork period, Neema told me that I was the only *mzungu* visitor to NVRF who participated with them in their practices and scrimmages. I used to jokingly call her my netball *mwalimu*, which means teacher, and this always made her smile and roll her eyes.

Neema is one of the volunteer youth coaches at NVRF. She has been coaching since 2016 and is one of only five female coaches. She takes her position very seriously and you can see that reflected in the respect she is given by the children she coaches, her netball teammates, and the leaders of NVRF. She usually spends about ten hours a day at NVRF. In the late afternoons that time is spent conducting her coaching duties, but during the daytime, when not involved in NVRF meetings and planning sessions, she works very hard at a paper-bag-making project. This project is an entrepreneurial venture that Neema runs with a few other youth from NVRF. Using brown paper, glue, and their hands, they sit at a small table outside of the NVRF office and, assembly line style, they fold and glue, fold and glue, fold and glue to produce common brown paper lunch bags.

One afternoon I arrived at NVRF earlier than my usual time, and I found Neema and her friend in the middle of this process. They pulled me over a plastic chair to sit in and I proceeded to watch the process of producing these bags. Neema took a sheet of brown paper. Using a plastic ruler, she carefully but quickly measured where she was going to make the folds to create the side and bottom gussets, to ensure uniformity, and then deftly formed the bag by using the sharp edge of the ruler to produce crisp and even sides and corners. Her fingers flew

through these steps in a matter of seconds and watching her I knew it would be impossible for me to create one bag with such precision in even double that time. Once she finished folding one bag, she added it to the stack that needed to be glued. Her friend and co-worker, who was doing the gluing, dipped his finger into a little cup of adhesive and wiped it along each of the folded sections, pressing firmly as he did so.

They produce three different sized bags and typically sell them in bundles of 1,000 bags. For the smallest sized bags (1/4kg) the sale price is 30,000 Tsh for 1,000 bags, or approximately $13. The largest sized bags (1 kg) sell for 60,000 Tsh for 1,000 bags, which is approximately $26. Mostly they sell them to local shop owners or street-side bakers. The profit that is made from selling these paper bags is split equally amongst the young people who conduct the project. NVRF allows them to use the office space for construction and storage, but more importantly, NVRF provided the start-up funds for this project to begin in the first place. The organization paid for the initial supplies until the profits were enough to be able to circulate back into the project for material costs. For Neema, this paper bag project is just one of numerous things that she does to earn a meager income.

The youth in this community, without the opportunity to attend higher education and coming from lower class backgrounds, do not have the initial capital (economic or cultural) that would provide them even a sliver of access to the formal labor market, like their previously discussed middle-class peers. Because of that, volunteering for them is not a stepping-stone into formal employment. Instead, volunteering provides them a new type of career, based on voluntary labor as informal employment. It provides a stable option that offers higher returns of cultural and social capital, even if the economic capital is not much of an improvement, than the more common participation in the informal labor market, doing such jobs as portering goods or selling produce on the street.

Neema and the other youth in this example bring to light several important considerations when looking at lower class Tanzanian youth and their volunteering practices. First, they demonstrate how structural inequalities that situate them within socioeconomic positions of poverty reproduce inequality by limiting access to higher education, which then limits employment prospects that are needed to move out of poverty. Second, they show how youth in this disadvantaged economic position are finding new ways to gain cultural, social, and economic capital to create futures for themselves. Third, their stories and experiences provide a different lens through which we can look at what it means for Tanzanian youth to achieve success by entering adulthood and advances a new sort of definition of what formal labor and employment looks like.

These lower class, urban youth are similar in this aspect to rural youth, who are also lacking opportunities, as Brown and Green (2015) discuss in their work, finding that volunteering in rural Tanzania rarely ends in gaining formal employment, but rural Tanzanians continue to pursue these volunteering positions. They found that "most volunteers did not make the transformation to paid labor but instead professionalized their volunteer work to position themselves better to access future volunteering positions" (Brown and Green 2015: 71). As in these descriptions, my research shows these Tanzanian youth using multiple volunteer opportunities to move into better volunteer opportunities and as replacements for the expected formal and informal labor practices. In this instance, NVRF provides options for these young people to "work" as volunteers, taking advantage of occasional financial allowances, but more importantly, providing a stable option for them to live comfortably, to increase their skills and knowledge, and to gain cultural and social capital that allows them to grow from youthhood to adulthood. This is particularly important when many of these lower-class youth do not have the options available to them to pursue further education or formal employment.

The youth in these positions rely on the meager allowances often provided through their volunteering activities, but more important are the other benefits that come from being attached to a volunteer organization, such as NVRF. For example, the youth volunteers at NVRF are treated to a meal for lunch each day and they are provided with transportation allowances when needing to travel for various sports trainings and matches. These seemingly small benefits are very important when the average daily income in Tanzania is equivalent to just over 3 USD and one meal or one bus ticket can cost about 1/3rd of that.[42] In some cases, the lunch provided by NVRF may be the only substantial meal of their day.

Like their middle-class peers, they also are gaining knowledge and skills, but they are then utilizing these to advance themselves further into the organization and their volunteering positions, or to continue some element of community-focused work adjacent to the organizational work. These youth often reflected on the opportunities that they felt they were being given through their voluntary work. One youth volunteer at NVRF said,

> First of all, I can say thanks for them because when I came here, I was someone who had no good future. But they give me advice, they get me educate[ed], so I can stand and start a new life. And the drama has helped me because they bought us a camera, yeah, they bought us a camera and they give us the connections which we can promo our videos.

The voluntary work that he has done at NVRF has provided him the same sort of things that it provides middle-class youth: stability, guidance, knowledge, and opportunity.

[42] Based on 2019 World Bank data showing Tanzania's GDP per capita to be $1,122.122. (https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.CD?locations=TZ) accessed 1/27/2020

5.4 The Volunteering Market and Capital Gains

Volunteering is often thought of as an altruistic action, and historically has had connections to ideologies of contributing to the greater good of the society, as seen throughout the history of volunteering across Africa, as discussed in the previous section. However, recently, volunteering has been part of a global shift, turning the emphasis towards the marketization of civil society and the role that volunteers play in creating change for themselves as well as their surrounding societies (Compion 2016, 6; Salamon 1993). Ethnographically, we see how "acts of volunteering are embedded in particular economies (and political contexts) and are shaped by a range of motivations" (Prince and Brown 2016, 7). Acknowledging that motivation for voluntary labor does not exist as a dichotomy of economic improvement and altruistic behavior, we must look at how volunteering is situated in broader economies of labor and value, and how it connects to notions of identity, society, and future potential (Prince 2015). Compion classifies this type of volunteering as having an "opportunist orientation" (Compion 2016, 186). This orientation or motivation towards volunteering means that for these individuals "volunteering will result in some sense of personal self-integration, social status, satisfaction/gratification, fulfillment of ethic norms, or good feeling" (Compion 2016, 186; Ziemek 2006). Identification with this orientation does not exclude one from also having motivations relating to other orientations; Compion uses this distinction to recognize the most primary motivations at play. In my research, the active volunteers at the organizations all initially expressed that the benefits they gained from volunteering were related to personal growth, typically related to employment factors and future goals, but would almost always follow this by saying they simultaneously were motivated to volunteer because they were passionate about the cause and wanted to contribute to their community. For example, in a survey of Tai volunteers, having a passion to help their communities was the second most

common reason for participating as a volunteer. Identifying their participation as being driven by an opportunist orientation does not negate or ignore the altruistic reasons for participating. Rather, it highlights the changing nature of what volunteering most importantly means for these particular youth in this particular context.

Increasingly recognized in African contexts experiencing high unemployment rates is the movement away from the trend to understand voluntary labor as an action of free time towards the understanding of voluntary labor as existing within an ambiguous space between paid and unpaid work. Ruth Prince and Hannah Brown (2016, 12) write,

> For many people in the [Majority World], and for the growing body of the unemployed in the [Minority World], volunteering is more an economic, livelihood strategy, a way of inserting oneself into networks of patronage, gaining experience, positioning oneself as qualified, and thus as employable, than a gift of free labor.

We see that clearly in the above case studies, with youth in Dar es Salaam participating in voluntary labor with expected outcomes that provide personal benefit. In Tanzania, volunteers are also often provided an "allowance" (a set amount of payment for a particular period of time) or money for transportation (Brown and Green 2015, 73). Often these small sums of money are what the individual lives from in place of formal, waged labor. This economic strategy requires one to piece together multiple opportunities, exceedingly difficult when the volunteer positions are themselves a precarious form of labor. Like the informal labor sector, volunteer positions provide very small economic remunerations, if any, so to have any sizeable financial impact on an individual's life, they cannot rely on just one position. This can be difficult as the volunteer positions often fluctuate with funding cycles and availability, becoming fragile and unreliable (Brown and Green 2015). People relying on volunteer labor for their livelihood must constantly be "hustling" to increase valuable social connections and to pursue the latest openings for opportunity (Prince 2015). This creates a market for volunteering and volunteer positions.

As in a physical market, where goods are bought, sold, and exchanged, impacting and affecting both the buyer and seller, the concept of "market volunteering" eliminates the focus on altruism as the main motivation for voluntary labor, and recognizes that people participate in voluntary activities for personal gain as well (Parker 1997). One Tai volunteer, who has done contract work for pay at multiple different organizations, yet continues to volunteer to "build his portfolio," described this motivation in the context of Tanzania, saying,

> People don't see volunteering as the way of contributing to the community. Even those who want to volunteer, eventually they want something. Either they want money, either in terms of transport or allowance, but others they volunteer because they want to get hired by that organization or company. So the issue of volunteering in the context of Tanzania, it is not the perspective of humanity, no; people volunteer because they want to get something out of volunteering.

However, market volunteering does not mean that volunteers are only motivated by financial or material gain. The practice of volunteering also allows individuals the ability to gain other forms of capital, including cultural and social capital (Brown and Green 2015). The idea, introduced by Bourdieu (1986), that capital exists in different forms, is demonstrated by the motivations to participate in voluntary activities despite very low economic potential. Volunteer positions provide both cultural and social capital possibilities. Cultural capital, forms of knowledge and skills, are one of the main reasons that youth in these organizations expressed as their reason for volunteering. For some youth volunteers, they begin their voluntary experiences with institutionalized cultural capital due to having a university degree, however this is dependent on class. Additionally, volunteer positions help youth to accumulate social capital, which they also expressed as being a prime motivation for volunteering. Social capital, or the connections you have and people you know, provides these youth with potential access to other opportunities that, again, may be transferable to earning economic capital. With the reality that economic capital and formal employment are exceedingly difficult to obtain, these

Tanzanian youth show how the practice of volunteering can increase cultural and social capital. In other words, the value of volunteering, or "market volunteering," is the cultural and social capital that is currently more accessible, with the hope that in the future it can be translated into economic capital.

5.5 Class, Structural Violence, and Volunteering

While the innovative responses of both groups of youth to their situations of unemployment are inspiring, when we look at the larger societal influences that result in these youth participating as volunteers, we can see volunteering as a response to systems of structural violence. Structural violence can be defined as systemic social inequalities created by power that reproduce and legitimize further inequities (Rylko-Bauer and Farmer 2016). Using a framework of structural violence helps to highlight the acts of oppression that are produced and reproduced by our social structures (Farmer 2004). The concept of violence is typically understood as acts of overt and visible physical violence, including acts of warfare, physical abuse, and weaponized policing. However, the concept of structural violence draws our attention to how social systems, like neoliberalism, colonialism, and patriarchy, for example, can be manipulated to legitimate inequalities, resulting in exposure to harm, and withholding of things deemed necessary for well-being, both physical and mental (Anglin 2010, Rylko-Bauer and Farmer 2016). The fact that this violence is perpetuated through known societal structures, such as government power, access to health care and education, and poverty, results in it becoming an accepted and normalized aspect of society. The violence in this structural sense is both biologized and internalized, resulting in "avoidable deaths, illness, and injury; and [the reproduction of] violence by marginalizing people and communities, constraining their

capabilities and agency, assaulting their dignity, and sustaining inequalities" (Rylko-Bauer and Farmer 2016, 47).

Tranberg Hansen writes regarding youth in Zambia that the "young population experience[s] urban life as structural violence. Conditioned by a colonial background of restrictive economic policies, and driven today by externally prescribed development policies, these urban wounds constrain youth agency on many fronts" (2008, 120). For these youth, their experiences with poverty or unemployment as symptoms of structural violence are created prior to their engagement with voluntary labor, but then are reproduced and perpetuated through their volunteerism as it can be argued to be a response to larger issues of government and state inefficiencies to ensure economic security.

Structural violence is very present in systems of poverty, and we see this impacting both class groups of Tanzanian youth, educated and uneducated. This becomes normalized for these youth, what Scheper-Hughes (1993) refers to as everyday violence, where socially vulnerable populations come to accept as normal "small wars and invisible genocides" in their daily lives. The multitude of social, political, and economic circumstances impacting these youth from the onset of their young lives are what leads them to being in positions of vulnerability in youthhood, in this case meaning unemployed and turning to voluntary labor. The difference is in what the structural violence means for each class position of youth.

Lower-class Tanzanian youth, without higher education, are boxed into poverty and often crime, due to structural influences. Dalsgaard's work in Recife, Brazil, shows how competition for education and vocational training causes low-income youth to seek alternative, often negative, paths (Tranberg Hansen 2008, 16). The youth in this research have attempted to replace these negative situations with voluntary labor but participating in this system of free labor only temporarily improves things for them as individuals and simultaneously reproduces

the larger structural violence present in Tanzanian society through their participation in providing free social services for the government.

Middle-class youth, with access to higher education, find themselves victims of structural violence as they try to navigate systemic unemployment. They have turned to utilizing volunteering to replace the absence of formal employment, but again, like their lower-class peers, their participation in voluntary labor ends up reproducing the systemic structural violence by keeping them stuck in this period of waithood in order to, once again, provide social services for the government.

In both cases, it is not a guarantee, or even necessarily common, that either class category of youth will benefit from their volunteering in the way that they intend. Volunteering does not guarantee middle-class educated youth a job. It may increase their chances, mostly through access to more contacts and social capital, but the act of volunteering does not magically create more jobs – which is what is really needed to start to address the issues of youth unemployment in Tanzania. For the lower-class youth, their reliance on voluntary labor as an alternative to formal, paid labor might temporarily provide them the stability and resources needed to make a livelihood, but realistically it is more likely to keep them stuck in the positions of poverty where they started.

Volunteering ends up being this temporary moment between childhood and adulthood where these youth can escape the structural violence through their own ingenuity, persistence, and (misguided?) hope. Middle-class youth can avoid the marginalization of being unemployed by participating as volunteers because they already have a base of stronger cultural capital (good family support, higher education, etc.) and a higher socioeconomic status. The lower-class youth also temporarily avoid the harm and marginalization of structurally reinforced unemployment through their voluntary actions, but they can do this usually because they have

had a pivotal experience that influences them to take a path different than their peers and because they are aware of and have access to an organization that practices community work in a way that benefits them. Overall, these youth demonstrate how the trajectories of their lives varies, and "assumes specific meanings," across class boundaries (Tranberg Hansen 2008, 209).

CHAPTER 6. CREATIVITY AND INNOVATION IN ORGANIZATIONAL PRACTICES

6.1 Introduction: Innovative Practices Used by Youth Organizations

In addition to the volunteering practices discussed in Chapter 5, Tanzanian youth are introducing innovative organizational practices to the local NGO sector in Dar es Salaam. These organizational practices aim to increase youth's options for their futures and to maximize the impacts and successes of the community-focused organizations with which they are involved.

In Chapter 4, I introduced the organizations with which I worked during my fieldwork in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. Each organization had a specific practice, or way of conducting their outreach work, which stood out as unique in the larger context of a vast number of NGOs working on similar issues, for example, sexual reproductive health (SRH) education.

This chapter examines those practices utilized specifically by three of the youth-led organizations: Tai Tanzania, Network for Vulnerable Rescue Foundation (NVRF), and Sports for Change, and focuses on two main organizational practices: (1) technology, specifically 3D animation, and (2) sports and games. These case studies demonstrate how using 3D animation or sports and games as community outreach practices increases the effectiveness, sustainability, and creativity of their organizational work. While there are many organizations working on issues of SRH in Tanzania, as discussed earlier, the uniqueness of these practices chosen by the organizations in my research make them stand out as visionaries with the potential to be models for future development and organizational outreach. The use of animation or sports and games are touted by the youth involved in these organizations as advantageous for the forward progress of community development and education in Tanzania. Franz Fanon said, "Each generation must discover its mission, fulfill it or betray it, in relative opacity" (2005, xxxi). Recognizing that society is changing around them, these Tanzanian youth are realizing the

importance of creativity and innovation to advance their generation's legacy. One research participant stated,

> In the past there was more limitations of what sort of methods you can do. Now they have technology and better roads to make it easier to get around. Access to internet and television has increased. This has been changing the relationship towards organizing and allowed for perhaps more innovation and development.

This youth recognizes that positive changes in access and infrastructure is allowing for a wider range of options when it comes to organizational methodologies and practices. The youth-driven innovation they mention has the potential to inform future ways of organizing, reducing limits on organizational practices due to changing generational differences, neoliberalism, and class, as discussed previously. Scholars of generational studies say that "youth can lead such transformations because of their 'fresh contact' (Manheim 1952) with society and their novel outlook as they assimilate, develop, and alter the social and cultural repository they receive" (Honwana 2012, 162). The current youth generation involved in the Tanzanian NGO sector seems to be at the forefront of these transformations, employing creative practices such as animation and sports to pursue their organizational interests. These youth recognize this work as innovative, meaning that it is something new that results in the betterment of their work. Honwana and de Boeck write, "Creative and innovative forms of popular culture –theatre, arts, music and dance –are often the exclusive domain of the young as they create, re-invent, and domesticate global trends into local forms" (2005, 1). Akida said that Tai understood innovation as "the ability to use the available resources to simplify or improve [their] work." He also said that the concepts of innovation (*ubunifu*) and creativity are used interchangeably in the Swahili language.

There are examples of this youth-focused innovation in other places as well. African youth are at the forefront of leading examples of innovative ways to address social issues. For

example, in South Africa, a group of Johannesburg teens run a weekly Saturday morning radio show called “Bigger Than Life,” which discusses crime and gun violence in their community while also playing hip-hop music and taking callers’ questions. The show averages about 150,000 listeners (AFP 2019). In Ghana, youth are presented as “drivers of social change,” in a study looking at how youth are engaging in media as citizen journalists, allowing them to perceive themselves as having agency and influence (Grauenkaer and Tufte 2018, 401). The youth in these examples are engaging in previously uncommon ways to participate in social outreach, which can be utilized in NGO spaces, as the Tanzanian youth demonstrate in this research.

These innovative practices are also related to development, particularly in the African context. The idea of development often relies on a neoliberal ideology that rationalizes and requires individuals to create and improve their own livelihoods, shifting responsibility from the state to the individual (Tranberg Hansen 2008; Switzer 2013). This is what has created the oversaturation of local NGOs in Dar es Salaam; these organizations are taking up issues that the government is not adequately addressing, such as SRH, HIV/AIDS, and unemployment. In terms of the unemployment issue, many non-local NGO programs, whose focus is on improving and developing local communities, seek to provide education about how youth members of the society can become “entrepreneurial citizens” (DeJaeghere 2017). In her study in Tanzania, DeJaeghere (2017) found that the dominant ideology behind this entrepreneurial focus is to help the youth population by creating jobs and boosting the economic growth of the nation. Studies show that this type of training does not necessarily translate to improving long-term, sustainable job or economic growth (Valerio et al. 2014). Instead, these interventions typically result only in short-term poverty alleviation and a requirement for individual agency to improve wellbeing, as discussed in Chapter 1. Therefore, these programs are often found to fall short of impacting youth’s futures and become only a way that youth can simply survive from day to day.

In this chapter, I look at the unique practices of Tai, NVRF, and Sports for Change, which are providing education and opportunity for Tanzanian youth through avenues not commonly pursued. These local, youth-led organizations are offering opportunities to young people to participate as staff or volunteers in organizational settings that seem to appeal more to this generation. A Tai volunteer recognized this crucial benefit, saying "Tai is good and effective on how it conducts its work with volunteers…it makes volunteers have an owning feeling of the organization." This feeling of ownership, or active participation, is created by Tai inviting the ideas of their youth staff and volunteers, prioritizing the suggestions of the young people themselves that ultimately gives them a sense of significance. This is important because it encourages innovation and also retains the youth volunteers by giving them a valued role and voice within the organization. Cole and Durham write that, "youth's practices generate new ways of thinking, feeling, and being that transfer into the future" (2008, 19). Tanzanian youth are searching for ways to improve their chances, like volunteering when faced with unemployment, as discussed in Chapter 5, and I argue that these specific youth-generated ways are transferring into the future, having greater impact, and providing more meaning to the young people themselves.

This is increasingly important as the Tanzanian government continues to search for ways to address the on-going problem of unemployment, especially for educated youth. While there is much focus on increasing the agricultural job sector, others are calling for looking to the potential of the creative industry, defined as economic activities that allow for more creative influences, for example, design, music, architecture, film, advertising, and fashion. They argue that the creative industry is an area having the ability to increase employment growth, with many saying that policies need to consider and reflect the creative industry in its economic potential to create jobs and revenue (Kolumbia 2019). Technological innovation has been at the

forefront of many of these discussions of the creative industry and the increasing availability of the internet across the globe is a critical facet in enabling youth to mobilize and communicate in new ways (Honwana 2012).

Also, in this section, the link between volunteering and class previously discussed in Chapter 5 will be expanded, showing that the types of creative practices volunteers are engaging with can also be linked to class. For example, producing animated videos requires special equipment so is typically only an option for organizations that have access to more financial resources and people with higher technological skills, whereas using sports and games requires fewer material resources and can be implemented more easily in resource poor environments.

One of the leading anthropologists studying African youth, Alcinda Honwana, wrote, "Across Africa and the world, the waithood generation is creating new geographies and forms of participatory citizenship action outside hegemonic models. Youth are refusing to continue living in waithood" (2012, 163). We saw this refusal in the previous chapter with youth navigating this waithood identity by utilizing volunteer opportunities to create new possibilities for their futures. In this section, we will see how Tanzanian youth, "committed to new techniques of learning, earning, and communicating as ways of gaining life chances" (Christiansen, Utas, and Vigh 2006, 20), are influencing the organizations with which they are volunteering. Three organizational examples will provide the context for realizing the impact that youth-driven innovation and creativity are having on organizational practices, and how these are also opening even more possibilities for young people in Tanzania.

6.2 The Innovation of Animation

> I believe that animation tells a thousand pictures.
> (Interview with an animator at Tai, 9/10/2019)

Animation has been used as a tool for development programs since the 1960s, but it was not until the 1980s that development organizations really began to see the power that animation had to deliver information, especially to illiterate audiences (Greene and Reber 1996). Digital animation is a relatively new technology in Tanzania. To study it professionally, one must travel outside of the country to find courses offered at the university-level. Most of the small cohort of animators in Tanzania are self-trained, relying on YouTube videos to hone their skills. Young people in Tanzania have been at the forefront of this digital turn. They are finding that, like themselves, youth are drawn to this new, exciting approach to storytelling and education. They are also quickly finding that the interest in watching animated features can cross generational lines, becoming an area of huge potential for advertisement and community outreach.

Within the field of non-profit and NGO work in Tanzania, animation is proving popular for educational purposes. Ubongo, as introduced in Chapter 4, has been the leading developer of educational materials through their animated television series, widely popular among young children in Tanzania. Ubongo, however, produces their work using two-dimensional (2D) animation. Tai, also introduced in Chapter 4, has advanced the field of animation in the country by producing three-dimensional (3D) animated videos (Figure 19).

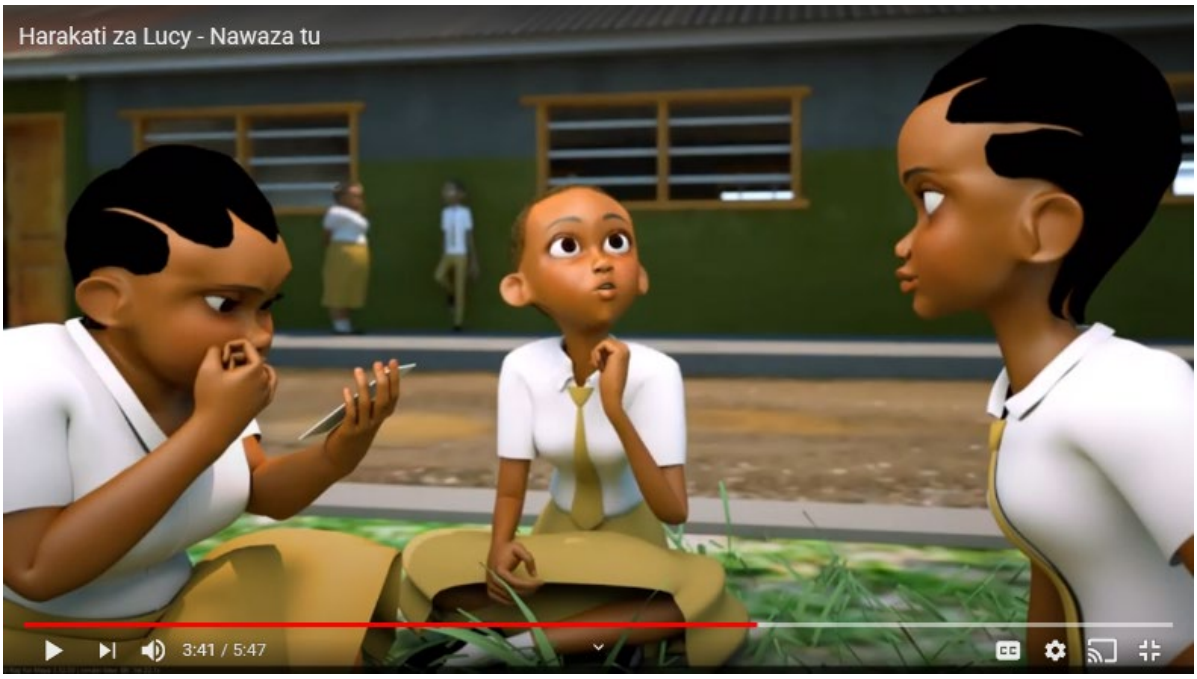

Figure 19. Screenshot of a Tai episode of Harakati za Lucy

For Tai, the idea to produce 3D animation videos as part of their organizational practices came directly from the brainstorming of the three Tanzanian youths leading the organization. They knew that to capture the attention of both community audiences and donor audiences they needed to be doing something different from the plethora of other organizations doing similar work. The idea to do animation was simply this recognition of need combined with individual interests and hobbies; a family member of one of the youth co-founders was teaching himself how to draw cartoons and create animations. These ideas combined to use the entertainment value of animation to present educational material and became a practice that the organization could use in its work. The ability for this idea to grow into a practice is based in the capacity of young people to think creatively and try their hand at new innovations.

6.2.1 Edutainment and Animation

Creativity is defined as the "ability or power to create."[43] Creations can take many forms, but those that are unusual or rare are often the ones that stick with us. Entertainment education, more commonly referred to using the portmanteau "edutainment," is studied heavily in the fields of education and communication. A leading scholar on the topic, Arvind Singhal, compares the edutainment strategy in communication to fairy tales, calling on the power of stories to "vanquish societal 'monsters' like gender inequality, domestic violence, malnutrition, and suffering from HIV/AIDS" (2013, 1). While storytelling, fairy tales, and other folk methodologies for instructional purposes have been utilized for millennia, edutainment as a purposive strategy, especially disseminated through print, radio, television, and other digital media, has only recently begun to be a topic of interest (Singhal 2013).

Several definitions exist for what precisely constitutes edutainment. Generally, it is something that purposefully designs and disseminates a message to both entertain and educate, in order to "increase audience knowledge about an educational issue, create favorable attitudes, and change behavior" (Singhal, Cody, Rogers, and Sabido 2004, 5). More specifically, it is touted as:

> A theory-based communication strategy for purposefully embedding educational and social issues in the creation, production, processing, and dissemination process of an entertainment program, in order to achieve desired individual, community, institutional, and societal changes among the intended media user populations (Singhal 2013, 4).

The youth at the organizations with which I worked understood edutainment in these same contexts, recognizing the potential in using entertainment value to increase educational expression and, hopefully, retention. Scholars of edutainment have shown how effectively it

[43] *Oxford English Dictionary,* s.v. "creativity, n," accessed May 21, 2020, https://www-oed-com.ezproxy.uky.edu/view/Entry/44075?redirectedFrom=creativity

influences individual attitudes and behaviors, and how it helps to create the necessary conditions for social change at the system level (Singhal et. al. 2003). Edutainment shows are increasingly utilized in the Majority World to educate large portions of the population and local production, especially in the African setting, is typically led by youth (Christiansen, Utas, and Vigh 2006). There is recognition that the analytical orientation of these edutainment strategies often exists in a south-north or east-west flow (Singhal 2013). This means that we are increasingly seeing that these edutainment strategies are emerging in areas like the Majority World and being exported to other regions, opposite the directional flow that we often (wrongly) attribute to paths of globalization. Most famously, we see edutainment strategies created in the 1960s by Miguel Sabido, a Mexican TV producer, still being used today as the framework for using mass media for social change, especially through the use of serial radio and television dramas. Kawamura and Kohler write about the use of this methodological framework in a serial radio drama titled *BodyLove* in Alabama, as well as in Japan, epitomizing this south-north direction of informational flow (Kawamura and Kohler 2013). There is also work on edutainment that looks at the specific unique contributions from southern Africa (see e.g., Govender 2010; Ige and Quinlan 2012; Lagerwerf, Boer, and Wasserman 2009).

In Tanzania, studies have been done measuring the impacts of edutainment. In the mid-1990s, a radio soap opera broadcast in Tanzania was found to have strong behavioral effects on family planning adoption (Rogers et al. 1999). A study in 2011 of the impacts of a show produced by Femina called *Ruka Juu* shows that it had success in increasing youth viewers' entrepreneurial activities, "demonstrat[ing] that an edutainment show has the potential to both inspire and initiate behavioral change" (Bjorvatn et al. 2015, 20). In 2016, a study was done to gauge the effectiveness of the then-newly produced Tanzanian children's show called *Akili and Me*. This study found that children exposed to this edutainment series gained valuable and

foundational knowledge of numbers, language, and shapes, drawing the conclusion that "young and vulnerable children can benefit from a locally-produced educational program" (Borzekowski 2017, 53). It has been shown that using edutainment videos specifically in schools is an effective health education tool and has a positive impact on knowledge and attitudes of teenagers. Using digital storytelling captures the challenges youth face, allowing students to talk about issues that are not normally addressed in school. It offers an information vehicle that increases dialogue, counters misunderstandings and assumptions, and provides accurate information (Reed & Hill 2010).

Overall, as a form of edutainment, animated videos provide several specific benefits for the type of work in which organizations like Tai are engaging. Using animated videos excites the audience and offers something different from other organizations while providing a unique representation of African lives. It also increases access and retention of education material and provides a more comfortable way to discuss difficult or sensitive topics. My work with Tai provides very clear examples of each of these features in use, producing a case study that demonstrates how employing animation as a tool can increase the capability and success of organizations working for social change. Next, I will describe specifically how these attributes of 3D animation are present in Tai's efforts.

6.2.2 Case Study 3: Tai Tanzania

Tai Tanzania produces 3D animation videos to further their goals of distributing educational content to their local communities, as described in Chapter 4. One interviewee, a volunteer staff member of Tai, commenting on how she had never seen this type of practice used for organizing or education before, said:

> The most successful thing that Tai has accomplished or has done so far is their mode of educating the community; they are using the 3D video.

> Actually, I have never encountered an organization who does that, so for me that's one of the things which triggered me to be more interested in working with Tai because I've never heard an organization who they produce 3D animation in a series form, like episodic way.
>
> …[In] each episode there is an element of educating to the community or to the youth; we are talking about all sexual reproductive health education, but it is a series, like we talk about from the growth, like when the youth, when the child becomes aware of his puberty or enters menstruation, issues of sexual desires, issues of pregnancy, issues of STDs, HIV. It's all a series of educating on things which really are happening in our community, so that mode itself it creates even more awareness. [A]nd I think it makes even the people we intend to educate more attentive on like, ok, I've never seen this mode, this is very interesting, so this is how it is done, so it is edu-entertain, we educate at the same time we entertain the community. [S]o for me that's a very creative way that Tai have approached.

For example, the *Haraki za Lucy* series, targeting school-aged youth, excites the intended audience by simply being something different that occurs during their school day. The novelty of gathering in a common area, having an enthusiastic group of youth leaders visiting, and screening an engaging cartoon show is more than enough to incite students' interests. Because animation is not commonly used by other organizations, it remains memorable and catches their attention. School children in Tanzania are no strangers to having NGOs come into their spaces and attempt to introduce new ideas and education, so it is somewhat essential to include engagement in new and innovative ways to avoid becoming just like every other organization. One of the Tai volunteers described this by saying,

> First of all, in Tanzania, it's like, if you won't capture the attention of the students, it is very hard to make them listen to what you are trying to give out. If you won't capture my attention, actually I won't listen to you, so you have to come up with something which is interesting, that when I look at it it's like wow, this is the thing, ok, so what's next after this? You see? So, it's all about playing with the mindset of whom you are trying to target.

This need to excite today's youth is solved because Tai is run by youth themselves and they are more capable of recognizing the need to excite their peers and present material to them that is engaging and novel. In other words, the Tai team knows what youth want because they are all youth themselves.

I experienced this firsthand while working with Tai during their dissemination of *Haraki za Lucy* episodes in local schools in Dar es Salaam. In October 2019, I travelled with the Tai team to one of the secondary schools that was involved in the Darubini project for the dissemination of one of the *Harakati za Lucy* episodes. Juma, one of the field coordinators, was in charge that day. We all arrived in various forms of personal transportation, me and six Tanzanian volunteers, about three hours prior to the scheduled start time for the dissemination. The previous day, when I was told that this was the time I should arrive, I wondered why we needed to get there so early. I quickly learned why.

The school was situated on a compound made up of several buildings arranged around a central area. The front of the compound contained two two-story buildings that were accessible by a staircase on the outside of the structures that took you up to the second-level landing. These were the classrooms and they had large windows with bars, which opened out into the central area. Along the left side of the compound there were several smaller, dilapidated buildings that housed a small *duka* (shop) and the cafeteria. Along the backside of the compound was another row of classroom buildings, however, these were single-story, in poor repair, and seemed to be being used for storage of excess chairs and tables. In the middle of the compound was the largest structure, also not in use, but appearing to be more recently erected. None of the schools in this area had any structure that was large enough to have all the schoolchildren inside to attend the episode dissemination. This meant that often the weather

caused Tai to cancel and reschedule these events. It also meant, on this day, that we had to navigate a muddy, puddle-filled gathering area because there had been rain earlier that week.

Juma surveyed the area and decided upon a section that he thought would be the least dirty and could accommodate approximately 300 schoolchildren, allowing them all an unobstructive view of the animation. The set-up began, accompanied by the increasing volume of excited schoolchildren's voices as they snuck peeks out of their open classroom windows. Although I had assumed the setup would simply be putting up the screens and plugging in the projector, I was quickly introduced to the realities of Tanzanian schools. All sorts of complications arose. We had to run 100 feet of extension cords; we had to avoid electrical equipment coming into contact with puddles of water; we had to figure out a way to affix the self-standing screens to the building so the wind would not blow them over; speakers had sound issues; and so on. Through all of this, however, everyone acted like it was just any other day at any regular school.

Eventually everything was situated, and the schoolchildren began to gather. Arriving were girls and boys both, Muslim and Christian, all wearing school uniforms of white shirts and beige pants or green skirts, gender dependent. The energy was palpable and the noise level high. Teachers did not appear to be present, and the children just filled into the area wherever they could find a space on the ground (Figure 20 and Figure 21). Volunteers went around and handed out what they called Pre-Test Questionnaires. These were distributed randomly to a certain percentage of students to gauge their knowledge and understanding of the topics that were to be presented in the animation prior to the viewing. These same students would then receive Post-Test Questionnaires to see if their knowledge and understanding had changed once they had viewed the animation.

Figure 20. Tai screening of Harakati za Lucy at a local secondary school


Figure 21. Schoolchildren at a screening of Harakati za Lucy at a local secondary school

When we were ready to show the animation, Juma struggled for a few minutes to get everyone to quiet down, and then he passed the microphone over to one of the volunteers who was to act as the MC for the dissemination. He greeted the children and explained why Tai was there today and what they would be viewing. This was all conducted in Swahili. Next, the episode of *Harakati za Lucy* was played. They played the episode twice and then divided the children up into six smaller groups for discussion, with each volunteer taking charge of one small group. The groups were separated by gender, but the volunteers did not necessarily go with a group matching their own gender. During these discussions, the volunteers engaged the students to talk about the issues presented in the video and how they navigated these same issues in their own lives. Topics on this particular day included menstruation and puberty.

The students seemed genuinely to respond well to Tai's presentation and presence at their school. It was something new and exciting, outside of their regular day, and they also seemed to enjoy engaging with these topics. After initial bouts of shyness expressed by some of them, the discussion groups quickly turned into fits of laughter and productive conversation with students sharing their own experiences with things they witnessed the animated characters also facing, like having their first menstruation or interest in dating and sexual activity.

The reason that Tai touted for prioritizing this particular type of outreach was, in addition to being new and exciting, the animations increase access to, and retention of, the material being presented. Interviewees often expressed that schoolchildren were so inundated with organizations coming and speaking to them that the schoolchildren stopped paying attention. Tai members recognize that reaching this audience necessitated change in the practices utilized. The animation relies on visual sensory engagement. Everyone I spoke with at Tai commented that this is a more effective way to ensure retention, rather than just telling schoolchildren what they should or should not do. One of the Tai staff members said, "You can

speak, but not everybody can hear you. But you can show vision, and vision will never wipe out of your head." She compared the Tai practice to popular movies, specifically citing *2Fast 2Furious* and *Frozen*, saying that when people see these movies, they are then able to tell a very good story about them afterwards because they remember seeing it. This goes the same for the Tai animations. Students watch the videos, and they capture their attention in a way that sticks in their minds so that they can recollect the information presented in the video.

Another small benefit of animation reported by Tai members is that it can be easily shared and screened.[44] Verbal presentations cannot be reproduced and shared with others who did not have the opportunity to view them. For those that have access to technology devices, like television and smartphones, they can re-watch animations that have been posted on Facebook or YouTube and share them with others. For those who do not have access to televisions and smartphones, as one Tai member said, the animation increases their access to this type of information because it allows Tai to bring the edutainment material to the school to reach these students, as described earlier. Having this replicable way of sharing information increases the quantity of students impacted. For example, in a single screening event at one school, Tai can reach 3,000 students.

Animation also allows for a unique representation of African lives that is not usually available to viewers. Tai produces animated characters that represent what Tanzanians actually look like. The Darubini Project Volunteer manual states:

> People are more likely to receive and act on the message of animations if they can relate culturally to the characters and the context of the message. Therefore, there is a huge emphasis on having both the environment and the characters in the *Harakati za Lucy* series to be as representative of the students' daily lives as possible. The characters in the animations are made so as to represent Tanzanian adolescents and

[44] The ease of screening is subjective. There were many technical difficulties due to lack of appropriate infrastructure at many of the schools where Tai screened episodes for the 2019 Darubini Project. Ease in this context is referring to the fact that once an animation is produced, it is a final product that exists in perpetuity.

> each episode addresses issues related to the everyday lives of adolescent students. It is our belief that this makes a space where the adolescents can identify themselves with the characters and the problems they face, which will improve their learning outcomes and provide them with tools to be able to make decisions based on their own.

They also model the animated environments and backgrounds to resemble familiar scenes. For example, in **Error! Reference source not found.**, a screenshot from one of the Tai episodes of *Harakati za Lucy*, we see the character named Zongwe walking in the street. He is wearing the standard school uniform that most Tanzanian public-school students wear, and he is walking past a typical outdoor restaurant, identified locally by the plastic tables and chairs and Coca-Cola sign. Zongwe is approaching someone he knows who is standing outside of his *bajaji* (a locally popular three-wheeled auto rickshaw vehicle). All these familiar elements provide a viewing experience where the audience can recognize themselves and their environment in the animated narrative.

Figure 22. Screenshot of a Harakati za Lucy episode showing Zongwe approaching a bajaji

It is rare for popular media to show representations of African culture and environments. One volunteer talked about how American movies, like *The Avengers,* are popular amongst Tanzanian youth, but they do not have any characters that look like them or show any sort of environment that resembles their own.[45] She noted that this can be particularly important for Tanzanian girls because they tend to lack local representation in other ways as well, like music videos and sports. The importance of having representation has been acknowledged in studies on educational media. One study that looked at Ubongo's *Akili and Me* program said,

> While *Akili and Me* employs many critical factors necessary for effective educational media, its most distinctive feature likely contributing to the program's success, especially for this young and vulnerable audience, is the inclusion of culturally relevant elements. To date, practically all media reaching Tanzanian children comes from other regions of the world and include references that might be unfamiliar to this audience. --- In contrast, *Akili and Me* is a locally produced educational program, that presents the music, characters, and culture of East African children (Borzekowski 2017, 58).

Tai places a lot of emphasis on ensuring this culturally relevant representation in their work. They tend to model their characters and the environment, and even the storylines, from real information gathered during pre-production. They seek out this information from the audience prior to producing the animations to ensure the most accurate and relatable representations possible. Animation makes it possible for them to create these images of people and places in such a way as to capture more than just one specific recognizable element. A Tai staff member described the importance of this by saying,

> Animation it makes you like relate with the character, ok, and what the character they are like, you can relate to them, what they are doing it's like every-day work that you do, how they talk, so it's easy to relate with them, cause like, they are doing, it's like a mini human being…

[45] While there are African produced films, see "nollywood," they are not popular amongst the urban youth population.

To tell a story using relatable pictures emphasizes the importance of storytelling to share information. Lambert (2013, 6) says, “Stories are what we do as humans to make sense of the world. We are perpetual storytellers, reviewing events in the form of re-lived scenes, nuggets of context and character, actions that lead to realizations.” To lead to those realizations, this type of animation produces a way for the audience to connect their own stories to the ones that look like theirs represented in the animated images. Tai uses this as a tool to present topics that have very real impacts on young peoples’ lives, including puberty and sexual reproductive health.

For example, one episode of *Harakati za Lucy* produced by Tai is titled “Nawaza Tu,” meaning “I Think” in English. The episode begins with a bird’s eye view of a standard looking Tanzanian schoolyard. A teacher’s voice is heard calling out student’s names and it cuts to the teacher handing back completed tests. The teacher twice calls the name Sofia, but no one gets up. A young girl, Sofia, is then seen gesturing to her friend to get the test for her. Next the name Zongwe is called, and a boy jumps up, doing a silly walk to the front of the class, and then trips and falls. Everyone laughs.

The opening sequence comes next, with fun music, credits, and clips from other animated episodes showing the characters. The film cuts back to Sofia, sitting alone in the classroom. Her friend comes in, bringing her a scarf to tie around her waist, and now most viewers recognize that Sofia has had her period. The friend says they should go tell the teacher, but Sofia hesitates because she will be embarrassed. The friend says that teachers are like second parents and the female teacher will understand this type of thing. They walk to the teacher’s office but find only a male teacher inside. He immediately is angered that Sofia is wearing a scarf, as it is not part of the school uniform. Sofia says that she has had a problem and the male teacher angrily asks what he can do to help her. Both girls stand in silence, averting their eyes. The teacher looks uncomfortable and appears to figure out what the problem is. He

says that they do not have any pads at the school, but he gives Sofia some money, presumably so she can go buy one.

The next scene is Sofia sitting on the ground outside of the school with two female friends. She asks her friends if they have had their period yet and the newer friend says that she started hers in primary school. Sofia asks how she gets pads because she is worried that she will go to buy them, and it will be a man at the checkout. Her friend says that her mother tells her to use cloth, but she usually just does not come to school. Her friend from the previous scene says that she also will use cloths but would sometimes buy pads if she had extra money. Sofia seems shocked and says that cloths can cause infections. Her friend says that not everyone can afford pads, and cloths are okay if you clean them properly. The newer friend says that she wishes organizations would supply schools with pads. The other friends says that it is a bigger problem than that and it should not only be the effort of organizations.

Suddenly, Zongwe appears from behind a tree, clearly eavesdropping, and says that he agrees. The girls all scream with laughter, but Zongwe just says that cool guys get involved with these topics. Then he walks away singing and dancing and everyone laughs. The friend then turns and speaks directly at the viewer, saying that if the government can provide free school, then they need to supply sanitary pads so that girls are able to fully attend. The episode ends with her saying, “What do you think?”

The example of this episode demonstrates how animation is beneficial for organizing and social change advocacy also because it provides a way to discuss sensitive or difficult topics in a more comfortable way. This is something that has been documented by scholars researching communication methodologies for development. They argue that animation allows for expressing complex ideas in simple, concise ways and addressing sensitive issues in less confrontational ways (see Greene and Reber 1996; Dawkins 2015). This is important because

"raising sensitive issues in a lateral way rather than head-on, decreases the chances of resistance. This power to communicate sensitive issues without alienating audiences is a major asset of animation" (McBean and McKee 1996, 15). This benefit of animation was often brought up by Tai members as one of the reasons the animation worked so well. Utilizing animation to discuss issues related to sexual health and puberty was touted as making these culturally "sticky" topics much less threatening. The animations can even be produced in such a way that brings some humor to the serious topics discussed. For example, in one *Harakati za Lucy* episode one of the male characters has a nighttime dream about a woman. This scene often elicits laughter from the youth audience but, in addition to providing some silly entertainment, it simultaneously shows them that this is a normal process involved in puberty. Other sensitive topics that include situations of violence can also be more easily addressed through animation because they can create and tell a story using anonymized characters (Vaughn 2013). For example, Tai's most recent project, being undertaken in 2021, is an animated series about violence and discrimination against the Tanzanian albino population.

Considering these organizational impacts, Tai is a youth-led organization that has adopted, cultivated, and developed the practice of using animation to achieve their unique youth-minded and youth-driven goals. By using an innovative organizational practice that includes the benefits of being exciting, increasing access to information, providing a unique representation of African lives, and offering a way to easily engage with difficult topics, Tai demonstrates that Tanzanian youth influences are impacting the way community outreach is conducted in their local communities.

6.3 Sports and Games: Playing as a Practice

Another method being touted by youth for organizational purposes in Tanzania is sports and games for development. Several of the organizations with which I worked, as discussed in Chapter 4, engaged in using sports and games for education, inspiration, and to provide alternatives to Tanzanian youth who otherwise have limited options in their lives. This is not a new method, per se, as I show through an exploration of the anthropology of sport, but in this context and for these purposes these youth are innovating the contribution of sport to social change and community outreach organizations.

6.3.1 Anthropology of Sport

Within the discipline of anthropology, until the 1960s, sport was typically conceived of actions of play, mostly child-like, and therefore not of consequence to the larger, cultural meanings of lives being studied (Blanchard 1995). Several of the most prominent figures of early anthropology dabbled in the topic, helping sport to gain credibility as being a part of social lives that was worth studying. Most notably was Clifford Geertz's *Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight,* where he describes how a deeper examination of the sport of cockfighting uncovers a vast amount of cultural information and meanings of networks of social relationships that govern Balinese life (Geertz 1973).

Other early theorists, such as Pierre Bourdieu, made connections between sport and social class. Bourdieu (1978) outlined how different types of sports were connected to different social classes and class expectations. These differences, he argued, were influenced by, and contributed to, levels of economic as well as social capital. Bourdieu wrote, "Class habitus defines the meaning conferred on sporting activity, the profits expected from it; and not the least of these profits is the social value accruing from the pursuit of certain sports by virtue of

the distinctive rarity they derive from their class distribution" (1978, 835). Some sports, like football, have been historically considered working class sports. To become a footballer brings you certain symbolic capital; it identifies you as a particular type of working-class person in your community. This symbolic capital can then be converted into other forms, like social and material capital (Besnier, Brownell, and Carter 2018, 100). Foucault's theories of power have also been critical in the anthropological study of sport. His work on biopolitics/biopower and how the state controls physical bodies can be extrapolated to the exploration of organized sport and how that can be used to control individuals, but also how individuals can use sport as a resistance action (Besnier, Brownell, and Carter 2018; Scott 1985). This demonstrates the notion of "everyday forms of resistance," where underpowered groups utilize their own practices to create power in the face of domination (Foucault 1977; Foucault 1978; Foucault and Gordon 1980; Scott 1985).

Today, anthropology recognizes that "sport is both a performance genre that exhibits qualities of play, liminality, and storytelling, and a unique nexus of the body, multiplex identities, and multilayered governance structures from local to global scales" (Besnier, Brownell, and Carter 2018, 38). Studying sports can further insights into social, cultural, historical, and political processes – both locally and globally. Vidas writes, "Since the practice of sport is the local manifestation of a global phenomenon, through paying attention to sport we can capture the articulation of the local and the global through the regional and the national in ways that are not so easily done in other domains" (2006, 337). Using the lens of the anthropology of sport allows us to examine ways that sport and games are used within local contexts to extrapolate these ideas to a global audience.

This section will address sport as a tool of development in a local context, arguing that the colonial history of sport and the connections of class and power to the topic influence the

community education and social change models that utilize sport as a practice of organizing. Case studies of two local, youth-led organizations in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, will be presented, both introduced previously, Network for Vulnerable Rescue Foundation (NVRF) and Sports for Change. These organizations utilize sports and games for community organizing goals. The practice of sport allows these organizations to conduct the work that many other groups are simultaneously involved in, but in such a way that purports to increase effectiveness, sustainability, and creativity. Through their practices involving local youth and the wider community, these youth-led organizations are demonstrating how sports hold great social potential for solving real world problems at the local level. Additionally, their practices demonstrate how Tanzanian youth, in this context, are using these innovative practices of sport and games to improve their own future prospects.

6.3.2 Sport and Development – International and Local

Several holistic volumes on the anthropology of sport have been written covering a multitude of topics, including the histories of sport, the relationship of colonialism to the global environment of sport, the differences between concepts like leisure, game, sport, and play, "traditional" and "modern" sport distinctions, and how sport connects to issues of race, gender, class, ethnicity, and other identities (see Blanchard 1995; Besnier, Brownell, and Carter 2018). Much of the work that connects the topics of sport and games to development or social-behavioral change studies emphasizes the importance of play to childhood development and education. Play is recognized in educational literature as a valuable way that children learn cultural rules, understandings of conflict and power, and basic knowledge (Hirsh-Pasek et al. 2009). However, this obviously varies from culture to culture and for development purposes international organizations often do not consider local knowledge, which impacts how

education is approached in different places. Materials provided for play-based learning are often not utilized as intended. International organizations involved in spreading play-based learning must develop context-appropriate play-based approaches that incorporate local beliefs about learning. Though their ideas are exciting, they typically do not account for the large number of students per class, lack of resources, and rigid school schedules common to most public learning environments across East Africa,[46] so teachers are not able to incorporate them the way they are intended (Moland 2017). This issue was expressed to me during an interview with a staff member at Right to Play Tanzania. She said this was a problem that Right to Play had overcome by pushing for authorization by the parent organization in Canada, who develops the sports and games activities, to allow the local office to alter the activities based on their own local experiences and knowledge. They have even now translated the game manuals into Swahili. During my fieldwork, a new country director for Right to Play Tanzania was instated, and intriguingly he is Tanzanian but does not speak Swahili because he has lived outside of the country for most of his life. All of the other staff are long-time local residents so it will be interesting to see if his leadership changes the influence that the local staff are able to have on the organization.

Another area of significance is Sport for Development and Peace (SDP) initiatives. Academic interest in SDP is widespread, with work typically focusing on large, multinational NGO efforts that are utilizing sport as a tool for social change and development (Besnier, Brownell, and Carter 2018, 236). However, most of this work looks at SDP projects from a top-down perspective, ignoring the local voices that are needed to completely understand local

[46] It is common for Primary and Secondary schools in Tanzania (equivalent to K-12 in the U.S.) to have 100s of students per class. The physical environment of these public schools is typically mostly empty rooms with broken desks and benches, but no other useable materials or equipment, and the curriculum is strongly mandated and controlled by the government.

impact (Burnett 2013). These initiatives are also widely criticized, not unlike the international education initiatives, as they often do not take local dynamics into account and ignore the larger structures of inequality that frequently cause the issues that the organizations are attempting to address in the first place (Darnell and Millington 2018). Other critiques label SDP projects as "impersonation[s] of the botched international development aid project," and as continuations of colonial practices (Burnett 2015; Darnell 2014; Mwaanga and Adeosun 2019). These appear to be more a show of support rather than actually instituting change and one could argue that sport is being used to serve larger interests, such as international demonstrations of aid and governmental relations. The fact that the majority of these international SDP initiatives are run by foreigners, typically from the U.S., Europe, and Nordic countries, reproduces the colonial power relationship symbolically, with an outside entity dictating how development and aid should be undertaken and the recipient being in a position that limits their ability to prosper without these external interventions.

Discussing international relations, Besnier, Brownell, and Carter (2018) state that,

> sport can be transformed from an embodied practice oriented to the development of the individual into an attempt to convince groups of people of something that they might otherwise ignore or disagree with. In this process, sport is not practiced for its own intrinsic values, but is deployed for its ability to demonstrate and develop values extrinsic to the sport in question (230).

Even though they are talking about sport being utilized as a tool for diplomacy and international relations, this idea can be extrapolated to sport being used as a development methodology to improve societies at the individual, community, and state levels. While the individual practice and dedication to a sport or activity is important, it is the group or team mentality that can be harnessed to provoke influence. Sport has been historically used in this way in Tanzania, with the country even boycotting the 1976 Olympics to protest South African apartheid policies (McHenry 1980). Unfortunately, utilizing sport to promote unity has not been as successful by

the government because encouraging international and domestic competitions and rivalries has often historically ended in acts of violence (McHenry 1980).[47]

What NVRF and Sports for Change show us is that these same principles and practices of using sports as an organizational tool can be developed and utilized from a unique and innovative local perspective. These organizations are adjusting the basic ideas from SDP initiatives to fit the needs of the local community. While they both utilize and incorporate ideas of play-based and sport-focused education from larger, international organizations, as local, youth-led organizations they have developed their own unique programs that demonstrate success within their specific local contexts. This offers a demonstration of a way that sports can be used in an organizational context that is more successful. The practices shown here by these organizations in Tanzania could be used in other contexts, encouraging the implementation and alteration of larger concepts to fit specific, unique local contexts.

6.3.3 Case Studies 4 & 5: Network for Vulnerable Rescue Foundation (NVRF) & Sports for Change

As discussed in Chapter Four, NVRF and Sports for Change are both youth-led, local organizations in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, working on social behavioral change projects, but they are not unique in their mission or goals of the work they are doing. Community-based, grassroots organizations are common across Tanzania (Michael 2004). Organizations working to lift communities and individuals out of poverty, and organizations working to increase access to information for youth and children are plentiful. Most of these organizations utilize very similar

[47] The boycott was in response to New Zealand's sporting connections to apartheid South Africa. Many African countries wanted New Zealand to be barred from the 1976 Olympics, and when the International Olympic Commission (I.O.C.) did not ban New Zealand, Tanzania led the way for the boycott.

practices of verbally presenting information with minimal engagement or participation from their targeted audience.

Founders of both NVRF and Sports for Change described how using sports to enact their work is unique in their local contexts. One of the founders at NVRF described this to me in an interview:

> We tried an idea about going direct to the community, discussing with them, using music group and what, but we failed. Just because people they have, they are stressed, they can't listen sometimes, listen to music and what, but sports are the super thing where people they can come and watch. If we have a match and we want to send a message, it is easier. They come watch the match and we send that message. And usually on weekends, on Sunday, Saturday and Sunday, usually we will have fun match. Those kids, before playing with them, we always play life skills games, and that message, they always go like guys please before we play the match tomorrow we have a favor to ask of you, we want your life skills games with you guys before we start our game, so those sports things have been attracting other people, even if they are not using sports.

This demand is because there are few local organizations that are actively pursuing their goals through the utilization of sports and games. People at both organizations expressed to me that they had realized it might be useful to harness the passion that people had for sports and games in order to reach more people in the community. Additionally, people involved in both organizations credit the youthfulness of the organizations as the primary reason for having the idea to implement a sports and games-based program.

One of the reasons that this unique practice of sports and games works so well in this specific context is that Tanzanians are wildly passionate about football (McHenry 1980). Football (American soccer) is widely accessible across rural and urban areas of the country because it requires very minimal financial investment. Everywhere you go you will see kids playing football, barefoot, kicking around a ball made of buddled together plastic bags, in absolutely any spare patch of open ground. This passion is argued by the organization leaders to be the driving force

of what brings youth, specifically, to NVRF. By luring them in with the promise of being able to join actively competitive sports team – teams with real uniforms and full rosters – NVRF can convince hundreds of children to participate in additional activities that broaden their knowledge regarding life skills and future possibilities. Regarding the power of sport, the founder of Sports for Change said,

> It catches their attention, it catches their interest, you could find kids running when you go to the ground with the football or a ball, definitely the first thing you could see kids all over you, so that means that sport is among the first things that are actually very important, the kids love it, so it's kind of like I'm trying to leverage that, I'm trying to leverage what kids like and putting something extra to it so they're just not playing soccer, they're just not going to play but also, because they love playing, they will definitely come to the ground, so when they come to the ground what I'm going to do with them, so just you trick them.

Interviewees from both organizations stated that they often see youth participants who come only for the sports grow to enjoy the life skills and learning activities. From my observations, I was impressed by the willingness and exuberance of children and youth from all age groups to participate in the small games and activities prior to the football, netball, and handball matches. For example, one day I was goaded into joining a life skills circle that was made up of male teenagers. I usually positioned myself with groups of younger children because my Swahili vocabulary was generally more successful there. The previous day I had played handball with some of the teenagers, impressing them with pretty decent skills for a female *mzungu,* so I think they felt more comfortable inviting me to join their group that day. As I stood there with them, holding hands in a circle, I saw a group of young men being kind, inclusive, and welcoming, not only to me, but to each other. They were all dressed to play football, socks pulled up over their shins, cleats already on their feet, but they were not rushing to just get this part over with – they were taking it seriously. I stood there thinking to myself that a group of similar aged young men in the United States would likely think this was stupid. This shows that while the sports

themselves may be the main draw for many youth participants, play-based learning through small games and activities ultimately increases the interest of the youth and encourages and maintains participation and therefore learning.

Although described as local initiatives, the organizations both utilize a core methodology system as their base to further develop their individual programs from Right to Play, an international SDP organization introduced in Chapter 4, and discussed earlier in this chapter. The Tanzanian branch of Right to Play works in 14 schools in Dar es Salaam, as well as partnering with smaller, local organizations, like NVRF and Sports for Change. They have produced local versions of their Life Skills game manuals in Swahili. They share these manuals with their partnering organizations and provide trainings for coaches on how to conduct the activities. Their methodology is based on the practices of Reflect, Connect, and Apply (RCA), and both organizations utilized this same methodology in the implementation of their localized versions of the games and activities.

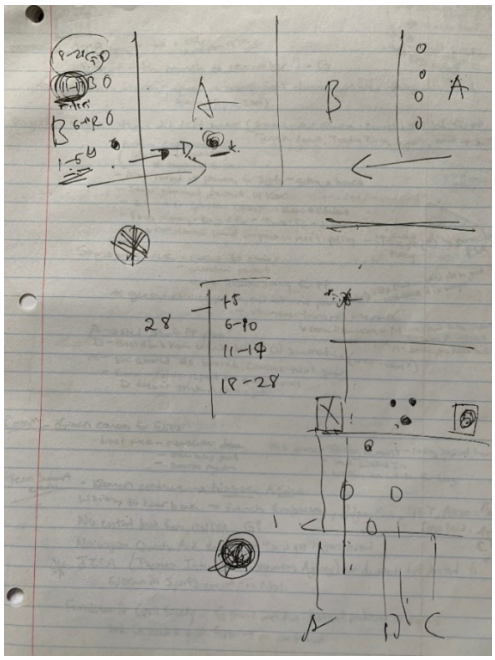

Figure 23. Photograph from fieldnotes depicting some sketches from explaining one a game

At NVRF, youth participants gather daily on the main playing field. They are divided into age-appropriate groups and assigned one coach or junior leader to each group. The coach will inform the group on what the main topic or focus is for the day and then provide the instructions for each game before it is played (Figure 23). After each round of a game, the group will sit in a circle and discuss the game utilizing the RCA methodology.

For example, one of the days I was at NVRF and participating in the life skills games activities, the topic for the daily session was "listening." From my fieldnotes on September 17, 2019:

> [I] joined a group of younger, mostly boys for the life skills game session, which topic was "listening." We played a game called *bahari na ardhi*, which means "ocean and land". We all held hands around a giant circle drawn in the sand. The coach, …young, tall, skinny, energetic man…, then shouted out either *bahari* or *ardhi* and we either had to jump onto the land [inside the circle] or back out into the ocean [outside the circle], but could not flinch or hesitate. If you failed, you went to the middle. The kids really love calling each other out and were not shy in calling me out either.

After that game we played two others, one called *kachumbari na matunda,* meaning "salad and fruits". Each of us drew a circle in the dirt around ourselves and "wrote" in the dirt with a finger *chungwe* (orange) or a different fruit item inside their circle. Then the coach called out one of the fruits and you had to move to a circle with that word in it. If you did not make it then you were out of the game. The children would run and slide, fall and push, but were always smiling and laughing. There was no contesting of who made it or not.

Then there was the *paka* (cat) game, where pairs of kids made bridges by lifting their arms above their heads and joining them together, forming something like a tent, and other kids acted as cats and ran under all the bridges as fast as they could until the coach called for the "traps" to fall and capture whoever was under.[48] The children would giggle the entire time they were standing there with their arms up in the bridge position, while the *paka* kids darted every

[48] This game is very similar to the commonly known children's game "London Bridge is Falling Down."

which way, taunting the others by pausing slightly underneath the outstretched arms. When the bridges fell, chaos ensued with some getting away and others collapsing in an entanglement of arms and fits of laughter.

After these high energy games, we played a calmer game. We all stood in a circle again and the coach started to tell a story. Within the story, if we heard him repeat certain words, we had to do a prescribed action. From my fieldnotes:

> If the coach said *mmoja* (one), we held up our right ring finger, if he said *mbili* (two) we put our flat hand above the person to our left's finger, and then if he said *tatu* (three) we tried to grab the person to the left's finger while also not letting the person to our right grab ours. After all of this we sat and talked about what the games all meant for listening and how they could translate this into their lives at home, at school, and in the community.

I was particularly bad at this game because it took me just a split second longer than the children to translate the word into English in my brain. The kids especially relished when I lost.

The youth participants were very good at connecting the games and topics back to their individual experiences and lives. They discussed how the games were difficult if you were not paying attention and listening. Then they extrapolated that into examples from their own lives about missing out on things or making mistakes if they did not listen to their mothers, neighbors, and teachers.

While Right to Play provides very important tools – the game manuals, coach training, and RCA methodology – it is imperative for the success of using sports in this community context for NVRF to implement their program separate from the international organization. NVRF is aware of the issues plaguing their own community. NVRF leaders have personal relationships with children and families in the community. NVRF coaches know how to interact with the youth participants because they themselves have experienced being a youth in this

community. The RCA methodology would, in many ways, be useless without local knowledge and implementation.

In addition to the obvious ways that both organizations impact the lives of their youth participants, they also both, perhaps unintentionally, have a very large impact on the communities in which they work. Sports may draw the youth in to participate and learn through physical activity, but it also draws older members of the community through powers of observation. While they may come to observe out of a sense of enjoyment, they inevitably end up witnessing many of the life skills lessons that are being provided to the youth. For example, prior to the football matches beginning at NVRF, the youth drama club performs small skits for the collected mass of youth participants. At this point, many of the older community members have already gathered to get the prime seats to watch the football matches. These seats are the ones on the giant logs lining the playing field, and especially coveted are the ones that sit right alongside the giant trucks that are parked there, providing some shady relief from the beating sun. Once they have gathered, everyone is obliged to watch the drama skits. These skits address issues such as allowing your female children to attend school and not beating your wife, topics that are based on actual issues that the youth drama members have observed in their own community. They perform the skits to educate, but also include information in the skits on where people can seek help. In addition to this somewhat accidental larger outreach, the organizations also seek out ways to reach beyond their intended audience. For example, NVRF runs community clubs, where adult members of the community come together to discuss various community-level concerns.

While I was conducting my fieldwork, Sports for Change expanded their life skills games for youth to conduct a teacher training seminar in a rural area outside of Iringa, which I was able to attend and participate in. Invited by a different organization that funds and supports a girls'

hostel and vocational training center there, Sports for Change was brought in to show how sports and games can be used as a teaching practice and to share knowledge to the teachers at these centers about gender equality in classrooms. Additionally, the sessions provided examples of games that either demonstrated the material being presented or could be used in the classroom to teach the students about related topics. For example, one of the activities that we introduced was called Girls Rule! Football (**Error! Reference source not found.Error! Reference source not found.**).

Tai + Sports for Change – Ifunda Teachers' Training – October 2019

ACTIVITY 6: GIRLS RULE! FOOTBALL (60 MINUTES)

Key Learning Objective: Girls' Empowerment

Objectives:

- To empower girls to be in charge.
- To empower girls to participate in something outside of their comfort zone.

Materials: One (1) football

Time:

Introduction_____ 5MIN
Make new rules _____ 15 MIN
Play Game_____ 30 MIN
Debrief with Message _____10 MIN

INSTRUCTIONS

1. Explain the game
2. Girls will work together to create new rules for regular football, including new ways you must score, pass, move with the ball, and defend the goal. Encourage them to be very creative.
3. Everyone will play the new game with the new rules. (min halves)
4. Debrief.

DEBRIEF/REFLECT - CONNECT -APPLY

1. Was it difficult to come up with new rules?
2. How did you decide on the new rules?
3. How did it feel to play the new game?
4. Did you feel differently about football when you got to make your own rules?

MESSAGE

Figure 24. Ifunda Teachers' Training Manual for the rules for Girls Rule! Football

The key learning objective in Girls Rule! Football is to raise awareness on the topic of girls' empowerment. The teachers were gathered together around a large sheet of paper and instructed to create and write down new rules for a game of football. The teachers were seven women and two men. Only the women could make the new rules. Once the rules were established, we explained that we would be playing the game using the rules they had created (see **Error! Reference source not found.** and **Error! Reference source not found.**). The reason behind asking them to do this is that many Tanzanian women feel intimidated by the idea of playing football. It is viewed as a male space, so we wanted them to create rules that would make it more inviting and comfortable for them to play. From my field notes:

> The only really big changes were to play on half of the regular field size and that they could use their hands, but I was quickly corrected that this did not mean they could pass with their hands, just touch the ball. This became a bit of a contention because even during the game there was much argument about holding the ball for too long, etc. [The women] really seemed to be soccer purists even though they mostly expressed they did not like soccer and were nervous about playing. There were two women who had never played before and they seemed to have a great time. … At half time I decided to just change the rules myself, so I went to each team's huddle and told them (1) the sides would now be out of bounds, (2) they could throw and do whatever with their hands, (3) there was no running allowed, only walking, and (4) only women could score goals.

Figure 25. Author standing as referee next to a team huddle during Girls Rule! Football

The fourth rule, that only women could score goals, was actually the idea of one young, female teacher, who was very passionate about playing football. I could sense her frustration at half time because she was playing very competitively but was obviously irritated that the two men were dominating the possession of the ball. She said that she thought the two men playing should each be the goalkeepers and only the women would be playing on the field and therefore only women could score goals.

We continued play with these new rules into the second half, when an interesting moment occurred:

> There was one moment where S [male] fielded the ball in goal and then just burst out of goal, taking the ball all the way down to the other end of the field. Immediately all the women were in an uproar and hollering at the ref to blow the whistle. S took a shot on goal and A [male] fielded it and he also proceeded to take the ball out of the goal and all the way down to the other end. The ref went and told each of them they had to stay in goal and the game continued with no further moments of chaos. But this was so fascinating to me. It was like they could not help themselves. And the women responding so angrily was really nice to see.

Figure 26. Girls Rule! Football teams warming up in huddles

After concluding the game, we gathered everyone together to discuss how the game could help to explore and understand issues related to gender equality. The female teachers all expressed how being able to alter the game to their liking made them feel more confident. From my fieldnotes:

> Overall, the game was a massive success and we had great conversations after about how changing the rules of a game speaks directly to that women and girls can have confidence to adjust things to suit them and not just avoid them. Also, trying new things can be fun. And we asked the men why they felt the need to break the rules… They both said a variation of how they really just wanted to help their team and they saw that their team was struggling, and it is in their nature to want to play for the team, so they just had to try. I said that it was interesting that they couched their excuse in teamwork when it was their very own teams who said that they wanted them to stay in goal, so they were not actually being team players at all.

These examples show how both organizations are utilizing the sports and games to reach further into the community to effect change on a variety of topics, including, but not limited to, women's and girls' rights and the importance of education. They also demonstrate how youth-led organizations have been able to enact more creative avenues of reaching beyond their generational cohorts, and how older participants can also benefit and engage with these practices.

6.4 Organizational Practices and Class

When comparing the membership of staff and volunteers at Tai to that at the Network for Vulnerable Rescue Foundation (NVRF), two organizations utilizing very different innovative practices, there is a considerable difference in achieved educational level. This leads to a hypothesis that within the innovative practices being championed by Tanzanian youth to improve their own futures are clear class differences of the types of practices youth and youth-led organizations can adopt.

At NVRF, six out of the ten people I interviewed had not completed any college or university-level education. Of those six, only one went on to A-levels after completing O-levels.[49]

[49] Primary School is made up of Standards 1-7. An exam must be passed to continue to Secondary School Ordinary Level (O-Levels), which is Forms 1-4, and then an exam must be passed to continue to Secondary School Advanced

All six of those who did not attend college referenced financial resources as the reason preventing them from going further in their education. In contrast, 18 out of 19 people from Tai had completed a college-level degree.[50] Of those 18, one also had a master's degree and two were currently enrolled in master's degree programs. Additionally, four had completed their university education outside of Tanzania, some traveling to Kenya and some to the United Kingdom.

This data shows a clear distinction between the educational levels of the people involved with organizations working in different sectors. With higher educational attainment levels found in the organizations utilizing technology or animation, a correlation can be made showing that involvement in this type of organization is available only to those with this increased level of social and/or cultural capital. While this correlation was not openly discussed or acknowledged amongst the staff and volunteers, that silence points to the underlying, potential power of social and cultural capital to control who is allowed access to particular arenas.

One could presume that a higher education degree would impart technological skills on an individual, thereby increasing their potential to work in a field involving technology, such as animation production. However, I argue instead that the reason there are more degree holding individuals working at an organization using technology, like Tai, is not due to their knowledge of technology. Rather, it is instead due to the increased social and cultural capital these volunteers are perceived to have by virtue of having earned a higher education degree. These individuals then become involved in NGOs and bring their class-specific ideas and experiences,

Level (A-Levels), which is Forms 5-6. An exam must be passed at the end of Form 6 to continue on to College/University Level Studies.

[50] There were 21 interviewees from Tai but for these statistics I have removed the two international interns who were working on their master's degrees.

ultimately influencing the type of organizational tools, methods, and practices in which an organization may partake.

As discussed in Chapter 5, a vast majority of the staff and volunteers involved with Tai expressed that, due to the rote learning that formed the basis of their university educations, they gained almost no practical or employable skills from their degree programs. Therefore, it is the symbolic status they are conferred through the social and/or cultural capital of a university-level education that allows them entry into this working environment. Bourdieu refers to "rites of institution," his terminology for a more active understanding of "rites of passage," arguing that institutions dictate which identity markers confer particular statuses and become "justified…their existence serv[ing] some purpose" (Bourdieu 1991, 126). For example, one staff member at Tai had a very similar up-bringing to most people involved with NVRF, which included experiences of poverty, homelessness, being orphaned, illness, and general hardship. However, through the eventual assistance of distant family members, this Tai staff member managed to attend university and obtain a degree. It is therefore the degree – perceived by others as a self-evident marker of higher status – rather than the acquired skills and knowledge it is meant to signify that granted this individual necessary capital to position himself professionally in a technologically advanced organization. An individual youth's capital, or class, provides access to volunteer positions within certain fields of organizational practice, where NGOs are populated by the youth staff and volunteers that complement their class-based organizational practices.

Differing from what we saw with the technological innovations of animation at Tai, with sports and games we see a different group of youth being involved and the practice having a different benefit for them. The youth involved in the Network for Vulnerable Rescue Foundation (NVRF) and Sports for Change as leaders, both staff and volunteers, tend to be from lower

socioeconomic classes than organizations using other practices, such as technology and animation, and many (although not all) have lower education completion levels. This demonstrates that the youth involved in this type of organizing identify with the classed expectation connected to sports and games discussed earlier. In line with Bourdieu's historical theorizing, through their participation in running these sporting activities, the youth ultimately identify themselves as being of a working or lower social class, but through their participation, they simultaneously gather symbolic and material capital. Gaining symbolic capital increases their positionality in the community, obtaining leadership status and community respect. Material capital through opportunities provided by their association to NVRF is gained through small allowances for travelling, opportunities to participate in paid external training events, and entrepreneurial opportunities, such as craft production and selling.

By participating in this unique organizational practice, while perhaps unintentionally, these youth are actively practicing the "everyday forms of resistance," discussed above (Foucault 1977; Foucault 1978; Foucault and Gordon 1980; Scott 1985). Through their development of organizational practices that utilize local sport activities to aid their struggle to improve their own lives and contribute to their communities they resist existing in an oppressed and depressed state.

Modern sports were introduced across the African continent by past colonizing entities (Vidacs 2006). Like these youth today, the colonized used their participation in these sports as an avenue to resist hierarchical expressions of colonization. They did this by becoming better at these activities than their colonizers and recognized sport as a way to intentionally demonstrate their power and capabilities (Darnell and Millington 2018; Martin 1995). Reaching back to the development of the modern-day Olympics and other international sports competitions, this history—rooted in that colonial resistance—is remarkably influencing youth's relationship with

sports today in the examples of these local NGOs. Through utilizing sport and games to effect change within their communities, these NGOs are demonstrating innovative ways to provide the social services that have been reduced in the newer neoliberal government policies. They therefore are resisting the implicit power held by government over social services and education by explicitly taking control of the social services and education in their local communities. The unique practices of these organizations, the messages that they work through sports to convey, the positions they afford for youth and the skills youth thereby learn, also open new opportunities of which these disenfranchised youth can take advantage in order to improve their own future potentials (Burnett 2013). For example, by NVRF providing trainings for youth to become coaches, they are increasing the youth leaders' employable skills. Through their volunteering, the organizations also provide youth with an alternative, albeit not monetarily compensated, avenue of "employment" that positions them outside of the formal labor market. By creating and participating in these roles, youth can potentially build futures for themselves, as they envision them, that are external to the narrow possibilities that would otherwise be the only ones available to them, while simultaneously injecting innovative and creative ways of organizing into the local, youth-led NGO environment in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

CHAPTER 7. CONCLUSION

7.1 The Beginning

I began this dissertation with the words of Akida, who said that with youth taking risks and striving for growth, they are "able to learn and do different things around the world." It struck me that he did not see himself and his youth contemporaries as making a difference only in their local communities, or only in Dar es Salaam, or only in Tanzania; he saw youth making a difference on a global scale.

In this dissertation, I have discussed the changing definitions of youth and youthhood, and the cyclical relationships of Tanzanian youth, volunteering, and NGOs in the context of contemporary, urban Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. The main topics presented here – youth, volunteering, labor, class, and NGOs – contribute to the anthropological knowledge I have discussed throughout, challenging preconceived and often static ways of understanding definitions, perceptions, and possibilities connected to each of them. I have shown the classed differences in motivations and expected outcomes for youth's participation within youth-led organizations, and that these class differences further develop into unique variations in the types of practices these organizations elect to use to further their missions. This work informs a broader idea that Tanzanian youth are primed to be changemakers, rejecting the negative perceptions often presented about African youth (males, in particular). This work prompts the need for listening more closely to the voices and experiences of this generation for ideas of how to combat challenges, like unemployment, facing themselves, their peers, and the larger Tanzanian population. Additionally, with a focus on youth-led NGOs, this work challenges organizations to be mindful of the different reasons for youth participation and to recognize how they can capitalize from, and improve their work, based on those differences.

Young Tanzanians, like Akida, Adil, Maria, Baraka, Neema, Farida, and Imani, to name just a few of the many who contributed to this work, have shown us that when faced with increasing societal pressures to succeed in a world fraught with competition, Tanzanian youth are finding their own ways to generate opportunities for growth. They are embracing their youth status and eschewing outdated academic notions of youth as a stagnant stage of transition.

I have shown how these youth are creating new pathways to achieve their adulthood status by replacing formal employment with volunteer labor, taking into their own hands the solutions to their problems. This research has examined youth-initiated organizational practices, such as animation and sports, that intend to bring opportunity and change to the lives of African youth themselves as they attempt to meet and to navigate the unique challenges of their generation, caused by high unemployment, changing social structures, shifting socio-economic policies, and increasing global influences. Through this work we see youth acting as their own experts with the knowledge and capability to redefine the traditionally expected, limiting practices and social structures that have previously defined what it means to be a youth.

7.2 The Substance

The city of Dar es Salaam has been an incubator-like space for these Tanzanian youth's ideas to germinate, sprout, and, with the proper amount of tending, to grow. The urban environment of Dar, replete with diverse cultural influences and neoliberal pressures, exists like a tornado, swirling together tall buildings, multilingualism, and the idea of opportunity – especially opportunity that results in income. The growing middle-class and the enduring lower-class both exist within this space, struggling against structural barriers, but emboldened by the

feeling of potential provided in this unique urban environment with the opportunity to be *kutafuta maisha* (searching for life).

This research highlights the youth in this environment – captivated by urban and global ideologies but left without many options to satisfy their wants and needs. Youth-led NGOs are flourishing in this context. As discussed in Chapter 4, staff and volunteers at the two organizations highlighted in this research, Tai and NVRF, identify the youth-led status of their organizations as being a vital reason for growth, innovation, and success. While these youth-led NGOs seem to hold onto globally-influenced and sometimes impractical methods of organizational structure, like specific internal hierarchies and the adoption of certain professional Minority World organizational methods, more importantly they describe their status of youth-led as resulting in higher energy, less strict social expectations, new ideas, and a closer connection to their targeted audiences (for those working with youth and children). I argue that these positive attributes of youthfulness can be particularly useful for addressing the ongoing and growing concern of youth unemployment rates in Tanzania. In Chapter 5, I analyze how and why youth are turning to volunteer labor positions in these times of uncertainty. Rather than sitting around and waiting for policy change or international development interventions, these youth are finding opportunities to improve their own situations in light of these challenges.

That being said, we know that structural inequalities create different lived experiences for different groups of people (Gmelch 2018, Farmer 2004, Scheper-Hughes 2003), and youth experience this uniquely through their unequal positions leading them to seek different trajectories determined by their positionality (Dalsgaard, Franch, and Scott 2008). I argue that the voluntary labor experiences of the youth in my research are different dependent on their class positionality. Other differences, like gender, do not seem to impact why or how these

youth participate in voluntary labor, which is discussed in detail in Chapter 5. Recognizing the impact that class has on the life opportunities and outcomes for these Tanzanian youth can potentially help to encourage continued involvement and new ways for NGOs and the practice of volunteering to help youth navigate unemployment and socioeconomic improvement.

I show how volunteer labor in Tanzania is becoming increasingly professionalized, creating a market for voluntary positions. These volunteer practices are resulting in capital gains for the youth participants, but cultural and social capital, not the direct economic capital associated with the formal labor market. Ultimately, I argue that Tanzanian middle-class youth, a growing demographic in urban Dar es Salaam, seek out and utilize volunteer labor positions to gain the experience needed to advance to more formal labor opportunities. This stepping-stone approach is made possible due to these middle-class youth's higher education levels, made available by their class positionality. For lower-class youth in Dar es Salaam, the perceived cultural capital ascribed by a higher education and class level does not exist; these lower-class youth utilize volunteer positions as a replacement for the formal labor opportunities that have never been, and likely will never be, available to them.

But not all youth have the chance to create their own opportunities as described here. What distinguishes the youth involved in this research from others in their communities is access to volunteer opportunities and NGOs. This access can be proximity, for example, if Neema had not known about NVRF in her local community, she could still be involved in the negative behaviors she discussed participating in. Access can also be related to class. If Akida was not introduced to AIESEC during his college years, he might still be struggling to secure formal, paid employment in a market with so little opportunity.

It is important to address that for youth who do not fall into the categorization of middle- or lower-class, this pattern does not hold true. Upper-class youth in Dar es Salaam

ultimately have greater access to formal employment, either through migration to areas with better employment chances (like the United States), or through nepotism, perhaps having a parent working in the government or international business industry who can arrange for them to have a position, common in this urban African context. Equivalently, these opportunities are specific to this urban environment of Dar, where there is proximity and access to the NGOs making volunteer labor available. Youth in rural areas do not have these same opportunities and are not situated to utilize their agency in the same way as these urban youth in order to create greater opportunity for themselves.

For the youth in this research, we see adoptions of these new practices to change their own lives, in this case becoming involved with local NGOs to fulfill their voluntary needs, but also introducing new practices into the field of organizing due to their increasing presence in these spaces. With more young people turning to volunteering, the impact of youth-led organizations is increasingly important, and while many organizational methodologies remain intact, the practices that these youth-led organizations are employing expand to include up-and-coming models, such as technology, and sports and games. In Chapter 6, I look at how these practices have impacted Tai and NVRF as they have adopted these novel ways of reaching communities and encouraging social behavioral change. I argue that, in the same way that class informs youth's reasons for participating in voluntary labor, the organizational practices being embraced by these youth-led NGOs are also rooted in class.

7.3 The Future

This work provides ethnographic examples that support changing definitions of youth and conceptualizations of the period of life we refer to as youthhood (Honwana and de Boeck 2005, Rohrer 2014, Durham 2000, Tranberg Hansen 2008). For example, the organizations in this

work do not adhere to a numerical age cut-off, where youth members are required to leave the organization when they are no longer below a certain age. The identity of youth has been shown in these contexts to be more fluid and inclusive, and the benefits that volunteering for these organizations provides, as argued here, seem to naturally maintain the youth-led identity of these particular organizations. This is demonstrated by the successful achievement of the expected outcomes of volunteering identified in this dissertation, thereby allowing these youth to move on to the next period of their lives both symbolically and in numerical age. Honwana describes this in-between period as "waithood," which I discuss in Chapter 1, but what the youths in this research demonstrate is more than simply Honwana's argument that this "waithood" period is active rather than passive, and getting longer, especially for youth in Africa; this research also shows how the increased length of this time period essentially requires that youth do something. The time these young people are spending in "waithood" is effectively so long that if youth were to do absolutely nothing in this liminal period, they would simply spend the majority of their lives doing nothing. The youth in this particular situation have turned to volunteer practices to fill this increasingly lengthy time period of "waithood," which is interesting because volunteering itself can be looked at as a liminal or in-between stage, not quite unemployment and not quite formal employment. However, youth in other contexts are developing other ways of dealing with this period of "waithood." For example, in India educated unemployed young men are involving themselves in political actions, rather than waiting for time to pass as previously seen (Jeffrey 2010). In either case, the increasing period of time that youth globally are finding themselves waiting or in limbo seems to result in an inability to just let time pass or be idle, rather, because of the length of time this period is lasting, youth must do something.

Youth participation in voluntary labor shows that the youth lifestage is not one to be ignored as transitory or unimpactful, but instead full of potential and ambition to answer many of the questions facing the Majority World (previously defined as countries where most of the world's population resides; often nations classified as "Third World" or "developing"). While the focus of much global development in these areas purports to position people, especially women and girls, as instruments of development, scholars argue that the burden of development ends up shifted onto vulnerable populations without addressing the underlying factors that have created situations where development intervention is believed to be needed in the first place (Moeller 2018, Switzer 2013). Instead, I argue that these Tanzanian youth, even while marginalized and facing hardships, have ideas to improve their positions that differ from the mainstream government and development interventions. It is the struggles that I present here – lack of economic status, experience, cultural and social capital – that have encouraged these Tanzanian youth to seek unique ways to navigate their specific life challenges, and these youth-led ideas should be listened to as they are potential solutions that are desirable to young people and therefore more likely to actually be adopted by them and have an impact on increasing opportunity.

I have discussed this in the specific urban, contemporary context of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, but these perceptions can also be broadened to global contexts. This research encourages the exploration of new ideas and prioritizes contributions from this new generation. In the 21st century, opportunity is global. Knowledge can be exchanged over vast distances. Youth-led organizing is not unique to Tanzania, East Africa, or even Majority World contexts. We see examples of young people initiating and leading groups in countries all around the world, and even on a global scale, covering a wide range of interests and formats. Grassroot, youth-led organizations are found in China, offering an alternative to state-controlled youth organizations

(Spires 2018); in the Netherlands, youth-led organizations function much like what I have described in Tanzania, providing a voice to youth to challenge social issues and inequities (Baker 2015). The Global Youth Action Network is one of the largest networks of youth organizations, and although now affiliated with the United Nations, was started by an American youth in 1996 to increase young people's accessibility and collective impact. While some organizations identified as youth-led are connected to larger, non-youth-led groups, or have youth leadership but underneath a top level of non-youth governance, the particular identity of the groups in this research is important to distinguish as being entirely free from non-youth management. It is somewhat unsurprising to see that this type of group exists virtually everywhere around the world, as youth are the growing demographic, and as highlighted in the beginning of this dissertation, poised and expected to impact the world.

Overall, this research lends a voice to the increasing and dynamic involvement of youth as leaders of their own futures. Tranberg Hansen argues what should be obvious: "young people's perspective on their own situation needs to be taken seriously" (2008, 215). The youth involved in this research represent the growing agency of young people, particularly in Dar es Salaam, to take up the reins and be proactive in ensuring their own, and their fellow youth community members', success – particularly in a country where the government and civil sector loudly calls for change in the media and in engagements with international governments but does not follow with effective action. By changing how volunteering is typically viewed, away from the simple altruistic motivations common to the Minority World, and exploring new avenues of innovation, such as technology and sports, the young people in this research can be role models for the burgeoning youth population in East Africa, providing examples of how to succeed in a space and time where their success is not necessarily supported or often even available.

For organizational futures on a global scale, knowing the varying motivations and expected outcomes of volunteers' participation in voluntary labor means that organizations who are reliant on voluntary labor can appeal to the specific needs or wants of their volunteer labor force. Tai and NVRF demonstrate that if there is acknowledgement that there is more than just altruistic motivation for volunteering, organizations can better identify ways to mutually benefit both volunteers and the organizations themselves, an intersection of economic, cultural, and social capital gain. If NGOs adopt this mindset, they will be better able to recruit and more efficiently use their volunteer labor source. Additionally, being able to recognize the common challenges that can be specific to being youth-led, as described in Chapter 4, will allow organizations to adjust their perceptions and work on improving some of these areas, for example, addressing areas where they have less experience by seeking additional training and reconsidering collaboration with other organizations not as inherently competitive.

In addition to these recommendations for youth-led organizations on a broader basis, there are areas where Tai and NVRF specifically could benefit from this research. For example, I think awareness of common challenges, as mentioned above, will be beneficial. During my time working with them, I was privy to many challenges related to volunteers and volunteer-staff relationships. This work brings to the forefront the reasons young people are involved in volunteering, and I believe that being able to clearly see those reasons can provide a more understanding relationship between volunteers and voluntary staff at these particular organizations.

Another recommendation would be to prioritize having a trained grant writer involved in their organizations. This could be a "staff" position, or even perhaps an international internship position. Regardless, this would lead to increased chances of success at funding applications, thereby making their financial situations more stable. This could lead to the ability

to increase “staff” pay, as well as increase volunteer renumerations, thereby improving stability and retention amongst members, another issue outlined in Chapter 4. Finally, I would also recommend that these organizations get rid of some of the global organizational framework that they utilize. Every other aspect of these groups is based in ingenuity and I believe they would be more efficient in their methods if they allowed their own practices of organizing to be conducted by methods that they develop themselves, that truly work well for them. For example, the meeting format that is closely followed that I discussed in Chapter 4, could be relaxed to more accurately reflect the type of youthful environment that is present in the rest of their work. I believe this would allow for a more natural flow of conversation, ideas, and problem-solving at these regular meetings.

However, I make these recommendations from the place of an outsider, which sometimes allows for clearer pictures of how things could be done more efficiently from an organizational review outlook, but also should be taken from the position they are being given in. These organizations inspired me beyond what words can describe. The work they do is absolutely incredible, and they have done this work as young people, as themselves. This is something that should be celebrated and embraced, because from my perspective, it is obviously working; they are making the changes and doing the work in their communities and in their own lives, really making a difference, so perhaps we should not attempt to fix things that are not broken. It might be easy for me to say that they should abandon these seemingly inefficient modern frameworks and just do their own thing, but as I recognize in this work, there are reasons that things are done they way they are, for example, to present legitimacy to the larger world that places constraints and expectations upon people and organizations, and especially upon young people.

While these small suggestions are important, there are obviously larger issues present in this work as well. While I highlight the impressiveness of Tanzanian youth's creativity and innovation and how they work to improve their own lives, the situations presented in this dissertation are not going to solve the unemployment crisis in Tanzania. The question of whether this voluntary labor is exploitative or beneficial for these young people is one I cannot authoritatively answer. This is because so much depends on the outcome to be expected. Thus, to automatically view these practices as exploitative undermines the very point of recognizing that Tanzanian youth can make a difference in their own lives and the lives of their peers. This research highlights the importance of listening to what young people say they need, promoting a grassroots approach to problem solving, rather than a top-down approach of making policy or providing solutions that are not desired. Volunteering is not going to create jobs – that is a much larger issue; but volunteering can provide ways to navigate this otherwise helpless situation in which so many Tanzanian young people find themselves and make an imminent difference in their lives.

Youth in other Majority World nations face similar precarious futures related to their age, class, and employment opportunities (Tranberg Hansen 2008; Ginwright, Noguera, and Cammarota 2006; Honwana 2012; Amit-Talai and Wulff 1995; Greenberg 2014). My research shows how these precarities can be addressed by listening to youth's own ideas of what it means to be a young person in their own particular local contexts. It is also not unique to Tanzania that the traditionally held symbolic and economic ways for youth to enter adulthood, and therefore their futures, are changing and becoming increasingly difficult to obtain. We see similar situations in other African countries, like Zambia, as well as in the United States, where more young people live longer with their parents and the average age at marriage has increased (Tranberg Hansen 2008; Saardchom and Lemaire 2008).

Tanzanian youth demonstrate a contemporary definition of youthhood – one that focuses on a youth identity not as a dormant time of simple transition, but as an active period of growth and change. In this period, some Tanzanian youth are pursuing volunteering as a self-made way to find opportunity and success. However, via voluntary experiences they seek a variety of motivations and expected outcomes; we have seen that these are influenced more by class than any other demographic or social identity. Simultaneously, local, youth-led NGOs are adopting new and innovative forms of practicing the work they do, based on the involvement of these differently classed youth populations.

These pursuits are illuminated by the poststructural approach of this work. The actions of these young people, and the practices adopted by these organizations, show how cultural experiences and social organization are created and recreated through individual agency and behaviors. The experiences of these young people cannot be fully understood by only addressing structural influences, such as economics and class. While these obviously have important impacts, as discussed, their impact is uniquely dependent on the choices and voices of these youth. Approaching this as well with a feminist anthropological lens, recognizing the importance of intersecting social categories, particularly how age intersects with other identities, allows this work to contribute to anthropological literature that provides equal emphasis on social structural power dynamics and individual agency (Lewin and Silverstein 2016; Rosaldo and Lamphere 1974). These particular youths provide an example of how the intersecting environment of contemporary urban life in a postcolonial context contributes to how we understand culture as a web of influences. Bourdieu's theory of capital can be used to understand the symbolic power dynamics present in these youth's lives – the constraints and unequal access due to class, race, age, etc. – and we are able to see how these influence the way these youths perceive themselves and the world around them (*habitus*) (Bourdieu 1986;

1990). Taking these theoretical approaches is really how we are able to see what is at stake, specifically how class and age systems influence these youth's lives, yet through their individual agency and cultural capital of connections to these organizations, they are able to take part in creating change and influencing the structures that have limited them.

The continued success of the young people involved in this research is what is at stake. As mentioned earlier, the expected outcomes of these voluntary positions are not guaranteed, but with a greater understanding of why these particular young people are participating in these particular practices, youth themselves and the NGOs that are attracting them can implement ways to be mutually beneficial and perhaps even increase the available volunteer opportunities and support for the expected outcomes.

This work leads to some avenues of potential future research. While we are able to see the desire for various outcomes of volunteering, this work could not explore whether these outcomes were typically achieved or not due to limited time and scope. The symbolic importance of these youth's experiences should not be discounted; however, an interrogation of the potential for success would more strongly inform recommendations for organizational futures. Additionally, during data analysis and writing, the importance of the relationship of Dar es Salaam as a unique urban environment became glaringly clear, however this was not a topic that I explored deeply with the youth involved. Hearing how they perceive this space and incorporate the urban environment into their work and lives would really allow for a deeper understanding of the long-lasting historical impacts and potential replications of youth experiences with labor, class, and urban life. The gendered experiences discovered in the contexts of these youth-led organizations is also an area that begs for further exploration. Remarkably, the youths involved in this research reported over and over again that the gender dynamics within these groups was very close to equality in terms of things like leadership and

whose voices were prioritized. This was mentioned by some in management roles to be intentional, but I did not necessarily see that intention in practice; further research focusing on gender could bring that to the forefront. Outside of the organizational structure and methodologies, gender was very clearly not a divisionary characteristic when it came to the services provided to the youth in the community. At Tai, both male and female volunteers engaged equally with both boys and girls during discussions on topics such as sex and puberty – topics that are traditionally very segregated by gender. This awareness that boys must be educated in girls' issues, and vice versa, seems like a really vital change to societal expectations and social change projects. At NVRF, I saw virtually the same type of gender equality being performed. Both men and women were actively participating as youth leaders and coaches, with neither one having more or less say or respect given by the organization or the youth members. Additionally, NVRF ensured that sports teams were available and accessible to either gender (although, likely due to long-standing social restrictions, girls rarely participated in soccer and boys rarely participated in netball).

7.4 The Ending

The end of my time in Tanzania and the end of this dissertation have some things in common. I wanted a quiet conclusion. I am not very good at endings. I do not like attention being placed on me and the act of saying goodbye is like a spotlight on the people taking leave of one another. That spotlight highlights the precise moment when something is stopping, and a separation is occurring. To me, it feels like that spotlight also pierces through my surface, illuminating, for all to see, the minutes, hours, days, weeks, months, or years of moments, memories, and experiences that I have collected with the person, or people, to whom I am saying goodbye. The same goes for the words, pages, and chapters of this dissertation. I would

prefer to keep these personal collections to myself; things I can revel in later when I miss someone or something.

But that is not how Tanzanian culture works, and fittingly, also not how a PhD program works.

Towards the end of my fieldwork, on my last day visiting NVRF, I was enveloped in a goodbye that showed me that none of these moments, memories, or experiences were simply my own; they were collectively held by the group of young people who had taught and inspired me over the previous nine months. I will not lie; I tried to sneak away without a production. I could already feel the tears collecting, like little racehorses, poised and restless in the starting gates, and I did not want to cry in front of a large group of Tanzanian children. But before I knew it, I was summoned to the field, where a hundred kids or so had gathered, including my young netball friends. Upendo, an NVRF leader, announced that I was leaving and asked if anyone wanted to say anything. Three children raised their hands and told me thank you for coming and that they would miss me. Right when I thought the starting gates were going to spring open and release the tears, Upendo started playing a popular Tanzanian dance song over the large speaker system. Everyone instantly started dancing and before I knew it, I was encircled by smiling, dancing children. The only thing I could do was to join them. During this goodbye-turned-impromptu-dance party, we shared the fun we had had, the words we had learned in common, but also the awareness of our differences. We will always have these things. They are not mine alone, and this mirrors the work presented here, illuminating the active participation and creative innovation that these Tanzanian youth are demonstrating through their shared experiences of creating change through voluntary labor and youth-led NGOs.

I strongly believe that the Tanzanian government needs to do more to support young people, particularly addressing the huge unemployment problem. I believe the innovation of

these youth using volunteer opportunities to better their futures can provide a framework or starting point to address this complex issue through a new lens. Now deceased President Magufuli's promotion of agricultural training for Tanzanian youth echoes the failed *ujamaa* practices of Nyerere. Alternative answers need to be explored and additionally, with an outstanding number of NGOs actively working in Tanzania, government investment and support of these organizations could really influence how social services are (or are not) provided. There is an opening for the government to invest resources into forming connections between the youth population and those groups – thereby providing parallel benefits to both parties in need. Unfortunately, that is unlikely to happen due to government corruption, increasing authoritarian leadership, and the common discourse from Tanzanian political figures, like the Speaker of the National Assembly who, in February 2021, called out Tanzanian youth for being idle and then blamed them for their own misfortunate of idleness (Oyoo 2021).

This work also offers potentially useful information for NGOs that utilize youth volunteers. Having a better understanding of the circumstances and motivations for particular groups (in this case, classes) of youth volunteers can help organizations to tailor their practices to most effectively channel the potential that these young people bring to the table. Providing volunteer experiences that recognize the needs of the volunteers will not only benefit the volunteers themselves, but also the organizations, as they cultivate a voluntary body with a vision that is complementary to both entities. Listening to these young people will additionally provide the chance for NGOs to accumulate new and exciting ways to reach their audiences, as Tanzanian youth have demonstrated through their organizational work involving 3D animation and sports. These methods, while seemingly unique in this case to their local communities and Tanzania more broadly, certainly can be extrapolated to other environments, recognizing that innovation and creativity has many benefits.

So maybe this is not such an abrupt end after all, for my research and my time in Tanzania will always be a part of me, and the arguments made in this dissertation call for continuing a critical look at how to improve opportunities for young people in contemporary, urban Dar es Salaam.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1. INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Date of interview: _____

Interview Code: _____

[State and spell your first and last name.]

Demographics

1. What is your age?
2. What is your education history?
3. Where do you currently reside?
4. What is your past employment history?
5. What is your current employment?

Organizations

6. With what organization(s) are you primarily affiliated?
7. With what other organizations(s) are you affiliated?
8. What position(s) do you hold at those organization(s)? Volunteer or paid?
9. How much of your time is spent doing work with the organization(s)?
10. Describe your organizational duties.
11. How long have you been involved with this organization?
12. How would you describe/explain the goal(s)/mission(s) of the organizations with which you are involved?
13. In your opinion, what has been the most successful achievement of this organization?
14. In your opinion, are there goals/missions/objectives that the organization has not succeeded in fulfilling? If yes, why do you think it has not succeeded in fulfilling those?
15. If there are goals/missions/objectives that the organization has not succeeded in fulfilling, why do you continue to work for the organization?
16. In your opinion, how can the organization better work to achieve those goals/missions/objectives which it is currently failing to achieve?
17. Are your co-workers/volunteers mostly men, women, or mixed gender groups? How do you think this impacts the organization or work? Do men and women do different work within the organization(s)?
18. [If the organization works on women's and girls' issues] What do you think about men working on women's issues? Is this a new phenomenon?

Motivations for Organizing

19. How did you first become involved in this organization?
20. Why are you involved in these organizations?
21. What benefits do you receive from being involved?
22. What is the value of being involved?

23. Would you describe yourself as an activist/advocate/feminist? What do those identities mean to you? Does your own identity differ from that which your organization(s) identify as? If yes, does this difference impact your experience(s) with the organization(s)?
24. Do you have any previous training or experience in organizing?
25. Do you plan to stay involved in these organizational contexts or do you have further plans for career/life goals?
26. (If the informant is a volunteer) Do you plan to continue your work with this organization should you get employment? If so, how will you be able to accommodate both your employment and your volunteer work?
27. Have you ever previously volunteered due to unemployment/underemployment?
28. Did you learn about organizing work from elders/family members?
29. Do you have any role models or mentors related to organizing work?
30. Are you a mentor for anyone related to organizing work?
31. Do other people in your social network also participate in organizations?

Change

32. Do you think methods of organization have changed over time? Do you think there are new ways of organizing?
33. What do you think about the role of social media in organizing?
34. Are you familiar with creative methods of organizing which were practiced historically in the women's movement? Are these methods still being practiced today? Do you think creative organizing is practiced differently today?
35. What methods of organizing are you involved in with this organization?
36. Where did this idea come from?
37. Do any others think this is a bad or incorrect method? Any generational differences?
38. What does this method offer that is an improvement?
39. Do you know of other unique methods of organizing?
40. Are there any common practices that most orgs utilize or believe must occur in organizational contexts? (Ex: meeting structure, etc.)

Other

What do you think about a unified youth movement in Tanzania versus many small orgs working independently?

What do you think about international influence/volunteers/funding versus local support/volunteers/gov't funding? Voluntourism?

APPENDIX 2. TAI VOLUNTEER SURVEY

To Tai Volunteer,

I am conducting a survey of past and current Tai volunteers in order to collect information which will be used for a research project from the University of Kentucky called The Impact of Today's Youth on Organizing in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. I am a graduate student conducting this research under the supervision of Dr. Monica Udvardy. This research project is looking at the unique ways in which young people in Tanzania are conducting organizing activities.
Although you may not get personal benefit from taking part in this research study, your responses may help us understand more about Tanzanian youth and organizations. Some volunteers experience satisfaction from knowing they have contributed to research that may possibly benefit others in the future.

For completing this survey, you will receive a 2,000/= voucher for either Vodacom, Airtel, or Tigo.

The survey will take about 30 minutes to complete.

There are no known risks to participating in this study.

Your responses to these survey questions will be kept anonymous from the Tai team so you should feel free to be open and honest. Your responses will be kept confidential to the extent allowed by law. When we write about the study you will not be identified. Your information collected for this study will NOT be used or shared for future research studies. Your name and email address will be separated from your responses and will only be used for confirmation of your survey competition in order to receive your voucher. You may elect to not provide your name and email address but then you will not receive the voucher for completion.

Please be aware, while we make every effort to safeguard your data once received from the online survey company, given the nature of online surveys, as with anything involving the Internet, we can never guarantee the confidentiality of the data while still on the survey company's servers, or while enroute to either them or us. It is also possible the raw data collected for research purposes will be used for marketing or reporting purposes by the survey/data gathering company after the research is concluded, depending on the company's Terms of Service and Privacy policies.

We hope to receive completed questionnaires from about 30 people, so your answers are important to us. Of course, you have a choice about whether or not to complete the survey/questionnaire, but if you do participate, you are free to skip any questions or discontinue at any time. You will only receive the voucher if you complete the survey, however, you may still elect to skip any questions you are uncomfortable with answering. Instructions for receiving your voucher will be emailed to you.
If you have questions about the study, please feel free to ask; my contact information is given below. If you have complaints, suggestions, or questions about your rights as a research volunteer, contact the staff in the University of Kentucky Office of Research Integrity at +1 859-257-9428 or toll-free at +1 866-400-9428.

By clicking to proceed with the survey, you are giving your consent to participate in this research project.

Asante sana,

Chelsea Cutright
Anthropology, University of Kentucky PHONE: 0673 974 350
E-MAIL: c.cutright@uky.edu

[Yes, I agree to participate.]
[No, I would not like to participate.]

Personal Information
Are you a local or international volunteer?
If you are a local volunteer, where do you live?
If you are an international volunteer, where are you from?
What is your gender?
What is your age?
What is your highest level of completed education?
- [Certificate of Secondary Education (O-Levels)]
- [Advanced Certificate of Secondary Education]
- [Diploma/certificate for technical/vocational education]
- [Bachelor's Degree]
- [Master's Degree]

Are you currently in school? If yes, at what level and studying what?
When did you start volunteering for Tai?
Are you currently a volunteer for Tai?
Do you plan to continue to volunteer at Tai? If no, why?
If you are no longer volunteering, when did you stop volunteering?
Why are you no longer volunteering at Tai?
Are you currently volunteering for any other organizations? If yes, please list them.
Have you previously volunteered for other organizations? If yes, please list them.

Motivations
Why did you choose to volunteer? Please explain. (Kwamfano: unable to get a job, professional experience, school requirement, passion, etc.)
Why did you choose specifically to volunteer at Tai?
How did you learn about Tai?
What are your future goals for employment?

For the following statements, please select whether you strongly agree, agree, strongly disagree, or no answer.

The volunteer contract correctly described the work I was asked to do.
Tai sufficiently prepared me for the work I was asked to do.
I was able to perform the tasks that Tai asked me to do.
I feel/felt motivated to work for Tai.
I feel/felt appreciated by Tai for my work.

Volunteering for Tai has benefited me.
I would recommend others to work for Tai.
Female volunteers have the same opportunities as male volunteers at Tai.
The work I did/I do for Tai is different than what I was told in my contract.
There is good communication with the Tai volunteers.
The local and international volunteers work well together.
I am/I was fairly compensated for my work at Tai.
I felt like my opinions and ideas are/were listened to.
I felt comfortable and confident doing the tasks Tai asked me to do.
There is gender equality among Tai volunteers.
The method of storytelling and animation for organizations is good.

Challenges

Do you/did you face any challenges with volunteering at Tai? If yes, what challenges?
Have you missed any obligations/meetings/events? Is yes, why? What would help you to not miss?
If you have any questions about your volunteer role, who do you contact to ask? (List names or titles.)
What do you think Tai is good or effective at?
What do you think Tai could improve on?
Is there anything Tai could do to improve the volunteer experience?

Contact Info

If you would like to receive the 2,000Tsh phone voucher, please supply your contact information. If you do not want to receive the voucher, you do not need to fill this section.

[Name]
[E-mail Address]

Which type of voucher would you prefer?

[Tigo]
[Vodacom]
[Airtel]

Would you be interested in being contacted to do an interview for this research? Unfortunately I can not offer payment for this. If you say no, you will still receive the voucher for completing this survey. Only say yes if you genuinely would be interest

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbink, Jon, and Ineke van Kessel, eds. 2005. *Vanguard or Vandals: Youth, Politics and Conflict in Africa.* Leiden: Brill.

AFP. 2019. "South African teens fight gun crime violence with radio broadcast." *The East African,* July 23, 2019. https://www.theeastafrican.co.ke/news/africa/South-African-teens-fight-gun-crime-with-radio-broadcast/4552902-5206698-oyg1p9z/index.html

African Development Bank Group (AfDB). 2016. Jobs for Youth in Africa: Catalyzing youth opportunity across Africa. https://www.afdb.org/fileadmin/uploads/afdb/Images/high_5s/Job_youth_Africa_Job_youth_Africa.pdf

African Union. 2006. *African Youth Charter.* https://au.int/sites/default/files/treaties/7789-treaty-0033_-_african_youth_charter_e.pdf

Alam, Shahidul. 2008. "Majority World: Challenging the West's Rhetoric of Democracy." *Amerasia Journal* 34(1): 87-98.

Amey, Alan, and David Leonard. 1979. "Public Policy, Class and Inequality in Kenya and Tanzania." *Africa Today* 26(4): 3-41.

Amit, V. 2001. "Youth Culture, Anthropology of." *In* International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences. Pp. 16657-16660. https://doi.org/10.1016/B0-08-043076-7/00981-5

Amit-Talai, Vered, and Helena Wulff, eds. 1995. *Youth Cultures: A Cross-Cultural Perspective.* London: Routledge.

Amory, Deborah. 1997. "African Studies as American Institution." *In* Anthropological Locations: Boundaries and Grounds of a Field Science. Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson, eds. Berkeley: University of California Press. Pp. 102-116.

Andreasen, Manja Hoppe, and Jytte Agergaard. 2016. "Residential Mobility and Homeownership in Dar es Salaam." *Population and Development Review* 42(1): 101.

Angel-Ajani, Asale. 2008. *"Expert Witness: Notes toward Revisiting the Politics of Listening"* in *Engaged Observer: Anthropology, Advocacy, and Activism.* Edited by Victoria Sanford and Asale Angel-Ajani. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

Anglin, Mary. 2010. "Feminist Perspectives on Structural Violence." *Identities* 5(2): 145-151.

Argenti, N., 2007. The Intestines of the State: Youth, Violence, and Belated Histories in the Cameroon Grassfields. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London.

Askew, Kelly. 2002. *Performing the Nation: Swahili Music and Cultural Politics in Tanzania.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Babou, Cheikh Anta. 2007. *Fighting the Greater Jihad: Amadu Bamba and the Founding of the Muridiyya of Senegal, 1853-1913.* Ohio University Press.

Baker, Megan. 2015. "Fostering a Critical Consciousness for Social and Political Change: A Case Study of Youth-led Organizing in The Netherlands." Master's Thesis, Development Studies, International Institute of Social Studies, The Hague, The Netherlands.

Barrett, Stanley. 1996. *Anthropology: Guide to Theory and Method.* 1st ed. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Barron, P., and Ivana Říhová. 2011. "Motivation to volunteer: a case study of the Edinburgh International Magic Festival." *International Journal of Event and Festival Management* 2: 202-217. DOI:10.1108/17582951111170281

Baxter, P.T.W., and Uri Almagor, eds. 1978. *Age: Generation and Time: Some Features of East African Age Organization.* Palgrave Macmillan.

Baylies, Carolyn, and Janet Bujra, eds. 2000. *AIDS, Sexuality and Gender in Africa: Collective Strategies and Struggles in Tanzania and Zambia.* London: Routledge.

Behar, R. 1996. *The Vulnerable Observer: Anthropology that breaks your heart.* Boston: Beacon Press.

Behar, Ruth, and Deborah A. Gordon, eds. 1995. *Women Writing Culture.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Bernal, Victoria, and Inderpal Grewal, eds. 2014. *Theorizing NGOs: States, Feminisms, and Neoliberalism.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Bernardi, B. 1985. *Age class systems: Social institutions and polities based on age.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Besnier, Niko, Susan Brownell, and Thomas F. Carter. 2018. *The Anthropology of Sport: Bodies, Borders, Biopolitics.* Oakland, CA: University of California Press.

Bethune, M.M. 1955. "Last Will and Testament." Bethune-Cookman University website. https://www.cookman.edu/about_bcu/history/lastwill_testament.html#:~:text=We%20have%20a%20powerful%20potential,needed%20today%20as%20never%20before. Accessed on 04/03/2021.

Bienen, Henry. 1967. *Tanzania: Party Transformation and Economic Development.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Birmingham, David. 1995. *The Decolonization of Africa.* Athens, OH: Ohio University Press.

Bjorvatn, Kjetil and Cappelen, Alexander W. and Sekei, Linda and Sorensen, Erik and Tungodden, Bertil. 2015. Teaching Through Television: Experimental Evidence on Entrepreneurship Education in Tanzania. NHH Dept. of Economics Discussion Paper

Blanchard, Kendall. 1995. *The Anthropology of Sport: An Introduction.* Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey.

Blowfield, M., and Dolan, C. 2014. "Business as a development agent: Evidence of possibility and improbability." *Third World Quarterly* 35(1): 22–42. doi:10.1080/01436597.2013.868982

Boahen, A. Adu. 1989. *African Perspectives on Colonialism.* Johns Hopkins University Press.

Borzekowski – 2017 A quasi-experiment examining the impact of educational cartoons on Tanzanian children

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1978. "Sport and social class." *Social Science Information* 17 (6): 819-840.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1986. "The forms of capital." In *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, edited by J. Richardson, 241-258. New York: Greenwood.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1990 [1980]. *The Logic of Practice*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1991. *Language and Symbolic Power.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1993. *Sociology in Question*. London: Sage Publications.

Brennan, James. 2006. "Youth, the TANU Youth League and Managed Vigilantism in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, 1925-73." *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 76(2): 221-246.

Briggs, John. 1991. "The peri-urban zone of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania: recent trends and changes in agricultural land use." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 16(3): 319-331.

Brown, Hannah, and Maia Green. 2015. "At the service of community development: the professionalization of volunteer work in Kenya and Tanzania." *African Studies Review* 58 (2): 66 – 84. doi:10.1017/asr.2015.38

Brown, Hannah, and Ruth J. Prince. 2015. "Introduction: Volunteer Labor – Pasts and Futures of Work, Development, and Citizenship in East Africa." In *Special Issue: ASR Focus on Volunteer Labor in East Africa. African Studies Review* 58 (2): 29 – 42.

Bucholtz, Mary. 2002. "Ýouth and Cultural Practice." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 31: 525-552.

Burgess, Thomas. 2005. "Introduction to Youth and Citizenship in East Africa." *Africa Today* 51(3).

Burgess, Thomas, and Andrew Burton. 2010. “Introduction.” *In* Generations Past: Youth in East African History. Burton, A. and Charton-Bigot, H., eds. Pp. 1-25.

Burnett Cora. 2013. “GIZ/YDF and youth as drivers of Sport for Development in the African context.” *Journal of Sport for Development* 1(1): 4-15.

Burnett, Cora. 2015. "Assessing the Sociology of Sport: On Sport for Development and Peace." *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 50, no. 4-5: 385-390.

Burton, Andrew. 2005. *African Underclass: Urbanization, Crime & Colonial Order in Dar es Salaam 1919-61.* Ohio University Press.

Burton, Andrew, and Helene Charton-Bigot. 2010. *Generations Past: Youth in East African History.* Athens: Ohio University Press.

Callaci, Emily. 2017. *Street Archives and City Life: Popular Intellectuals in Postcolonial Tanzania.* Durham: Duke University Press.

Christiansen, Catrine, Mats Utas, and Henrik Vigh, eds. 2006. *Navigating Youth, Generating Adulthood: Social Becoming in an African Context.* Uppsala: The Nordic Africa Institute.

Clifford, James, and George E. Marcus, eds. Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography. Berkeley: University of California. 1986.

Cole, Jennifer. 2004. “Fresh Contact in Tamatave, Madagascar: Sex, Money, and Intergenerational Transformation.” *American Ethnologist* 31(4): 573-588.

Cole, Jennifer, and Deborah Durham. 2007. *Generations and Globalization: Youth, Age, and Family in the New World Economy.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Cole, Jennifer, and Deborah Durham. 2008. *Figuring the Future: Globalization and the Temporalities of Children and Youth.* Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research Press.

Compion, Sara. 2007. "Tuberculosis Discourse in South Africa: A Case Study in Knowledge, Power and Identity." Master’s Thesis, Department of Sociology, University of Pretoria, Pretoria.

Compion, Sara. 2016. “Volunteering and Democratization in Southern Africa: A Structural and Cultural Analysis.” Doctoral thesis, University of Kentucky. http://dx.doi.org/10.13023/ETD.2016.253

Cooley, Mike. 1982. *Architect or Bee? The Human Price of Technology.* Boston: South End Press.

Cooper, Frederick. 2019. *Africa Since 1940: The Past of the Present, 2nd ed.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Coulson, Andrew. 1982. *Tanzania: A Political Economy.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Craven, Christa, and Dána-Ain Davis, editors. 2013. *Feminist Activist Ethnography: Counterpoints to Neoliberalism in North America.* Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

Crowder, Michael. 1968. *West Africa Under Colonial Rule.* London: Hutchinson.

Czarniawska, B. 2013. "Organizations as Obstacles to Organizing." *In* Organization and Organizing: Materiality, Agency, and Discourse. Robichaud, Cooren, and Francois, eds. Pp. 3-22.

Dalsgaard, Anne Line, and Mónica Franch and Russell Parry Scott. 2008. "Dominant Ideas, Uncertain Lives: The Meaning of Youth in Recife." In Youth and the City in the Global South. Tranberg Hansen, ed. Pp. 49-73.

Darnell, Simon C. 2014. "Orientalism through Sport: Towards a Said-Ian Analysis of Imperialism and 'Sport for Development and Peace'." *Sport in Society* 17, no. 8: 1000-1014

Darnell, S.C., Millington, R., 2019. "Social Justice, Sport, and Sociology: A Position Statement." *Quest* 71: 175–187. doi:10.1080/00336297.2018.1545681

Dawkins, Z. (2015) Co-Animate: Animation as a Communication Tool for Social Change, Melbourne: RMIT University, available: http://static1.squarespace.com/static/555fe01fe4b0869396e90cea/t/55711228e4b03eabeef78491/1433473576817/Animation+as+a+Communication+Tool+for+Social+Change.pdf

DeJaeghere, Joan G. 2017. *Educating Entrepreneurial Citizens: Neoliberalism and Youth Livelihoods in Tanzania.* London: Routledge.

Diouf, Mamadou. 2003. "Engaging Postcolonial Cultures: African Youth and Public Space." *African Studies Review* 46(2): 1-12.

Dolan, Catherine, and Dinah Rajak. 2016. "Remaking Africa's Informal Economies: Youth, Entrepreneurship and the Promise of Inclusion at the Bottom of the Pyramid." *The Journal of Development Studies* 52(4): 514-529. DOI: 10.1080/00220388.2015.1126249

Durham, Deborah. 2000a. "Youth and the Social Imagination in Africa: Introduction & Part 1." *Anthropological Quarterly* 73(3): 113-120.

Durham, Deborah. 2000b. "Youth and the Social Imagination in Africa: Part 2." *Anthropological Quarterly* 73(4): 171-214.

Durham, D., 2004. Disappearing youth: youth as a social shifter in Botswana. American Ethnologist 31 (4), 589–605

Economic Commission for Africa. 2005. *Meeting the Challenges of Unemployment and Poverty in Africa: Economic Report on Africa 2005.* Addis Ababa, Ethiopia: Economic Commission for Africa.

Evans-Pritchard, E. E. 1936. "The Nuer: Age Sets." *Sudan Notes and Records* 29 (2): 233-69.

Evans-Pritchard, E.E. 1940 (1969). *The Nuer: A description of the modes of livelihood and political institutions of a Nilotic people.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Falk Moore, Sally. 1986. *Social Facts and Fabrications: 'Customary' Law on Kilimanjaro, 1880-1980.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Falk Moore, Sally, and Paul Puritt. 2017. *The Chagga and Meru of Tanzania.* London: Routledge.

Fanon, Franz. 2005 [1963]. *The Wretched Of The Earth.* New York: Grove Press.

Farmer, Paul. 2004. "An Anthropology of Structural Violence." *Current Anthropology* 45(3): 305-325.

Feierman, Steven. 1990. *Peasant Intellectuals: Anthropology and History in Tanzania.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Ferguson, James. 2006. *Global Shadows: African in the Neoliberal World Order.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Ferguson, James. 2013. "Declarations of dependence: labour, personhood, and welfare in southern Africa." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* (19): 223 – 242.

Foner, A., and D. Kertzer. 1978. "Transitions over the life course: Lessons from age-set societies." *American Journal of Sociology* 83(5): 1081-1104. https://doi.org/10.1086/226675

Foucault, Michel. 1977. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison.* New York: Pantheon Books.

Foucault, Michel. 1978. *The History of Sexuality.* New York: Pantheon Books.

Foucault, Michel, and Colin Gordon. 1980. *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writing 1972-1977.* New York: Pantheon Books.

Freidus, Andrea Lee. 2016. "Unanticipated outcomes of voluntourism among Malawi's orphans." *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 25 (9): 1306 – 1321. doi: 10.1080/09669582.2016.1263308

Freund, Bill. 1984. *The Making of Contemporary Africa.* Macmillan.

Ganti, Tejaswini. 2014. "Neoliberalism." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 43: 89-104.

Garland, Elizabeth. 2012. "How Should Anthropologists Be Thinking About Volunteer Tourism?" *Practicing Anthropology* 34 (3): 5 – 9. doi:10.17730/praa.34.3.694215q342360436.

Geertz, Clifford. 1973. “Notes on the Balinese Cockfight.” In *The Interpretation of Cultures.* New York: Basic Books.

Geertz, C. 1975. *The Interpretation of Cultures.* Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Geiger, Susan. 1997. *TANU Women: Gender and Culture in the Making of Tanganyikan Nationalism, 1955-1965.* Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.

Ginwright, Shawn, and Pedro Noguera and Julio Cammarota, eds. 2006. *Beyond Resistance! Youth Activism and Community Change: New Democratic Possibilities for Practice and Policy for America’s Youth.* Routledge: New York.

Gmelch, George, and Petra Kuppunger, eds. 2018. *Urban Life: Readings in the Anthropology of the City,* 6th ed. Long Grove, Illinois: Waveland Press.

Goessling, Kristen. 2017. “Youth Learning to Be Activists: Constructing ‘Places of Possibility’ Together.” *Critical Questions in Education* 8 (4).

Gordon, H.G. 2019. *We fight to win: Inequality and the politics of youth activism.* New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Govender, E. 2010. “How effective is HIV and AIDS communication in Africa?” *African Communication Research* 3(2): 205-234.

Grauenkaer, Lisa, and Thomas Tufte. “Youth-led communication for social change: empowerment, citizen media, and cultures of governance in Northern Ghana.” *Development in Practice* 28 (3): 400-413. https://doi.org/10.1080/09614524.2018.1436696

Green, Maia. 2010. “After Ujamaa? Cultures of Governance and the Representation of Power in Tanzania.” *Social Analysis* 54(1): 15-34. https://doi.org/10.3167/sa.2010.540102

Green, Maia. 2014. *The Development State: Aid, Culture and Civil Society in Tanzania.* Suffolk, England: James Currey.

Green, Maia. 2015. “Making Africa middle class: From poverty reduction to the production of inequality in Tanzania.” *Economic Anthropology* (2): 295-309. DOI:10.1002/sea2.12032

Greenberg, Jessica. 2014. *After the Revolution: Youth, Democracy, and the Politics of Disappointment in Serbia.* Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Greene, Joyce, and Deborah Reber, eds. Drawing Insight: Communicating Development through Animation. Penang: Southbound, 1996.

Hannikainen, Maritta, Elly Singer, and Bert van Oers. 2013. “Promoting play for a better future.” *European Early Childhood Education Research Journal* 21 (2): 165-171. DOI: 10.1080/1350293X.2013.789192

Haraway, Donna. 1988. “Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective.” *Feminist Studies* 14 (3): 575-599. https://doi.org/10.2307/3178066

Harrison, Faye V. 2013. “Foreword: Navigating Feminist Activist Ethnography” in Feminist Activist Ethnography: Counterpoints to Neoliberalism in North America. Edited by Christa Craven and Dána-Ain Davis. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

Harrison, Graham. 2010. *Neoliberal Africa: The Impact of Global Social Engineering.* Zed Books.

Hart, K. 1973. “Informal Income Opportunities and Urban Employment in Ghana.” *In* Third World Employment-Problems and Strategy: Selected Readings. Jolly, R., de Kadt, E., Singer, H., and Wilson, F., eds. Pp. 66-70.

Hatch, John. 1972. *Tanzania: A Profile.* New York: Praeger.

Hellekson, Karen. 2009. “A Fannish Field of Value: Online Fan Gift Culture.” *Cinema Journal* 48(4): 113-118. 10.1353/cj.0.0140

Hirsh-Pasek, K., R. Michnick-Golinkoff, L.E. Berk, and D.G. Singer. 2009. *A Mandate for Playful Learning: Presenting the Evidence.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Honwana, Alcinda. 2012. *The Time of Youth: Work, Social Change, and Politics in Africa.* Sterling, Virginia: Kumarian Press.

Honwana, A. and de Boeck, F., eds. 2005. *Makers & Breakers: Children and Youth in Postcolonial Africa.* James Currey: Oxford.

Human Rights Watch. 2017. “‘I Had A Dream to Finish School’: Barriers to Secondary Education in Tanzania.” Report written by Elin Martínez, February 14, 2017. https://www.hrw.org/report/2017/02/14/i-had-dream-finish-school/barriers-secondary-education-tanzania

Hunter, Emma. 2015. “Voluntarism, Virtuous Citizenship, and Nation-Building in Late Colonial and Early Postcolonial Tanzania.” In *Special Issue: ASR Focus on Volunteer Labor in East Africa. African Studies Review* 58 (2): 43 – 61.

Hyden, Goran. 1980. *Beyond Ujamaa in Tanzania: Underdevelopment and an Uncaptured Peasantry.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Ige, S., and T. Quinlan. 2012. *African responses to HIV/AIDS: between speech and action.* Scottsville: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press.

Iliffe, John. 1969. *Tanganyika Under German Rule, 1905-1012.* London: Cambridge University Press.

Iliffe, John. 1979. *A Modern History of Tanganyika.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Iliffe, John. 1995. *Africans: The History of a Continent.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

International Labour Office (ILO). 2020. Global Employment Trends for Youth 2020: Technology and the future of jobs. Geneva.

Ivaska, Andrew. 2011. *Cultured States: Youth, Gender, and Modern Style in 1960s Dar es Salaam.* Durham: Duke University Press.

Jeffrey, Craig. 2010. *Timepass: Youth Class, and the Politics of Waiting in India.* Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Jennings, Michael. 2016. "Doing Good While They Can: International Volunteers, Development & Politics in Early Independence Tanzania." In *Volunteer Economies: The Politics and Ethics of Voluntary Labour in Africa,* edited by R. Prince and H. Brown, 119-139. Suffolk: James Currey.

Joelsson, Irmelin. 2021. "Risky urban futures: the bridge, the fund and insurance in Dar es Salaam." In *African Cities and Collaborative Futures,* edited by M. Keith and A.A. de Souza Santos, 143-165. Manchester University Press.

Johnstone, Lyn, ed. 2019. *The Politics of Conducting Research in Africa: Ethical and Emotional Challenges in the Field.* Palgrave Macmillan.

Kaniki, M.H.Y. 1980. *Tanzania Under Colonial Rule.* London: Longman Group Limited.

Kawamura, Yoko, and Connie Kohler. 2013. "Applying Sabido's entertainment-education serial drama strategy to serve local radio audiences in the United States and Japan." *Critical Arts: South-North Cultural Media Studies* 27(1): 91-111.

Kimambo, Isaria N., and Gregory H. Maddox and Salvatory S. Nyanto. 2017. *A New History of Tanzania*. Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota Publishers.

Kleinsasser, Audrey M. 2000. "Researchers, Reflexivity, and Good Data: Writing to Unlearn." *Theory Into Practice* 39 (3): 155-162. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15430421tip3903_6

Kolumbia, Louis. 2019. "How creative industries can bridge TZ employment gap." *The Citizen,* July 6, 2019. https://www.thecitizen.co.tz/news/How-creative-industries-can-bridge-TZ-employment-gap/1840340-5185348-hcmbwp/index.html

Lagerwerf, L., and H. Boer and H. Wasserman, eds. 2009. *Health communication in southern Africa: engaging with social and cultural diversity.* Amsterdam & Pretoria: Rozenberg Publishers/Unisa Press.

Lambert, Joe. (2013). Digital Storytelling: Capturing Lives, Creating Community. 4th edition. New York: Routledge.

LeCompte, Margaret D., and Jean J. Schensul. 2010. *Designing & Conducting Ethnographic Research: An Introduction*. 2nd ed. Lantham, MD: AltaMira Press.

Lewin, Ellen, and Leni M. Silverstein, eds. 2016. *Mapping Feminist Anthropology in the Twenty-First Century.* New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

Lewinson, Anne. 2007. “Viewing postcolonial Dar es Salaam, Tanzania through civic spaces: a question of class.” *African Identities* 5(2): 199-215.

Listowel, Judith. 1965. *The Making of Tanganyika.* London: London House & Maxwell.

MacDonald, Robert. 1996. "Labours of Love: Voluntary Working in a Depressed Local Economy." *Journal of Social Policy* 25(01): 19-38

Malinowski, B. 1929. *The sexual life of savages in northwestern Melanesia.* Liveright.

Mannheim, K. 1970. “The Problem of Generations.” *Psychoanal. Rev.* 57: 378-404.

Marsden, David. 1994. “Part 1: Indigenous Management - Introduction.” *In* Anthropology of Organizations. Wright, S., ed. Pp. 35-40.

Mauss, Marcel. 1967. *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies*. Translated by Ian Cunnison. New York: Norton.

Mbele, Joseph L. 2005. *African and Americans: Embracing Cultural Differences.* Northfield, MN: Africonexion.

McBean, George, and Neill McKee. “The Animated Film in Development Communication.” Drawing Insight: Communicating Development through Animation. Eds. Greene, Joyce, and Deborah Reber. Penang: Southbound, 1996. 10---15.

McHenry, Dean E. 1980. “The Use of Sports in Policy Implementation: the Case of Tanzania.” *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 18 (2): 237-256.

Mead, Margaret. 1928. *Coming of Age in Samoa.* New York: William Quill Paperbacks.

Mercer, Claire. 1999. “Reconceptualizing state-society relations in Tanzania: are NGOs ‘making a difference’?” *Area* 31: 247-258.

Mercer, Claire. 2014. “Middle class construction: domestic architecture, aesthetics and anxieties in Tanzania.” *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 52(2): 227-250. DOI: 10.1017/S0022278X14000068

Michael, Sarah. 2004. *Undermining Development: The Absence of Power Among Local NGOs in Africa.* Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Moeller, Kathryn. 2018. *The Gender Effect: Capitalism, Feminism, and the Corporate Politics of Development.* Oakland: University of California Press.

Moland, Naomi. 2017. “Localizing Play-Based Pedagogy: Nigerian Educators’ Appropriation of Sesame Classroom Materials.” *Global Education Review* 4 (3): 17-36.

Monson, Jamie. 1998. “Relocating Maji Maji: The Politics of Alliance and Authority in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania, 1870-1918.” *The Journal of African History* 39(1): 95-120.

Moyer, E., 2004. Popular Cartographies: youthful imaginings of the global in the streets of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. City & Society 16 (2), 117–143

Mwaanga, O., and K. Adeosun. 2019. “Reconceptualizing Sport for Development and Peace (SDP): An Ideological Critique of Nelson ‘Madida’ Mandela’s Engagement with Sport.” *Sport in Society* 23: 847-863.

Ncube, M. 2012. *Urbanization in Africa,* African Development Bank Group, 13 December, www.afdb.org/en/blogs/ afdb-championing-inclusive-growth-across-africa/post/urbanization-in-africa-10143/

Nicolini, D. 2012. *Practice Theory, Work, and Organization: An Introduction.* London: Oxford University Press.

Nicolini, D., and S. Gherardi and D. Yanow. 2003. *Knowing in Organizations: A Practice-based Approach.* New York: M.E. Sharpe.

Nurse, Derek, and Thomas Spear. 1985. *The Swahili: Reconstructing the History and Language of an African Society, 800-1500.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

NVRF – Network for Vulnerable Rescue Foundation. “Statistics since 2008-2019.” Internal document, October 2019.

Nyamnjoh, Francis B. 2012. “Blinded by Sight: Divining the Future of Anthropology in Africa.” *African Spectrum* 47(2/3): 63-92.

Nyerere, J. 1966. *Freedom and Unity: A selection of writings and speeches, 1952-1965, Vol. 1.* London: Oxford University Press.

Okojie, Christiana. 2003. *“Employment Creation for Youth in Africa: The Gender Dimension.”* In Expert Group Meeting on Jobs for Youth: National Strategies for Employment Promotion. Geneva, Switzerland.

Otiso, Kefa M. 2013. *Culture and Customs of Tanzania.* Culture and Customs of Africa. Edited by Toyin Falola. Santa Barbara, CA: Greenwood.

Oyoo, Kasera Nick. 2021. “Culture of do the least, earn the most.” The Citizen, February 16, 2021. Accessed February 22, 2021. https://www.thecitizen.co.tz/tanzania/oped/culture-of-do-the-least-earn-the-most-3293466

Panelli, Ruth, and Samantha Punch and Elsbeth Robson, eds. 2007. Global Perspectives on Rural Childhood and Youth: Young Rural Lives. Routledge.

Parker, Stanley R. 1997. "Volunteering – Altruism, Markets, Causes and Leisure." *World Leisure & Recreation* 39(3): 4-5. DOI: 10.1080/10261133.1997.9674070

Peaslee, R., and Jessica El-Khoury and Ashley Liles. 2013. "The media festival volunteer: Connecting online and on-ground fan labor." *Transformative Works and Cultures* 15: n. pag. DOI:10.3983/TWC.2014.0502

Perullo, Alex. 2005. "Hooligans and Heroes: Youth Identity and Hip-Hop in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania." *Africa Today* 51(4).

Petterson, Don. 2002. *Revolution in Zanzibar: An American's Cold War Tale.* New York: Westview.

Pew Research Center Forum on Religion & Public Life. *Tolerance and Tension: Islam and Christianity in Sub-Saharan Africa.* April 15, 2010. Distributed by Pew Research Center. https://www.pewforum.org/2010/04/15/executive-summary-islam-and-christianity-in-sub-saharan-africa/#about-the-report

Philipps, Joschka. 2018. "A Global Generation? Youth Studies in a Postcolonial World." *Societies* 8(14). doi:10.3390/soc8010014

Pratt, Cranford. 1976. *The Critical Phase in Tanzania, 1945-1968.* London: Cambridge University Press.

Prince, Ruth J. 2015. "Seeking Incorporation? Voluntary Labor and the Ambiguities of Work, Identity, and Social Value in Contemporary Kenya." *African Studies Review* 58 (2): 85 – 109.

Prince, Ruth, and Hannah Brown. 2016. *Volunteer Economies: The Politics and Ethics of Voluntary Labour in Africa.* Suffolk, England: James Currey.

Punch, S., 2003. Childhoods in the majority world: miniature adults or tribal children? Sociology, 37(2),277-295.

Punch, S & Tisdall, EKM (eds) 2012, 'Exploring Children and Young People's Relationships Across Majorityand Minority Worlds', Children's Geographies, vol. 10, no. 3, pp. 241-248.

Putnam, Robert D. 2000. *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. New York, NY: Simon and Schuster.

Radcliffe-Brown, A.R. 1929. "Age Organization-Terminology." *Man* 29: 21.

Radcliffe-Brown, A.R. 1952. *Structure and Function in Primitive Society.* London: Cohen and West.

Reed, A., & Hill, A. (2010). "'Don't keep it to yourself!': Digital storytelling with South African youth." *International Journal of Media, Technology and Life-Long Learning*, 6(2), 268–279.

Remes, Pieter. 1999. "Global Popular Music and Changing Awareness of Urban Tanzanian Youth." *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 31:1-26.

Resnick, Danielle, and James Thurlow, eds. 2015. *African Youth and the Persistence of Marginalization: Employment, politics, and prospects for change.* Routledge: London.

Reuters. "Decrying Vaccines, Tanzania Leader Says 'God Will Protect' from COVID-19." Reuters. Reuters, January 27, 2021. https://www.reuters.com/article/us-health-coronavirus-tanzania/decrying-vaccines-tanzania-leader-says-god-will-protect-from-covid-19-idUSKBN29W1Z6.

Rogers, Everett M., Peter W. Vaughan, Ramadhan M.A. Swalehe, Nagesh Rao, Peer Svenkerud, and Suruchi Sood (1999). "Effects of an entertainment-education radio soap opera on family planning behavior in Tanzania," Studies in Family Planning, 30(3): 193–211.

Rohrer, I. 2014. "Anthropology and Youth." *In* Cohesion and Dissolution: Friendship in the Globalized Punk and Hardcore Scene of Buenos Aires. Pp. 37-45.

Rosaldo, Michelle, and Louise Lamphere, eds. 1974. *Woman, Culture, and Society.* Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Rosaldo, R. 1989. "*Grief and a headhunter's rage"* in *Culture and Truth: The Remaking of Social Analysis.* Edited by R. Rosaldo. Boston: Beacon Press.

Rosen, Jonathan W. 2019. "This Tanzanian city may soon be one of the world's most populous. Is it ready?" National Geographic Society, April 5, 2019. Accessed February 22, 2021. https://www.nationalgeographic.com/environment/article/tanzanian-city-may-soon-be-one-of-the-worlds-most-populous

Rylko-Bauer, Barbara, and Paul Farmer. 2016. "Structural Violence, Poverty, and Social Suffering." In *The Oxford Handbook of the Social Science of Poverty*, edited by D. Brady and L. Burton, 47-74. Oxford University Press.

Saardchom, Narumon, and Jean Lemaire. 2008. "Causes of Increasing Ages at Marriage: An International Regression Study." *Marriage & Family Review* 37(3): 73-97.

Salamon, Lester, M. 1993. "The Marketization of Welfare: Changing Nonprofit and for-Profit Roles in the American Welfare State." *Social Service Review* 67(1): 16-39.

Samoff, Joel. 1979. "Education in Tanzania: Class Formation and Reproduction." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 17(1): 47-69.

Schatzki, T. R. 2006. "On Organizations as They Happen." *Organization Studies* 27(12): 1863-1873.

Schein, E.H. 1991. “What is culture?” *In* Reframing organizational culture. Frost, Moore, Louis, Lundberg, & Martin, eds. Pp. 243-253.

Schensul, Stephen L., Jean J. Schensul, and Margaret D. LeCompte. 1999. *Essential Ethnographic Methods: Observation, Interviews, and Questionnaires.* Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.

Scheper-Hughes, Nancy. 1993. *Death Without Weeping: The Violence of Everyday Life in Brazil.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Scheper-Hughes, Nancy. 1996. *Death without Weeping: The Violence of Everyday Life in Brazil.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Scott, James C. 1985. *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Singhal, Arvind (2013). “Introduction: Fairy tale to digital games: the rising tide of edutainment education,” Critical Arts: South-North Cultural and Media Studies, 27(1): 1–8.

Singhal, Arvind, Michael J. Cody, Everett M. Rogers, and Miguel Sabido (eds.) (2004). Entertainment-Education and Social Change: History, Research and Practice, Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Singhal, Arvind, and Cody, M., Rogers, E., & Sabido M. (2003). Entertainment-Education and Social Change: History, Research, and Practice. New York: Routledge.

Smircich, Linda. 1983. “Concepts of Culture and Organizational Analysis.” *Administrative Science Quarterly* 28(3): 339-358.

Sommers, Marc. 2001. *Fear in Bongoland: Burundi Refugees in Urban Tanzania.* New York: Berghahn Books.

Sommers, Marc. 2010. “Urban Youth in Africa.” *Environment and Urbanization* 22(2): 317-332.

Sommers, Marc. 2011. “Governance, Security, and Culture: Assessing Africa’s Youth Bulge.” *International Journal of Conflict and Violence* 5(2): 292-303.

Sommers, Marc. 2015. *The Outcast Majority: War, Development, and Youth in Africa.* Athens: The University of Georgia.

Spencer, Paul. 2004. *The Samburu: A Study in Geocentracy.* New York: Routledge.

Spencer, Paul. 2014. *Youth and Experiences of Ageing among Maa: Models of Society Evoked by the Maasai, Samburu, and Chamus of Kenya.* Berlin: De Gruyter Open.

Spencer, Paul. 2018. “Age Systems and Kinship.” *In* The International Encyclopedia of Anthropology. Callan, H., ed. DOI: 10.1002/9781118924396.wbiea1447

Spires, Anthony. 2018. “Chinese Youth and Alternative Narratives of Volunteering.” *China Information* 32(2): 203-223.

Stambach, Amy. 2000. *Lessons from Mount Kilimanjaro: Schooling, Community, and Gender in East Africa.* Routledge: New York.

Stone, Linda, and Diane E. King. 2018. *Kinship and Gender: An Introduction.* Routledge.

Sullivan, Noelle. 2016. “Hosting Gazes: Clinical Volunteer Tourism & Hospital Hospitality in Tanzania.” In *Volunteer Economies: The Politics and Ethics of Voluntary Labour in Africa,* edited by R. Prince and H. Brown, 140 – 163. Suffolk: James Currey.

Suriano, Maria. 2007. “'Mimi ni msanii, kioo cha jamii': Urban Youth Culture in Tanzania as Seen Through *Bongo Fleva* and Hip-Hop.” *Swahili Forum* 14: 207-223.

Switzer, Heather. 2013. “(Post)Feminist development fables: The Girl Effect and the production of sexual subjects.” *Feminist Theory* 14(3): 345-360. DOI: 10.1177/1464700113499855

Tanzania National Bureau of Statistics. *Census – 2012.* 2016. Distributed by Tanzania Socio-Economic Database. http://www.dataforall.org/CensusInfoTanzania/libraries/aspx/home.aspx

Tranberg Hansen, Karen. 2008. *Youth and the City in the Global South.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Tranberg Hansen, Karen. 2015. “Cities of youth: post-millennial cases of mobility and sociality.” *In* African Youth and the Persistence of Marginalization. Resnick, D., and Thurlow, J., eds. Pp. 67-84.

Trompenaars, Fons. “Riding the waves of culture: Fons Trompenaars at TEDxAmsterdam.” Filmed 2013. TED video, 18:51. https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=29&v=hmyfjKjcbm0&feature=emb_logo

Tylor, Edward B. 1920 [1871] Primitive Culture: Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Language, Art, and Custom. London: John Murray.

Turk, Tisha. 2014. “Fan work: Labor, worth, and participation in fandom’s gift economy.” *In* “Fandom and/as Labor.” Special Issue of *Transformative Works and Cultures* 15, Mel Stanfill and Megan Condis, eds. https://doi.org/10.3983/twc.2014.0518.

Turner, Victor. 1969 [2017]. *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure.* New York: Routledge.

Udvardy, Monica. 1998. “Theorizing Past and Present Women’s Organizations in Kenya.” *World Development* 26(9): 1749-1761.

Uimonen, Paula. 2012. *Digital Drama: Teaching and Learning Art and Media in Tanzania.* New York: Routledge.

United Nations. 1981. "Resolution 36/28." United Nations General Assembly, 57th plenary meeting, 13 November.

United Nations. 2005. World Youth Report 2005: Young People Today, and in 2015. New York: United Nations.

United Nations. 2010. Regional Overview: Youth in Africa. U.P.o.Y. UN Economic Commission for Africa, ed. International Year of Youth Fact Sheets.

United Nations. 2015. Youth Population Trends and Sustainable Development. D.o.E.a.S. Affairs, ed.

United Republic of Tanzania. 2007. *National Youth Development Policy.* E. Ministry of Labour, and Youth Development, ed. Dar es Salaam, Tanzania: The United Republic of Tanzania.

United Republic of Tanzanian. 2015. Basic Demographic and Socio-Economic Profile: Statistical Tables, Tanzania Mainland. National Bureau of Statistics and Office of Chief Government Statistician. M.o.F.a.M.o. State, ed. Dar es Salaam, Tanzania: The United Republic of Tanzania.

United Republic of Tanzania and United Nations Development Programme. 2014. Tanzania Human Development Report: Economic Transformation for Human Development. Dar es Salaam, Tanzania: Economic and Social Research Foundation, UNDP, and Ministry of Finance, TZ.

USAID. 2012. "Youth in Development: Realizing the Demographic Opportunity." USAID Policy, Oct.

Van Gennep, Arnold. 1909. *The Rites of Passage.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Vaughn, Nicole A., et al. "Digital Animation as a Method to Disseminated Research Findings to the Community Using a Community---Based Participatory Approach." American Journal of Community Psychology 51 (2013): 30---42.

Vidacs, Bea. 2006. "Through the prism of sports: why should Africanists study sports?" *Africa Spectrum* 41 (3): 331-349.

Weiss, Brad. 2002. "Thug Realism: Inhabiting Fantasy in Urban Tanzania." *Cultural Anthropology* 17(1): 93-124.

Weiss, Brad. 2009. *Street Dreams and Hip Hop Barbershops: Global Fantasy in Urban Tanzania.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Wig, Ståle. 2016. “The Purchase of Volunteerism: Uses & Meanings of Money in Lesotho’s Development Sector.” In *Volunteer Economies: The Politics and Ethics of Voluntary Labour in Africa,* edited by R. Prince and H. Brown, 75 – 95. Suffolk: James Currey.

Wright, Susan. 1994. *Anthropology of Organizations*. London: Routledge.

Wulff, Helena. 1995. “Introduction: Introducing youth culture in its own right: the state of the art and new possibilities.” *In* Youth Cultures: A Cross-Cultural Perspective. Amit, Talai, V., and Wulff, H., eds. Pp. 1-18.

Ziemek, Susanne. 2006. "Economic Analysis of Volunteers’ Motivations—a Cross-Country Study." *The Journal of Socio-Economics* 35(3): 532-555.

VITA

CHELSEA CUTRIGHT

EDUCATION

2018 M.A., Anthropology, University of Kentucky
2014 B.A., Anthropology, Albion College

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

2018-2021 Adjunct Instructor, West Kentucky Community and Technical College
2018-2021 Primary Instructor, University of Kentucky, Department of Anthropology
2000 Adjunct Instructor, Albion College
2015-2017 Teaching Assistant, University of Kentucky, Department of Anthropology

GRANTS AND AWARDS

2020 Legacy Dissertation Writing Fellowship, University of Kentucky ($7,500)
2020 Graduate Student Congress Travel Award, University of Kentucky ($300)
2019 Adelski Endowed Fellowship, University of Kentucky ($3,000)
2019 Donald P. Cliggett International Travel Research Award, University of Kentucky ($1,000)
2018 National Geographic Early Career Grant, National Geographic Society ($9,936)
2018 University of Kentucky LGBTQ* Resources Scholarship ($2,000)
2017 Dean's Competitive Graduate Fellowship Semi-Finalist, University of Kentucky ($2,000)
2017 Graduate Student Service Award, University of Kentucky
2017 Critical Language Scholarship (CLS) – Arusha, Tanzania, American Council for International Education and U.S. Department of State Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs
2016 Susan Abbott-Jamieson Pre-Dissertation Research Award, University of Kentucky ($1,500)
2015 Foreign Language and Area Studies (FLAS) Fellowship – Kiswahili, Indiana University, African Studies Program ($7,500)
2014 Robert B. Notestein Award for Outstanding Scholarship in Anthropology and Sociology, Albion College
2013 Class of 1964 Endowed Scholarship, Albion College ($1,400)
2013 Summer Research Grant, Foundation for Undergraduate Research, Scholarship, and Creative Activity (FURSCA), Albion College ($3,380)
2013 Albion College Board of Trustees Fellowship, Albion College
2013 Distinguished Community College Transfer Scholarship, Albion College (~$50,000)

PUBLICATIONS

2016 "An Overview of 'Doing Gender' in Women's Organizations." Teoria e Prática em Administração [Theory and Practice in Management], Vol. 6(1): 1-15.