INTERGENERATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS AND ELDERCARE IN RURAL TANZANIA: A LIFE COURSE PERSPECTIVE ON THE IMPLICATIONS OF SOCIAL CHANGE ON FAMILIES

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By

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DEDICATION

Humbly dedicated to three extraordinary individuals who are not here to read it:

To Eunike Masilayo, who nurtured a generation of warriors on whose shoulders I stand,

To Dr. James Msechu, a loving father whose memory fuels my resilience, and

To Professor C.S.L Chachage, whose relentless boldness opened doors for countless vulnerable men and women, myself included.

ABSTRACT

Strategically, eldercare in Tanzania is based on a family based model in which every individual is presumed to be a valued member of a well-wishing family network. This assumes presence of willingness and ability of individual family networks to maintain kinship ties and the traditions necessary for sustaining mutual intergenerational support. Given vast socio-political changes in recent decades, including policy reforms, migration trends, altered educational opportunities, and technological advancements, this study examines how experiences of aging and the provision of eldercare have changed since the time of independence in 1961. Using a life course approach, my research documents lived experiences to examine how willingness, ability, and motivations for caregiving have been transformed over time, while also exploring subsequent policy implications of this knowledge. I employed mixed methods (participant observation, life history interviews, key informant interviews, focus group, and brief questionnaires) to collect empirical evidence from a randomly selected sample of matched pairs of elderly persons and their adult children. Research questions explored included: What is the state of intergenerational relationships and eldercare? Who cares within families (roles)? How and to what extent have "traditional" strategies been sustained over time? To what extent are assumptions upon which policy proposals for the future of elder care are based validated by current trends in families and communities? My findings revealed that the state of eldercare and intergenerational relationships is exceedingly complex and not yet well captured by current aging discourses. Most individuals pursue intergenerational solidarity and desire to provide for their "own". However, in truth, families are overstrained by the burgeoning needs for care. Migration and emergent social challenges, notably a struggling agriculture sector, fosters noteworthy changes in perceptions and reactions to care needs. Younger generations, particularly the "educated", fabricate newer ways of doing family such as modifying family structures and enlarging caregiver networks to include market-based caregivers so as to promote personal social mobility. Gender hierarchies are incessantly contested but women remain underprivileged. As key caregivers, women play poorly recognized and inadequately supported roles within families. Ultimately, this study offers a nuanced description and recommends areas for further research and interventions.

Keywords: Resilience, Family, Gender, Eldercare, house girls, Intergenerational relationships, Tanzania

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ADL	Activities of Daily Living
AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
DAWASA	Dar es Salaam Water Supply
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IMF	International Monetary Fund
KNCU	Kilimanjaro Native Cooperative Union
LDC	Less Developed Countries
MKUKUTA	Mkakati wa Kukuza Uchumi na Kupunguza Umaskini Tanzania *(National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty)*
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
SAPs	Structural Adjustment Programs
TANU	Tanganyika African National Union
TIA	Theory of Intergenerational Ambivalence
TIS	theory of intergenerational solidarity
UDSM	University of Dar es Salaam
UN	United Nations
URT	United Republic of Tanzania
VICOBA	Village Community Bank

INTRODUCTION AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Increased longevity and projected rise in numbers of elderly populations in the next few decades have underscored the importance of intergenerational relationships, bringing it to the forefront of livelihoods and human development discourses. Unfortunately, the recent surge in interest has been restricted to the developed world, leaving an enormous knowledge gap between developed and developing countries such as those of Sub Saharan Africa. And as Aboderin, a leading Africanist family scholar pointed out, the working assumption that African families are disposed to shoulder the costs of eldercare is unsubstantiated and necessitates further examination in light of the continent's fast paced socio-economic developments and transformations (2012). The importance of such analyses is further underscored by the vital role of intergenerational relationships in individual's wellbeing and quality of life. Research has shown, for instance, that supportive intergenerational relationships foster positive health outcomes, act as buffers against stress and promote good overall quality of life .

In poor societies like Tanzania, intergenerational relationships are the very essence of social protection, given a serious lack and, in some cases, complete absence of publicly funded social services. These relationships of exchanges between parents and their children gain more importance in old age, when support from one's children becomes essential for survival. Still, both the excess and lack of intergenerational support may breed lasting difficulties. On the one hand, too much support is known to disintegrate elderly people's sense of competence and produce excessive dependency, which may in turn result in feelings of ambivalence (Smelser 1997; p. 6). On the other hand, lack of support fuels vulnerability, poor health and unhappiness. Still, concerns over the state and

future of eldercare and intergenerational relationships in Africa are driven by several key social, economic, political and cultural changes. Chief among the factors are changes brought about by neo-liberal globalization and shifting public policies.

Contextually, the neo-liberal era presents African societies with almost complete overhaul in ways of doing. As indicated by its early phase of Structural Adjustment (SAP's), the neo-liberal era foreshadowed a period of declining public provision of support for health, access to education and welfare. Additionally, the emergent policies and approaches to development introduced individualistic preferences with a potential to irrevocably transform families. The neo-liberal era also fortified migration of youth and adults to urban centers as well as an increased focus on individual pursuits above the needs of the family, a potentially destructive shift for family exchanges and interdependence.

Population transitions, on the other hand, hints at substantial transformations in family and societal compositions. The most recent census data places the number of population aged 60 and above at 2 million (4.9%), with projections indicating a possible jump to 6.4% by the year 2050 . At the same time, there is every indication that by 2050, there will be more children under the age 15 than adults (aged 16 – 59), signaling more demand for care and support. Coupled with the survival rates at age 60 (14 healthy life expectancy at 6o years), there is reason to be concern as to whether families would be able to accommodate the new demands (ibid). The prognosis signals an increase in numbers of dependent individuals. Moreover, not only are people living longer than ever before, families are experiencing extended periods during which individuals live in

dependency.

Related to the aforementioned is the issue of emerging incompatibilities between eldercare needs and the decreased ability of younger generations to prolong the intergenerational contract upon which family based care-work in anchored. Africans and other societies have often claimed that *having a child is living forever,* a proverb that has likely been overcome by the harsh realities of modern society; in which prolonged lives, increased survival, and the diminished value of children undermines traditional familial obligations. For instance, traditionally, women (e.g. daughters, daughters in law and wives) were the "designated"/ primary care workers in families while men were the primary breadwinners. But in the 21st Century, an era when rising adult generations rely on dual earnings to meet basic needs, it is arguably difficult to find daughters-in-law willing to dedicate their lives to the continuity of the family based care model of eldercare.

Another important demographic change influencing the trajectory of aging and eldercare discourse is the projected increasing numbers of the elderly populations in the next few decades, which is anticipated to strain even the best prepared societies. With governments facing mounting pressure to find ways to subsidize aged care, it has become imperative to understand how external and internal factors interact and their impact on aging outcomes, thus a growing interest in the area. However, up until now, Africanist scholars continue to pay little attention to certain aspects of aging and development, such as the timing of personal events, historical context, culture, and policy changes and their impact on families. Instead, enormous attention has been focused towards understanding the

impacts of economic global relationships on specific vulnerable groups, namely women and children, particularly widows and orphans, as well as individuals with disabilities (Kirk 2003; Lugalla 1995). Thus, despite growing interest, the elderly and issues facing them continue to receive relatively little analysis.

Eldercare rests entirely on individual families in Tanzania, with little to no public support. Broadly defined, eldercare is the totality of long-term assistance provided to fulfill the needs of elderly people who are no longer able to effectively attend to their own needs because of diminishing or loss of cognition, strength and/or control. Eldercare is thus characteristically labor-intensive and necessitates a great deal of effort for all involved. In rural Africa, for example, the elder caregiver role calls for total immersion in procuring and facilitating the older person's wellbeing, which sometimes obliges co-residence of caregiver and care recipients.

The Problem

Social changes, such as population change and increased urbanization, accelerated rates of rural to urban migration. These changes have contributed to changing family structures and with it, weakened social control and loss of intergenerational accountability by younger family members (adult children). Additionally, social ties and attachments within families have been weakened by emergent trends subsequent to neoliberal politics. Consequently, eldercare and support may likely overload existing traditional frameworks. Adult family members, especially women, have become increasingly overburdened with competing demands of the new world order, which has paved way for the decline of support for the elderly. Essentially, the main concern explored in this research is that

social risks emerging from large-scale changes such as increased urbanization, such as increased migration and urbanization, as well as escalating poverty and infectious diseases, have crippled traditional means through which families supported their elderly.

In investigating these fractures, I am mindful of the fact that society and families are not static; they have always changed and will continue to change. Over the years, families successfully maintained or carefully adjusted their structures in response to such broader societal changes. However, the sheer size and pace of recent challenges may have rendered families incapable of continuing to do so successfully. Examining persistent models of family based eldercare is the logical first step towards addressing these important questions. By examining lived experiences of elderly persons, their adult children and communities around them, using comprehensive mixed methods, I hope to achieve a nuanced understanding of aging experiences and needs.

Using ethnographic research methods, this research questions the ways in which social change and instability influences intergenerational relationships within families. It asks these questions: how is eldercare fashioned in families and how have practices developed/changed with time? In what ways do the existing eldercare models resemble the "family-based care model" widely presumed by policymakers to be at the core of family life? The study also examines the way that families are sustained as vital spaces for care and support during periods of social instability, specifically strategies that families and individual members adopt in order to survive in an environment of intergenerational ambivalence, conflict, and broader social instability. It also questions whether cross-generational relationships are still important in the African family and the

roles that members of different generations play in mitigating the challenges.

Conceptual Framework

I constructed a conceptual framework illustrating the different dynamics in parent – child relationships, presented below as Figure 0:1. This framework utilizes time-tested theories in an attempt to comprehensively illustrate key features of parent-child relationships over time, against a backdrop of dynamic caregiving contexts over individuals' life courses.

Figure 0:1 Intergenerational Care Exchange Conceptual Framework
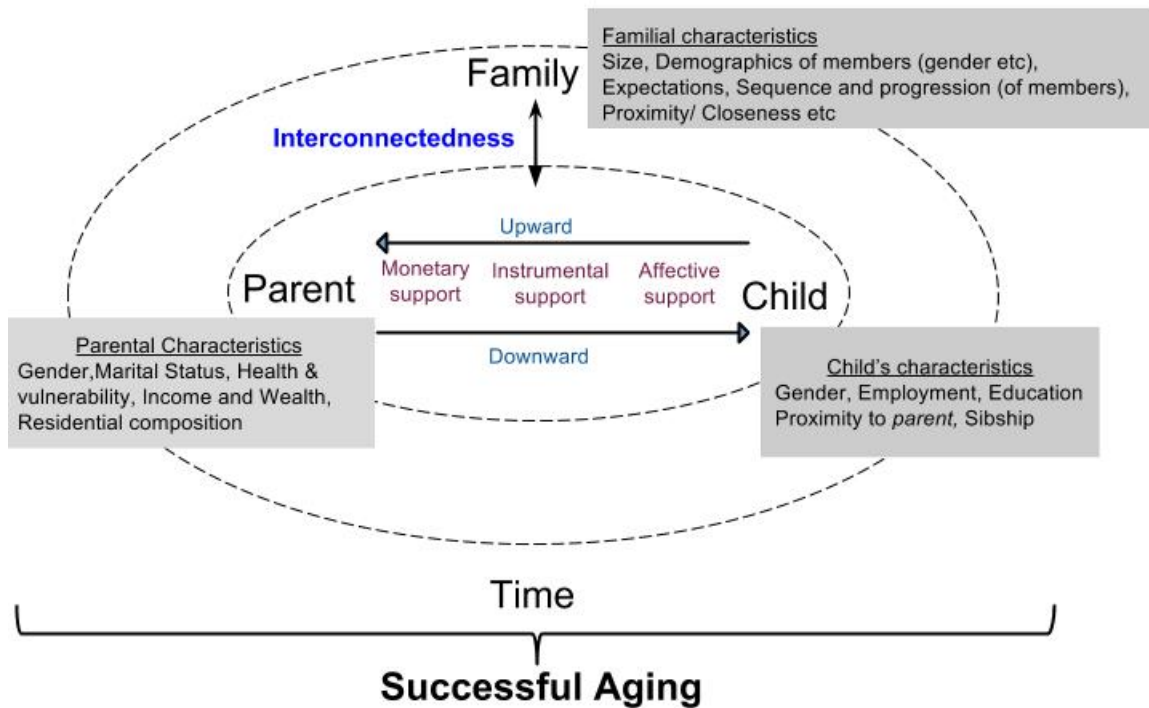
The intergenerational care exchange model presented in Figure 0:1 above illustrate a relationship between an individual child and parent(s) in a context of adaptable familial boundaries and presence of multiple potential-caregivers such as siblings and extended

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(broadly defined) family members. Based on the life course and intergenerational relationships literatures, I identified five sets of factors as key contributors of solidarity, conflict and ambivalence in parent-child caring relationships. 1) Parental characteristics such as age, gender, marital status, education and health, which are key indicators of wellbeing and/or vulnerability (Price, 1996; Schultz, 1973; Ware, 1978; Zelizer, 1985). 2) Characteristics of individual child (ren) such as gender, age, education, proximity to parent as well as presence of and relationship with sibling(s) . 3) Individuals' personal history. 4) Societal history and change over time . And, 5) interconnected sequences of events in different domains of individuals in the caring relationship . This framework presents intergenerational relationships of care as a multidimensional construct comprising of upward and downward exchanges of affection and attachment, practical assistance as well as monetary support (Elder & Giele, 2009; Elder, 2003).

This model differs from previous conceptual frameworks of parent-child relationships of care in four important ways. First, I consider exchanges of support between parents and their children to be part and parcel of familial relationships. Essentially, the interconnectedness of family members, shapes the "who, what, why and how" of elder caregiving. As a system, the family is more than the sum of its individual members and has to be approached according to its interconnectedness . For example, events and circumstances in the lives of siblings and extended family members, as well as the quality of their relationship all influence the parent-child caregiving relationship, as these may result in either contributing or drawing from the relationship. For example, unexpected departure or return of an adult child to the parental home may have destabilizing impact on the parent and child relationship. The family therefore, acts to negotiate opportunity

structures and constraints within and external to the family itself .

The family based system and caregiving relationships proposed in this model extend beyond the traditional definitions of family, a second key feature that differentiate this model from previous ones. *Family* includes blood kin and fictive kin who may (for all intents and purposes) be considered family members. The vital aspect of this understanding of family is its adaptability regarding membership at different points in time as well as strategies for survival and continuity . "Recruitment" of new family members essentially supplements the caregivers pool while also bringing in new elements in the family that could potentially destabilize the systems in place (Frankenberg & Kuhn, 2004; Pyke & Bengtson, 1996).

Dissertation Outline

This dissertation is made up of five empirical chapters, in addition to the introduction and conclusion. The *first chapter* presents a review of literature, which locates intergenerational relationships, eldercare more specifically, in the broader contexts essential for understanding how it unfolded in Tanzania. I summarize key national level changes and global trends that influenced Tanzania's development trajectory: from independence and adoption of Ujamaa and Villagization (African Socialism) and its tenets of state paternalism, to Structural Adjustment Programs (SAP's) that marked the removal of such protections. The unique historical background and development journey since independence offers a snapshot of the historical context within which lives of the study participants in Moshi rural, were organized and experienced. The chapter also highlights the theoretical paradigms that have informed the study of the course of

Tanzania's development.

The *second* chapter describes the reflexive methodology that steered this constructivist feminist ethnography. Here, I offer a rationale for the methodology adopted and the feminist goals that inspired its selection. More importantly, I outline and discuss all data collection methods and analytical strategies, together with the strengths and limitations of the current methodology.

In *chapter three,* I examine intergenerational relationships in Kichagga families; specifically how said relationships have changed over time and space. The research explores both major and subtle variations in the understanding of the implications of broader transitions and trajectories on individual lives and familial relationships, illustrating the ways in which actual family relationships and development processes interact to shape individual lives and support practices. Also discussed in the chapter are local people's understandings of their interconnected lives.

Chapter four examines parent-child relationships in Chaggaland, particularly continuities and changes over time and their implications for the future of familial relationships. The chapter seeks to accomplish two tasks; first, it seeks to establish the current status of relationships between elderly parents and their adult children and how they are maintained using previous categories of solidarity, conflict and ambivalence in intergenerational relations. The second task is to examine the potential effects of current parent-child relationships on the future of eldercare. The chapter utilizes, for the most part, evidence collected from 30 pairs of elderly parents (aged 70+) and their adult children (ages 40 to 60 years). Additionally, this chapter looks at resilience in old age,

confronting the widespread portrayal of older Africans as bystanders in their own lives. Building on the previous chapter's renderings of what modernization and neo-liberalism mean to those who have lived through socialism, this chapter documents agency among elders of the Chagga people.

The *fifth chapter* examines gender practices in doing family, particularly caregiving. I present profiles of the archetypical elder caregivers in Chaggaland, and discuss three emergent categories of motives for eldercare. The chapter also discusses family decision-making processes, household bargaining and their implications. It ends with an analysis of the practice of women masquerading as dutiful community members as a way of masking defiance and politicking.

The dissertation concludes with a summary of the main findings and their implications. My conclusion highlights the main contributions that this work makes to studies of familial relationships and to strategies' for enhancing aging experiences and experiences of the aged in poor societies like those of Moshi Rural in Tanzania. Additionally, I make specific suggestions for the future focus of eldercare programming in Tanzania and recommend ways in which enduring traditional arrangements may be paired with newly emerging market-based and publicly funded measures for added sustainability and efficacy. Lastly, I identify areas that would benefit from further scientific examination.

1 SITUATING INTERGENERATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS: CONTEXTS

Countries throughout the world are faced with an unprecedented rate of aging and elongated lives resulting from a torrent of interacting social, biological and scientific factors. The interaction, which occurs across the life course, triggers worrisome alarms over the status of those who rely on others for their wellbeing . Consequently, population aging has become one of the most important demographic undercurrents affecting contemporary societies. Older adults are particularly vulnerable to the ongoing changes, given that most countries remain ill prepared to address challenges facing them.

In Tanzania, about 33% of individuals aged 60 years and above live in absolute poverty, and only 3% of them have any form of retirement income . Nevertheless, despite this shared absence of retirement income, aging experiences vary widely; a trend that can be explained by the different contexts in which lives unfold and are experienced. Macro-level factors, such as socio-economic development agendas such as nationalization and privatization during different historical epochs, as well as individual, and socio-cultural factors all interact to structure aging experiences and outcomes as well as and shape the organization of care and support. For example, in the years following independence, socialist ideologies (Ujamaa) were used in an attempt to level the field for individuals of different ethnic origins by way of nationalizing social institutions and core service delivery mediums. While this process enabled certain individuals and families to gain access to resources, by and large, it perpetuated binaries of the colonial times. Thus, understanding individuals' lives in the continuum of broader contexts in which they are lived provides a reliable approach for uncovering crucial patterns necessary for constructing efficacious and sustainable solutions.

Accordingly, this chapter seeks to situate the conception of eldercare in a historical perspective, by providing a description of Tanzania's shifting socio-cultural, political, and economic features. My contextualization starts with reexamination of Tanzania's development project from the colonial era to the present and its impact over time, as well as the power relations that lie beneath different state development strategies. I touch upon the major development paradigms that acted as schemas for the said national development project and put forth a discussion of the role of local and transnational trends, particularly the ensuing migration of prime aged adults to cities and towns, and discuss their broader impacts as byproducts of development processes.

Next I draw from theoretical and empirical works on intergenerational relations and social transactions as well as life course and family literatures, and offer a discussion of the dynamics of eldercare in family intergenerational relationships. My discussion connects social exchange models of intergenerational support, focusing on influential works in the field, such as the research of Bengtson and colleagues , as well as life course framework studies such as the works of Elder (Msechu & Abdi, n.d.), Cattell , Moen and colleagues ; Hareven , Bongaarts and Zimmer (Bengtson & Giarrusso, 2002; Bengtson, 2001a, 2001b; Silverstein & Bengtson, 1997a), De Jong , and others. Emerging theories of care work have also influenced my approach to family exchanges of care . These contributions have been instrumental in pondering family dynamics and shifts in family relations. Literatures with these orientations provide valuable discussions of the impact of changing family structures over time and space, as well as on the impacts of macro social change at the micro level.

1.1 Tanzania's Development Process: From State Socialism to Neoliberalism

The term "development" is a generic explanation for progress, which implies frontward direction in an endless pursuit of economic growth . For the purposes of this paper, considering the development literature, I use the term development to refer to the socio-economic and political dimensions of "progress", in other words, to economic growth and the creation of bureaucratic state structures. In the global scale, most African countries remain in early stages of development, despite decades of contentious debates over development agendas and strategies, the proper role of the state in the economy, and the role of foreign aid. Thus far, Africanist scholars are still struggling to explain why the expected benefits of development plans have constantly failed to positively influence its targets, i.e. the vulnerable populations, for example elderly persons. I consider both positive and negative aspects of development processes as a way to fully capture them, something that few studies do.

Initial concerns over development became an explicitly pronounced rhetoric, and gained influence, in the wake of changing inter-state relationships after World War II (P Moen, Robison, & Dempster-McClain, 1995; P Moen, 2003b; PE Moen, Dempster-McClain, & Jr, 1992). This was also a period when dominant global capitalist powers expressed the need for "world order" due to the threatened loss of colonial markets resulting from the emergence of independence movements across Africa and around the globe and to Cold War rivalries that threatened nuclear devastation. During that time, the West deliberately began attempts to promote pro-capitalist political and business elites who would lead "Third World" countries down the same path of national development followed by the

West, an endeavor that McMichael links to the "amnesiac outlook of colonialism". The development – underdevelopment philosophies fast became a standard for judging societies – acting both as a "blueprint for the world and a strategy for world order", which, as McMichael convincingly argues, grants the development 'enterprise' a *project status (ibid)*. The implementation of development projects varied widely between different regions of the world, which has resulted in variations of experiences. For the most part, variations are due to the way individual countries mediated the policies to fit local realities and historical contexts .

Much of the earlier discourse in African development was centered on modernization and dependency theoretical underpinnings. After independence, the majority of African countries subscribed to nationalist ideals of development, guided by a set of developmental notions that regarded the boundaries of the nation state as the proper locus for development efforts and the newly independent states as having a large role to play in fostering economic development. Nation-states in newly independent countries tried to promote development by taking over or subsidizing national industries, implementing tariff barriers to protect nascent domestic industries, and using state power to forge national unity among culturally disparate populations . These ideas of the nation-state as the proper site of development initiatives informed most decolonization and nation-building efforts through mechanisms such as the nationalization of education systems and promulgation of national languages (ibid). The same principle of state sovereignty that justified earlier nationalist development ideas in Sub Saharan Africa, have come into question in a "global age", when the boundaries of the nation-state no longer figure as prominently in development planning, which has come to emphasize development as

securing a proper niche in a global economy marked by the free flow of trade and investments and market rather than state-led development initiatives (2008).

Immediately following independence, Tanzania embraced a paternalistic state socialist approach to governance. In this approach, social services such as education, health, water supply and sanitation were designated as "rights of all citizens." The move was part of a socialist ideology that placed very strong emphasis on human development and national self-reliance . Social services in the newly independent Tanzania were freely provided to all citizens . Since then, Tanzania's development agenda and process has changed with time, with an altered role of the state in the economy and in the provision of social services, a growing role for the private sector, and contentious debates over the proper role of the state in the economy, which has been shaped by a unique legacy of African socialism.

My discussion of Tanzania's development process is divided into two phases. The first phase covers the period immediately following independence until the year prior to adoption of new neoliberal development agenda (1962 – 1984). The second phase covers the period following Tanzania's official transition into a neo-liberal state with the adoption of Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) in 1985.

Phase I: State Socialist-Nationalist Era 1961 – 1984

Tanzania, immediately following independence in 1961, declared the development of its rural sector as the keystone of its development strategy . The main goals of the rural development strategy were mobilization and organization of rural populations in the

partaking of socio-economic changes believed to be key for improving livelihoods and bringing forth advancement. At the time, 90% of the country's population lived in rural areas. The country's agrarian based development strategy has taken various twists and turns, yet remains the basis of all post-independence development strategies.

Initially, the Tanzania government opted for a progressive modernization strategy whereby small-scale, capital saving innovations were adopted as means of bringing about a green revolution. A report of the World Bank Mission team, which put forward several recommendations for villagization models, argued the government to consider a transformation approach, whereby new settlements would be established in desirable areas for its sparse population, a move considered to favor development (Aminzade, 2013). The villagization process was also considered by many, including the then president, to be an extension of traditional norms of cooperation and was therefore widely propagated by the government. Much of this was reiterated in later writings of the first president, Julius Nyerere, such as the following paragraph from his Essays on Socialism.

> *"We, in Africa, have no more need of being 'converted' to socialism than we have of being 'taught' democracy. Both are rooted in our past -- in the traditional society which produced us." Julius Nyerere, 1967.*

However, for all intents and purposes, the villagization process aimed at neatly organizing populations in areas deemed productive and service friendly thus enabling not only communal production and consumption, but also social control and ease of service delivery by the government. The actual villagization process was far from a neat process. At first, soon after independence, there was a period of voluntary resettlement. At that time, resettlements were induced by provision of key social services such as schools and

clean water sources as well as subsidized relocation costs. The government, particularly the president, made public appeals for villagization, which began as early as his first inaugural speech of 1962, where he stated:

> *... We must try and make it possible for groups of farmers to get together and share the cost and the use of a tractor between them. But we cannot even do this if our people are going to continue living scattered over a wide area, far apart from each other...The first and absolute essential thing to do, therefore, if we want to be able to start using tractors for cultivation, is to begin living in proper villages...unless we do so we shall not be able to provide ourselves with the things we need to develop our land and to raise our standard of living. We shall not be able to use tractors; we shall not be able to build hospitals, or have clean drinking water, it will be quite impossible to start village industries pgs. 183-4.*

The initial villagization phase was deemed a failure, necessitating the official adoption of a villagization policy, as part of Tanzania's socialist vision detailed in the Arusha Declaration in 1967. Afterwards, between 1973 and 1982, the government carried out large-scale forced resettlements aimed at peopling the development villages (vijiji vya maendeleo), resulting in catchments of unenthusiastic individuals with diverse tribal backgrounds. Well-defined gender and generational differences were apparent from the way people responded to changes brought-about by Ujamaa. For the most part, women and younger people were more supportive of the policies, which to them symbolized a threat to existing status hierarchies that were not in their favor.

Overall, tales of how the villagization process led to family split-up and odious effects is at the core of what many people talk about today, more than fifty years later. However, closer analyses indicate that negative effects were mostly visible in areas like Chaggaland, which were relatively wealthier and more developed than the rest of the country. In such areas, the villagization process was met with resistance and left a sour taste among those

who lived through that period. On the other hand, less developed and poorer parts of the country benefitted from the project, which brought previously absent social services such as schools, health clinics and clean water closer to their villages.

In certain cases, villagization facilitated access to relief services by many peasant households. For instance, rampant droughts of mid-1970's had far less negative consequences for households in the development villages, as they were "easily" reached by relief services. While some scholars, such as Hyden , have argued that the drought acted as a catalyst for voluntary (and less traumatic) resettlement experiences, few scholars would deny the fact that resettlements that took place during that period were actually a product of the government's will. Meaning that, by focusing relief efforts in established development villages, the government rebuked (with deniability) those who refused to villagize, thus indirectly forcing them to follow the rule.

Overall, the villagization process produced a number of atypical cohort effects. For instance, Osafo-Kwaako's analysis of historical Tanzania census data shows that villagization resulted in different educational exposure for individuals of different birth cohorts. Essentially, there are cohort differences in the educational attainment and quality of education received between those who were fully exposed to villagization and those who were only partially exposed, with the latter appearing to have ripped less benefits. The same can be argued for health outcomes, in the sense that individuals who grew up at different proximity to the well-stocked health facilities in development villages would have different immediate and long-term health outcomes. It also stands to reason that there is variability between expectations and outcomes of those who grew up during the

villagization experiment and those who grew up in the following years of market rather than state-centered development initiatives.

Phase II: Neo-Liberal Era 1985 – Present

Tanzania, like other African countries, depended on goodwill of foreigners, including but not limited to former colonizers (i.e. foreign aid and loans) to fund its massive social services under socialism. For instance, about 49.9% of Tanzania's development budget for 1971/72 was reportedly financed by international aid and loans. Consequently, the country was forced to abandon her earlier socialist development ideologies for neo-liberalism in early 1980's, following the global financial crisis that deemed the country among those incapable of servicing their foreign debt. Consequently, the IMF and World Bank obliged borrowing countries, including Tanzania, to take *de rigueur* interventions to improve the overall economic wellbeing (Amin, 1974; McMichael, 2000). This paved the way for a series of deliberate neoliberal economic interventions since the early 1980's, in the name of fostering development.

Structural Adjustments

The introduction of structural adjustment policies (SAPs) marked Tanzania's 'official' entry into the global economy; a move already underway since colonial invasion . SAPs were a series of restructuring policies with requirements aimed at restructuring economies and stabilizing macroeconomic conditions. The policies were supposed to "restore a sustainable balance of payments, reduce inflation, and create conditions necessary for sustainable growth in per capita income". The policies, which were top-

down initiatives, required countries to liberalize their economies and reduce state expenditures through cross cutting measures such as reduced government spending, privatization of social services and retrenchments .

Tanzania, like most countries that adopted SAPs, started with predictable stabilization programs, which were infused with a set of microeconomic-institutional policy reforms. Typical stabilization measures included measures supposed to reduce inflation and the deficit and allow for market-based growth to occur. In general, such reforms were backed by ideas of liberalizing trade through devaluing local currencies against the dollar and cessation of government regulation of trade and financial markets by lifting import and export restrictions – which were considered obstacles for growth. SAPs required governments to restructure their spending, typically through removal of subsidies and reduction of expenditures on social services, which were followed with privatization of a large portion of the said services in the name of allowing markets to take charge. These top-down policy initiatives launched an era of uncontrolled and heightened mobility of capital . With neo-liberal primacy taking hold, public provision of basic social services became a fundamental liability for the government and was dramatically scaled back through the imposition of fees for education and health care.

There are repeated themes across studies of the effects of SAPs on families, suggesting that SAPs have adversely affected social conditions of Third World countries (Nyerere, 1962b; Semboja, 1995; Wangwe & Musonda, 2002). Overall, the outcomes of SAPs were harsh all through Sub Saharan Africa. For instance, availability of education declined sharply in the years following SAPs introduction of school fees (Reimers 1991; Stewart

1992). The impacts of SAPs are also highly gendered, with women being disproportionately affected . For instance, SAPs reduced female enrolment in primary and secondary schools and when long-term effects of reduced formal education are taken into consideration, outcomes on women prove to be grimmer than they appear .

What's more, scholars have also uncovered a decline in reported female labor force participation rates. In areas where increases in female employment were reported, it was found to be only in labor intensive and low paying export oriented industries. More specifically, Tanzania's adoption of SAPs and the official entry into neo-liberal era in early 1980's paved way to more individual mobility dogmas in place of the earlier socialist emphasis on collective mobility. The immediate cessation of social programs for education, health, welfare and pensions as a cost cutting measure resulted increasing inequality .

What affected poor families and the elderly more directly were the removal of agricultural subsidies and introduction of cost sharing in education and health care, popularly known as *user fees* (Nyerere, 1962a). With the introduction of user fees, health services became inaccessible for the poorest sections of society, arguably aggravating their crisis (Laurell 2000). Laurell concluded that with SAPs, poverty increase was actually sustained and family incomes got worse (ibid). Fan and Rao , in their analysis of public spending in developing countries during SAPs, came to the conclusion that despite their intended goals of cost cutting, SAPs actually increased government spending in an unequal fashion.

Privatization policies, which were part of the general neoliberal effort to reduce the role

of the state in the national economy, produced some of the more manifested ills in Tanzania. For instance, water and electricity services were privatized and fell under foreign investors hands. However, instead of thriving, longer term impacts were substandard services and uncivilized practices, including the cutoff of services to those too poor to afford to buy clean water (and resulting medical problems) as well as massive corruption. The problems subsequent to privatization of the Dar es Salaam Water Supply (DAWASA), for instance, triggered a second restructuring that restored local management. Public outcries over substandard power services have been escalating since privatization. Corruption scandals involving NETGROUP, the private management company of Tanzania power supply, sparked off major political debates and turmoil's, leading to resignation of high-level government officials.

However, for the most part, government spending on agriculture, education and infrastructure spending declined rapidly during the 1990s. SAPs led to more pronounced declines in health and agriculture. In Latin America, there were recorded declines in education and agriculture (ibid). SAPs prioritization of the free market and assignment of a secondary role to the state with the hope of realizing the potential of "unfettered individual initiatives" failed miserably in poorest countries, which experienced more harm than good . Nonetheless, SAPs yielded more positive gains in some of the more advanced Third World countries. What's more, some of countries that ignored the IMF and World Bank tenets thrived, such as China, India and Vietnam . But even when growth occurs, it rarely reaches the poor – making it too "pro-rich" and very slow in coming (McMichael, 2000; Rapley, 1996).

These policies have been blamed for worsened livelihoods, decline of agriculture and increased burdens on the poorest. These were among SAPs most notorious consequences, which in the end did not only affect the economic system of poor countries, but also their political and social lives . The heavy human cost of SAPs grew to levels above and beyond what its proponents could have fathomed . The World Bank Chief Economist for Africa was quoted as saying that none of them thought that "the human costs of the programs could be so great, and the economic gains so slow" . The IMF and World Bank perceived the lack of intended outcomes from SAPs to be a problem with governance, which informed later shifts in these institutions' rhetoric.

Literature from the IMF and World Bank following the failure of SAPs revolve around finding more localized, particularistic, and flexible approaches to development (Briseid, Collinson, Klein, & Schjetlein, 2008; McMichael, 2000). Assuming that their plans were sound but coupled with implementation problems such as corruption, the IMF/World Bank development discourse has shifted away from "structural adjustments" to more "governance measures" and "poverty reduction" strategies. SAPs have been replaced by Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs), which are new conditionalities for loans and debt cancelation under the IMF and WB . The latter reflect the IMF and World Bank's *jump* from programmatic rhetoric to more "concerns" with flexibility and adaptability – based on the assumption that 'process conditionality', as Booth calls it, may work better . Then again, there is very strong likeness between post SAPs measures and the initial futile structural adjustment package.

Unmistakably, the IMF and World Bank continue to push variations of top-down

packages for poor countries like Tanzania to adopt. What's more, the modernization thinking behind the measures assumes that factors for the "underdevelopment state" of countries like Tanzania are deeply culturally rooted in the country's value system and ways of doing things. This suggests a path to development that requires alteration of all major characteristics of the "traditional society" and acquiring capital for the future. From this perspective, Tanzania first needs to make changes in their systems (SAPs) to allow for development-oriented mechanisms to take shape. Noticeably, new institutions and roles had to be created to coordinate with the new structures for development. The idea was that the West could *provide* low developed countries *(*LDCs) the necessary facilities they would need in order to develop (finances and technical support).

Corrective attempts

As highlighted earlier, the introduction of user fees following adoption of SAP's were one of the most disruptive features of Tanzania's new beginning as a neo-liberal society. Granted, policy makers foresaw the need for special provisions for the most vulnerable sections of society, addressed using exemptions and temporary waivers.

On the one hand, exemptions were established to allow specific sub-groups of citizens to access health care services without incurring personal costs. Exemption categories included fixed categories such pregnant women and children under the age of five (5) years, who qualified by meeting the definitional criteria. The second category, the elderly 60+, could not only qualify by age, but also had to meet other needs-based stipulations. This means that in addition to meeting the age requirement, an elderly person had to convince local government leaders that they are poor enough to qualify and that their

families could afford to pay for them. Waivers on the other hand, were meant to offer temporary relief by forgiving health care costs to patients of all walks of life, who prove to be very poor and unable to pay. Here, as in the case of need-based exemptions, the government granted discretionary decision-making powers to health workers, and local (community) leaders.

Unsurprisingly, the exemption and waiver provisions were ineffectual due to a number of constraints, chief among them being nebulous procedures and administrative structures and widespread corruption that interfered with implementation. In some cases, exemptions were granted to people other than the targeted . Also, it has been widely recorded that different local government leaders loosely defined needs, resulting in asymmetrical definition of entitlement . What's more, the bureaucracy involved with accessing exemptions, together with other problems such as reluctance of health care workers, resulted in poor implementation.

The disruptions were so extensive that the ratified National Health Policy (ratified 2007), National Ageing Policy as well as MKUKUTA[1], made new provisions aimed at enabling elderly persons gain health care services (Saadatmand & Toma, 2008). Currently, the elderly (aged 60+) are entitled to free health care, regardless of need. However, there remain significant challenges associated with these provisions. For example, by and large,

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[1]MKUKUTA is a Kiswahili acronym for the National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty, part of Tanzania's effort to fulfill the National Vision 2025.

the exemptions apply to government facilities, which tend to be poorly staffed and lack in diagnostics and medical supplies. Recognition of exemption certificates at private facilities, which are in many cases the preferred and geographically close to residents, depends on owner's willingness. For its part, the government does not require private facilities to accept exemption certificates. Rather, it strongly recommends participation and has a system in place whereby non-governmental providers can get reimbursed for warranted certificates. However, in practice, the reimbursement process is time consuming and encumbered by lengthy procedural requirements that discourage most private practitioners from participating.

More importantly, exemption certificates offer partial instead of full relief from paying. For example, with exemption, consultation and available diagnostics are provided for free. However, more often than not, patients need to seek certain diagnostics from private providers and return for free consultation and prescription. Also, public health facilities frequently run out of medications, which in turn necessitate out of pocket expenses to buy the medications from private vendors. By and large, the hardships discussed above were not felt equally by the elderly because familial relations mediated their impacts.

1.2   Familial Relationships in Times of Adversities

The pursuit for more appropriate ways of analyzing the impact of human development on family has become a key goal for a good number of family scholars . But the current flexibility of economies and relationships across borders means that family challenges move far beyond local and national boundaries and include broader (global) social forces . Social forces have a potential to impact anyone, anywhere notwithstanding their position

or participation in the global market. As a result, global trends and influences have spilled down to the most basic human relationships – family relationships. In the wake of diverse economic, social, political and demographic challenges in many parts of the world, families are weighed down by responsibilities, some of which have traditionally been undertaken by the state. In developing countries such as those of Sub Saharan Africa, families have been impaired if not altogether disorganized as a result of these challenges.

Family is the most significant social unit. Families around the world share some characteristics, for example formal and informal marital relationships. However, families also vary widely and controversies have followed all attempts for a single definition of family. Nonetheless, family scholars tend to agree on a number of key issues about 21st Century families: first that the "family" is in transition, and secondly that development and globalization processes have necessitated alteration of families in revolutionary ways. Challenges facing families today are in essence global revolutions , which means that global relationships are now an important piece of family experiences. This area of inquiry has received enormous attention lately, most of which has been politically charged.

Of significant importance in this area of research have been concerns over HIV/AIDS, living arrangements and care of vulnerable family members – children, the disabled and the elderly (2003). How to provide for the survival of these vulnerable members has been among key problems facing nations. Family-based or informal care is not a new phenomenon. Families' worldwide act as hubs of care for vulnerable members, even where social security mechanisms exist . In Tanzania for example, only about 4% of

individuals with formal employment are covered by formal social security schemes – most of them young adults . The rest of society depends on their families for support; which makes the notion of anticipated decline in families' ability to "adequately" provide for their vulnerable members alarming.

Trends in more developed parts of the world have proven to be good indicators of family based eldercare. As societies strive to become more modernized, extended families disintegrate leading to a sharp decline in the role of the family; a direction to which poorer societies seem to be headed, based on recent reports of declines in elderly support. The traditional, family based support systems in almost all developing countries are now altered as a result of breakdown of traditional values and growing prevalence of economic hardships. More and more adult children have now reduced the amounts of support to their aging parents, particularly in Third World countries where prospects for whole families are rather bleak .

Western countries have assembled formal social security measures, the likes of which are absent in the Third World. The aged in most rural areas of developing countries, lack the remedies of formal support to fill the widening gap by diminishing family support (McKinley, 2004). In such countries, despite the disintegration of closely-knit extended family systems, public and community supported programs for elderly care and support have not materialized . In places where such mechanisms even exist, they are arguably predominantly for urban residents and remain seriously lacking in rural areas.

Rural emigration

Internal migration is not a new trend in Tanzania. There is evidence that people have always migrated from one rural location to another, from rural to urban centers and from urban centers to rural at different times and for different reasons. As expected, migration trends of the elderly and their adult children confirm sharp changes over time. During their defining years, ages 15 through 21, the elderly generation engaged in rural to rural migration while rural to urban migration was found to have been more common among their adult children's generation. The changes can be explained by a number of reasons including changing composition of migrants, historical contexts at time of migration as well as status of social institutions, such as schools and churches.

Earlier migration patterns characteristic of the parent's cohort were highly gendered to begin with. Men have historically been more likely to migrate than women owing to the nature of their roles within families, which placed them in the public sphere . Men's migration trends were mainly circular, meaning they moved back and forth (for relatively short periods of times between three to four days at a time) between the rural homestead and secondary/temporary residences. This made it possible for them to participate in family life in the rural homestead, while also exploring avenues outside their villages. In the past, men who migrated maintained close contact with their rural families largely by leaving their wives behind, who acted as anchors securing the right to inheritance. However, recent data shows that these days, men stay away for longer periods at once and that they tend to move further away from their rural homesteads than their predecessors What's more, today's prime aged adults are less likely to leave anchors

behind, a telltale sign of major changes in the way people do family in modern day families .

The face of migrants has also changed dramatically with time. Recent years have seen an increase in proportions of young and middle aged women who also leave rural villages for urban areas where they seek work, education and/or join their spouses. They too, stay in towns for extended periods of time and have in recent years been prone to moving further away from rural homesteads. The middle generation in the multigenerational households, particularly women, are usually responsible for routine eldercare and childcare. As a result of their dispersion, traditional intergenerational support structures in the rural homesteads is feared to be in a steep decline as I discuss later in more detail. Even with the new migration patterns at play, different generations have thus far managed to keep their end of the intergenerational contract, although there is mounting evidence suggesting a shifting trend towards non-compliance.

Changing Status of Youths

Both the colonial and post-colonial political authorities in Tanzania manipulated youths but the latter's role in the political history is under-appreciated (Bello & Guttal, 2006)[2]. Historically, the youth have been a resource that authorities have tapped into when needs

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[2] I use the term youth to refer to "both an abstracted social category and an empirically definable group whose members are eligible to participate in specific institutions", as circumscribed by their status and behavior, rather than by their biological age (Vavrus, 2003).

arose, but they have not traditionally enjoyed higher status, relative to other social groups such as older men. Brennan shows in his essay how the youth played a major role in independence struggles. He notes that emerging nationalist parties in colonial Africa harnessed "the dissatisfaction of violent male youths" and used it to their favor, a good example being the TANU party in Tanzania (ibid 222). The TANU Youth League for example, was responsible for much of the violence that accompanied an overall peaceful struggle for independence, including, but not limited to vigilante actions and riots. Apparently, TANU coerced youths and strategically deployed them to achieve its goals, although such significant tasks did not bestow youths with higher social statuses. What's more, youth movements were mostly organized along gender lines, with most males occupying public space. However, across Africa, women's roles in independence struggles were mostly underground and quite significant, although they continue to take the back seat .

After independence, the position of youths changed. Emphasis in education and training for development paved way for many youths to receive formal education but their coercive nature was neither desire nor tolerated. For instance, in the spirit of free speech and association exercised during independence struggles, youths and young adults at the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM) engaged in riots to demand UDSM autonomy from the central government. Youths were criticizing government's poor handling and dissatisfaction over their welfare but unlike earlier movements, police repressed the UDSM riots and the university was then closed for eight months .

Young adult's expected roles in family based intergenerational arrangements have

remained the same. As the middle generation, they are expected to provide care and support to the elderly and young children, who are not in a position to provide for themselves. However, conditions under which the middle generation interacts with the other generations have changed enormously. Upon entering the neo-liberal era (1985 to date), youths and young adults were faced with a multitude of education, employment, health and other social problems that may have affected their ability and willingness to carry out their traditional roles. Considering the impacts of modernization efforts on youth's transition to adulthood, and their changing roles in society as a whole, the question remains as to whether Tanzanian youth are still willing and/ or able to take on the caring roles expected of them. I examine this question as part of my analysis of the role of the transition to adulthood in family based elder support.

Changing Status of Women

Women have always been in the forefront of social movements in Africa, not only in their families but also in public issues. In addition to their roles as nurturers of families, which have been widely reported in Africa and elsewhere in the world, there are also records of women's roles in peace keeping and other development initiatives . For the most part however, women have been neglected in the more *intentional* development initiatives, thus remaining invisible resources (Mubyazi, 2008).

Caring roles in families worldwide are highly gendered. Families have been known to rely heavily on women to nurture both its young and older generations, among other things. Kin-keeping roles of women also referred to as 'doing family', have been recorded in both developed and developing countries . Women remain the ones to

execute most of direct caring activities while men mostly work "outside the home" . Men have, for the most part, indirectly provided care to family members through women. The roles that women play, place them at the heart of the family as key determinants of its (family's) ability or inability to take care of its own.

In recent years, the status of women has changed significantly. For example, more women worldwide are now educated and are increasing their labor force participation . Coontz reiterates that women's increased labor force participation raises marriage age and incidences of not marrying. "Even in places where women's lives are still largely organized through marriage, fertility rates have been cut in half and more wives and mothers work outside the home" (Bengtson & Allen, 1993).

Most recent studies indicate that women are now just as mobile as men . This development, increased migration of women, has had significant and disturbing implications for families and women themselves, given the gendered nature of care giving and kin-keeping. To begin with, even after joining the labor force, women continue to be the primary nurturers of their families thus doubling their workload. This results in what researchers have referred to as dual roles, second shift, double days and the like .

In light of challenges engulfing social welfare institutions worldwide, any indication of problems in family strategies should not be ignored. For example, the coverage of just about 3% of elderly persons by formal social security schemes in Tanzania indicates that there would be a crisis if the female centered family based support arrangements fail to take care of the masses. Some Western countries such as England are already

experiencing a decline in "male breadwinner type" families because women are taking on more income generating roles outside the confines of their homes . As a result, women in such conditions are overloaded with caring roles, which is a real threat for poor Sub Saharan countries where women are increasingly performing both traditional domestic roles and public roles.

While family based arrangements have placed women in a largely disadvantageous position, it has its benefits. For one, it ensures provision of care for the most vulnerable members who do not receive any help from the government, namely young children and older adults (Ruggles, 2007; Warnes, 2008; Yount, 2005). The fulfillment of these roles seems to have relied very heavily on proximity of caregivers and care recipients (co-residency), who are in most cases living in rural areas . Consequently, the realization of accelerated urbanization and hardships of taking time off within globalized economies dims prospects for the elderly and children who depend on the middle generation for support and provisions. Then again, the fulfillment of these roles is largely dependent on loyalty to the intergenerational contract.

1.3   Development, Family and Intergenerational Relationships

For the most part, intergenerational research is centered on issues of transfers between older and younger generations, motives for such transfers, and eldercare for those in poor health. Across the board, the intergenerational family relationships sub field appears to have two goals: *first,* to test the validity of intergenerational support/transfer models and *second,* to examine intergenerational relations and their consequences on the wellbeing of adult children and their aged parents. Many such studies have concentrated on transfers

and support from adult children to parents facing grim situations, including detriments of aging and other restrictive conditions .

Intergenerational exchanges are usually divided into three main categories: parents investment in their children in hopes of old age security (downstream), subsequent support of aged parents by their children (upstream), and third, direct exchanges between children and their parents. Trends in the flow of support between generations differ greatly between Western societies and developing ones in that as the concepts of upstream and downstream suggest. In most Western societies, support usually flows downstream for a good part of the life course while in developing countries, upstream flows have been widely reported. In the latter, children usually start taking on supporting roles soon after entering adulthood . The key tenet of social exchange theories is that human behavior is in essence an exchange pervading all social phenomena including group processes and intergroup relations (Aboderin, 2004; Ardington, Case, & Islam, 2010; Hoff, 2007). In giving of support therefore, givers are presumed to engage in a cost-benefit analysis, a tell tale sign of anticipated reciprocity of their goodwill. However, other factors such as influence and recognition, self-efficacy and pleasure as well as other direct rewards of giving may explain exchange behavior add values, morality and ethical commitments.

In support of exchange models, Cox and colleagues found that financial transfer from parents to their children corresponded to children's needs, solidifying the hypothesis that a cost-benefit analysis is usually at play . Cox also suggested in his later analysis that there may be repayment by children to their parents for help received earlier in the life

course, a conclusion also reached by Cigno . In a subsequent exchange-based-model, Cox and Stark suggested what they call a demonstration effect model, in which parents (adults) are motivated to support their parents as a way of demonstrating to their own children . The goal of such behavior is to elicit similar support from their children by instilling the values in them through "demonstration".

Predictably, Cox and colleagues also found that parents who supported their own parents were more likely to expect support from their children (Reed, Andrzejewski, & White, 2010). The model is complemented by Bergstrom and Stark's "imitative transfers theory", which suggests that children's subsequent transfer behavior to their parents manifest their parents' behaviors . Elsewhere, altruism is discussed as a motive for giving. Altruistic behavior is based on the idea that family members have unique bonds and interactions that motivates them to care for each other's wellbeing . This model has been especially important when thinking about questions of quality of care, for instance care given by ones' child compared to a hired helper – although these ideas contradict emergent fictive kin relationships, some of which develop out of commercialized care .

A number of other models of intergenerational relationships have been suggested, all proposing interesting ways of explaining and predicting interactions and overall filial behavior. Theories in this area mainly differ on where they place the power of decision-making, at the individual or group levels. Individualistic or unitary models have been especially prominent in economic studies of family behavior (Geiger, 1996, 1997; Presley, 1992). The unitary models treat the family as a single decision-making unit, with members who share same interests, while at times placing ultimate decision-making

power on the head of the family . Such models assume that the head of the family carefully considers each family member's best interest in his/her decision. This model has been very prominent in public health research in Africa such as in decision making in health seeking behavior.

Critics of unitary models assert that any decisions involving more than two people tend to come out of negotiations/ bargaining , and underscore the need to consider the benefits of more collective or group-based models. Such models (for instance the Cournot-Nash Model of Family Decision Making) suggest that different family members have the power to negotiate their own preferences, making family decisions products of group interaction and negotiations. The model fruitfully designates a central position to solidarity, an aspect that has remained key in explaining and determining helping behavior throughout the world.

The foregoing argument recounts what sociological theorists have long observed in social interactions. The notion of "cooperation" and "cooperative behavior" relates to Durkheim's concept of solidarity and to many arguments of functionalist theory. Solidarity in Durkhemian thought refers to the ties in society, which are organized around shared values that bind people. Durkheim identified two types of solidarity, mechanical and organic solidarity. The former, which he found to be common in non-modern societies, was based on cohesion while the latter, was characterized by dependence of different parts and mainly found in modern societies. Functionalists would propose that different family members have different abilities and individual means to reach their desired ends which depend on the family, thus the need to combine forces for the good of

the whole (Bryceson & Fonseca, 2006; Bryceson, 2002; Brydon & Chant, 1989; Dwyer & Bruce, 1988; Nelson, 1979). The view of social interactions suggests that behavior of different family members show evidence of solidarity, a requisite for proper functioning of the family as a unit .

The functionalistic outlook of the family however, has been highly challenged in the era of massive neo-liberal orientations. A conflict theory perspective of the nature of family relationships suggests that different interests of family members would lead to conflicts of interest and subsequent tense interactions as opposed to solidarity or cohesion as functionalists suggest. The conflict outlook is alert to modern-day heterogeneity of family forms resulting from extended shared times between parents and children due to prolonged lives. Other factors such as high mobility and increase in divorce rates pose serious challenges to cohesion in families. Interactions in contemporary families may or may not be harmonious, featuring both cooperative and non-cooperative behavior .

Other influential theoretical outlooks in explaining parent-child relationships in contemporary society include the work of Silverman and Auerbach .They sought to explain trends in family transformation, and provided a classification of what they consider the major trends in families. They summarize the trends in four main groups: 1) Movement from homogeneity to diversity, 2) movement from stability to change, 3) movement from gendered parenting to trans-gendered families, and 4) movement from male dominance to greater egalitarianism.

Three theories, namely the theory of intergenerational solidarity, the theory of intergenerational ambivalence, and theory of modernization and aging, have been

prominent in the literature on intergenerational relationships. They significantly influence the way I examine parent-child relationships in the Chaggaland context. I consider the theories in more detail below.

Theory of Intergenerational Solidarity

The theory of intergenerational solidarity maintains that multigenerational bonds are still a crucial part of families, despite transitions in family structures and functions (Browne & Barrett, 1991; Kwesiga, 2002; P Moen, 2003a; Oppong, 1987). Bengtson and colleagues argue that family ties are still strong and the exchange of support among family members remains significant. Their theory focuses on patterns of solidarity and cohesion in parents' relationships with their adult children . They suggest that intergenerational family solidarity is a "multidimensional construct" for which they generated six categories that they have empirically supported over the years .

The elements include *associational solidarity,* which is the frequency and patterns of interaction in various types of activities that family members engage in, followed by *affectual solidarity, which* refers to the degree of positive sentiments held about family members, and the degree of reciprocity of the shared sentiments. *Consensual solidarity* comes third, referring to the degree of agreement on values, attitudes, and beliefs among family members, while the fourth dimension is *functional solidarity,* which includes the degree of helping and exchanges of resources. *Normative solidarity* comes fifth, and it represents the strength of commitment to performance of familial roles and to meeting familial obligations or familism, and lastly is the *structural solidarity,* opportunity structure for intergenerational relationships reflected in number, type, and geographic

proximity of family member .

This intergenerational solidarity model has maintained prominence in research studies of parent child relationships, providing a comprehensive set of empirical indicators for measuring presence or absence of solidarity elements in a parent-child relationship, which they test in a series of empirical research (Perkins & DeMeis, 1996; Wharton, 1994). The solidarity model pays attention to the "precise mapping of the dimensions of intergenerational relations" and disregards conflicts and ambivalence surrounding relationships between parents and their grown children . It is this exclusive emphasis on cohesion and solidarity that has undermined the intergenerational solidarity model and attracted critiques. To this end, an alternative to solidarity was suggested in the form of the theory of intergenerational ambivalence.

Theory of Intergenerational Ambivalence

The model of intergenerational ambivalence developed as a reaction to the theory of intergenerational solidarity's overemphasis of cohesion in intergenerational relationships. Theorists Luscher and Pillemer propose an alternative theory of intergenerational ambivalence, which focuses on the varied characteristics of parent child relationships . Theorists of ambivalence argue that Bengtson and colleagues have not problematized the parent-child relationships enough. They underscore the importance of considering not only the glue that holds relationships, but also the temporary and lifelong irreconcilable differences that may be in play. Luscher and Pillemer suggested an extension of dimensions of intergenerational relationships, to include ambivalence that will capture negative aspects of family life.

The key question still lingers; how do we simultaneously capture both positive and negative aspects of family relationships? Considered individually, both the theory of intergenerational solidarity (TIS) and the theory of intergenerational ambivalence (TIA) ignore the multifaceted nature of the relationships by emphasizing one aspect more than the other. To resolve this problem, I support Giarrusso's idea of using a solidarity-conflict model, which is essentially a combination of the six TIS dimensions with the conflict dimension suggested by TIA . I propose coupling a life course perspective with the seven-dimension solidarity-conflict model with to generate a comprehensive model for investigating family relationships. The ensuing model will be sensitive to individual history, social contexts, lived experiences, and changes on intergenerational relationships over time. The features of this model are vital for capturing the dialectical nature of broad social forces, individual motives and eventual behavior, and the implications of their interplay on intergenerational relations. Cattell used a fairly similar combination, the lifetime intergenerational exchange model, to investigate conditions of aging in Kenya (HelpAge, 1999; Kakwani, 2005). Cattell combined a life course perspective with social exchange theory and she regards "family support as intergenerational exchanges occurring over individual's lifetimes" (ibid). The difference between Cattell's model and the one proposed here is that the latter not only focus on exchanges that take place but also involves analyses of exchanges that decline with time.

Modernization and Aging

Modernization and Aging theory emerged out of frustrations of inadequate understanding of the relationship between development processes and aging. The theory was pioneered

by the works of Cowgill, Holmes, Palmore and Fischer which have drawn attention to the adverse effects of "development processes" on elderly people . This conceptual framework differs completely from the modernization theory of development. Unlike "modernization theory", modernization and aging considers the process of modernization for both its utility and damage to the elderly. By highlighting the contradictory consequences of modernization for aged populations, the modernization and aging theory offers a dialectical rather than functionalist approach.

The timing of the emergence of this theory is very telling of circumstances surrounding the context when these concerns arose. The late 1960's and early 1970's were a period of significant technological advancement in Western countries, which led to concerns of reduced labor force participation of older people – following introduction of machinery and technologies that they [elderly], were largely unfamiliar with. What's more, the second wave of feminism as well as civil right movements that took place in the sixties brought more unfamiliar issues to the forefront. Consequently, there were many great unknowns and feelings of uncertainties towards changes that were cropping up. Of great significance to elderly care and conditions of elderly people was the women's liberation movement and changing status of women and family relationships.

Cowgill further developed the theory by identifying four issues that he considered key aspects of modernization that undermined the status of older people in modern society. The four aspects were economic and industrial technology, urbanization, health technology and education. Health technology in Cowgill's theorization has two contrasting qualities. On the positive side, high technology would lead to longevity and

perhaps better aging effects, which is a good thing. However, improved health technology also places older people in a tight spot on the labor markets. By improving lives and increasing longevity, the elderly live longer but they may not be able to acquire necessary skills for productivity – having grown and lived in a different historical time. Not only that, but Cowgill was also concerned that modernization would generally generate a preference for younger workers, which would "diminish the status of older people" (1974 cited in Logue 1999).

Cowgill's concerns with the interaction of modernization and urbanization are very closely linked to my own theorization of the impact of development in the Third World increasing urbanization, means more younger people seek development in towns and older people would generally be left behind (in rural areas) and support will shrink with time. What's more, the process of urbanization destabilizes traditional extended families and challenges traditional power structures that have long maintained prominence of older people. In a sense, modernization creates a situation in which younger adults achieve upward mobility while elderly people's status decline, which result in generational power shifts.

Cowgill also perceived education and literacy movements for younger generations to be a threat to older people, in the sense that it will increase the generational knowledge gap. The fear was also that new knowledge would replace old knowledge and incapacitate elderly people from contributing to (modern) society. He subscribes to the idea that modernization would transform family structures: from more extended to nuclear-like family, consistent with ideas of scholars before him . Similar results have also been

reported in more recent studies in Western societies (Homans, 1958). One of the key questions this line of inquiry explores is the relationship between modernization (societal development) and negative perceptions of aging.

Bengtson and his colleagues were among the first to respond to Cowgill's theorization . They took on some of the key concerns raised by Cowgill and Holmes and investigated associations between modernity and negative perceptions of aging using data from six developing nations. Predictably, Bengtson and colleagues findings corroborate Cowgill's concerns: modernization was associated with negative perceptions of aging (ibid). Most importantly, they emphasized differentiating modernity from modernization, as levels of analysis, in order to avoid "value-laden assumptions". Here, modernity is envisaged as "the exposure of individuals in developing nations to industrial technology and urban social experience", and modernization as overall "societal development". Bengtson and colleagues found correlations with modernization but not with modernity.

The modernization and aging theory has not been without controversies, and has come under attack from multiple angles. Many of the critiques mirror those directed at modernization theory, including claims that it oversimplifies complex processes and interactions that are at play is the so called modernizing or modernized societies. The critiques are also similar to other critiques of grand theories, which usually fail to recognize the diverse contexts and experiences.

Among other things, there have been accusations that the theory makes grand generalizations by "blanketing" the elderly worldwide together. I strongly agree with this critique, mainly because it has long been established that having been born at around the

same time or living in a similar period and the same context does not lead to similar outcomes . Elderly people are not a homogenous group, even when they have lived in the same society and gone through similar experiences; other factors should also be considered. Rhoads noted that culture offers more important explanations of the shifts in statuses of the elderly than modernization processes . Studies by Laslett (Cox & Stark, 2005) and later Demos have also challenged some of the key assumption made by Cowgill, that extended families were predominant in non-industrialized societies (before 20th C). They found that multigenerational families were less common than other forms of family. In a somewhat similar note Stearns argued that European societies did not previously value old age and "tolerate" old people more than they do during more modern times.

Surprisingly, an analogous picture has been painted about statuses and experiences of aging in Africa. On the situation of the elderly in Africa, for example, Williams found that in spite of technological improvements and improvement in education and health, elderly Africans are still deeply respected and are always in the company of family members . This broad and common belief that Africans customarily looked after their elderly remains highly contested, and it also aroused my curiosity and led me to explore the way Kichagga families have navigated the undercurrents of post independence development ideologies and processes . This, however, required coupling the theories with a life course framework, to viably discern the interconnectedness of individual lives.

1.4   The Life Course Perspective on Intergenerational Relationships

The life course perspective emphasizes the interactions between individual factors and

the effects of broader social forces on life course pathways and trajectories (Becker, 1988). A life course is "a sequence of socially defined events and roles that the individual enacts over time" . The framework examines individuals' histories and looks for ways in which events from earlier in one's life influence future decisions, and is built on the idea that there is a connection between individuals and the historical as well as socio-economic context in which they have lived. It assumes that an individual's life course pathway is rooted in the historical as well as socio economic context in which they have lived, and is also altered by events in their experiences or events in their lives. The framework is very well situated for an analysis of changes in filial relations over time, such as trends of young adults increasingly moving away from the intergenerational contract .

The life course perspective brings forth a conceptualization that many theories have failed to do; one that offers principles for analyzing the intersectionality of time, context and personal choices, events and relationships. Time and timing of life and events are crucial in a life course analysis, as it can reveal the influence of social structures on life course outcomes, processes such as variations, continuity, discontinuity and changes . Additionally, several key concepts of life course research, namely transition, generation and cohort, aid analyses of individual lives over time. Of particular importance to the study of changing family relationships is the question of discrete life changes or events within the long-term path of life (transitions).

In analyzing relationships between parents and their adult children using the life course framework, two issues are essential: *first,* an understanding of role allocation in relation

to fulfillment of the intergenerational contract, which is only possible with more knowledge about cultural constructions of adulthood. Who is an adult? What criteria are used to determine adult status? Who decides who is an adult? *Second,* understanding the process of transition to adulthood in the local context. What proportion of people considered adults actually meet the said local criteria of adulthood? How has the process of transitioning changed over time and in what ways? What are the implications of those changes to intergenerational relationships?

Three key factors necessitate analysis of transition to adulthood as a foundation for understanding eldercare. *First,* the middle generation [adults] are an integral part of family based support systems in poor societies like Tanzania – relied upon by the younger and older generations (Becker, 1988). *Second,* assignment of roles within families is largely dependent on perceived maturity of family members. The timing of [this] transition is usually a cumulative outcome of the social need, availability of willing members who fit the general criteria as well as socialization into the role, rather than a clear-cut demonstration of an age norm . It makes it necessary to understand family members' transition from dependents (children) to adults with ability to take on the adult roles. And *third,* in the absence of formal social security measures, family based systems remain the sole safety net, and its functioning depends on availability, willingness and ability of young adults .

Understanding the transition to adulthood will therefore enable an evaluation of intergenerational relations and support for the elderly – given that failures are indicative of lack of, inability and/or unwillingness of adult children to perform caring roles, which

are influenced by global social forces and development processes. Hence, my research is based on the argument that a proper understanding of changing family dynamics requires an integration of development theories with the life course perspective.

Conclusion:

By and large, debates in the development discourse alternate between support and opposition of top-down globalization, which has yielded opposing thoughts about the impact of development processes on family relationships. However, there is consensus in the understanding that family relations are shaped by broad social and economic changes and that acquired transformations are more than simple reactions to change. Families and family members *actively* interact with, alter and become altered by broader historical contexts. It is this aspect of agency that has been widely ignored in the literature, which too readily presumes ill-fated outcomes without enough consideration of individuals' and groups' ability and willingness to act in unexpected ways. Fundamentally therefore, I treat changes in family dynamics as evidence of the role of *the family* in mediating broad social forces throughout this dissertation.

It is against this contextual background that the current study was undertaken. It examines lived experiences and relationships within families and communities as well as twists and turns that have occurred over time; providing an effective way of appreciating 'local' capacities to mediate and transform 'global forces'.

2   METHODOLOGY

The research presented in this dissertation employed feminist ethnography as part of an *extended case method* to examine the status of intergenerational relationships and eldercare provision in rural Tanzania . The choice of methodology was inspired by several feminist goals, key among them being my desire to represent the diversity of aging experiences and caring labor (Durkheim, 1997; Gehlke, Durkheim, & Simpson, 1935; Merton, 1976; Parsons & Bales, 1955). The project also sought to contribute towards change by documenting ways of knowing and doing among Tanzanians that detect and attempt to overcome preconceptions about the state of intergenerational relations. I aim to address some of the concerns about local experiences of aging, which are now intensified by manifestations of neoliberalism and dispossession brought about by sociopolitical alterations that have left susceptible populations in a grim state .

On the whole, the methodological strategies were less influenced by my inclination towards feminist methodologies, than by negative local perceptions of mainstream positivistic research projects. During a scouting trip conducted a year before the fieldwork commenced, I became aware of a startling unreceptive tendency towards researchers by local communities. Village leaders and ordinary community members alike expressed serious distrust of academic researcher's intentions. Among the many complaints expressed was a concern regarding self-serving, short term inquiries, in which researchers visit rural areas for fleeting periods, dedicating little time to being locally relevant and rarely returning to share the results of their research with the people they studied. What Mpande, a village leader, said in an interview concisely summarized local opinions and frustrations with positivistic researchers.

Researchers? Ooh, we know researchers al' right, we know them well. They come here humble and all but getting answers to their questions is the only [thing] they care about. I can't tell you how many [researchers] have passed through my office on their way in and never even said goodbye when they left, oh no they had what they came here for, so… so me and my people are no longer useful to them… (82-year-old male)

Interestingly, local resident's imaginings of conventional social science research and the positionality of "the researcher" as Eurocentric, masculinist and positivistic echoes feelings of scores of critical scholars . Collin's discussion of positivistic social science inquiries, for example, bears a striking semblance to local criticisms expressed by Mpande (above) and others. She states for instance, that positivist methodological approaches require a "distancing of the researcher from her or his 'objects'" and "absence of emotions" .

Strong local opinions emulating those presented above, combined with shadows of a colonial legacy, has contributed to a view of academic research as irrelevant and/or detrimental to local interests and fashioned negative attitudes towards outsiders. It was thus imperative for this study to adopt an ethnographic approach that would consistently facilitate entry and collection of reliable data that is relevant to the lives and concerns of those I studied. Feminist methodology was deliberately chosen to guide the way data was gathered as well as its analysis and the presentation of findings.

Critical feminist methodologies, particularly feminist ethnography, were deemed particularly apropos for this context. The methodology was employed to investigate diverse inequalities of eldercare, which can only be understood by taking into consideration historically shared local experiences and treating them as trajectories or processes rather than as isolated events. Correspondingly, this core methodological

approach entailed employing a "reflexive science to ethnography in order to extract the general from the unique, to move from the "micro" to the "macro," and to connect the present to the past in anticipation of the future, all by building on preexisting theory" (2005).

This methodology was best for justifying my decision to approach the study from a women's position, a strategy that, according to Standpoint Feminist scholars, "generates less partial and distorted accounts not only of women's lives but also of men's lives and of the whole social order" . The methodology also helps researchers overcome endocentric biases and represent the diversity of human experiences by constantly examining their own prejudices . Essentially, it is a methodology for the oppressed, for contesting previous ills of gender subjugation, colonialism, externally imposed structural adjustment policies, and the ongoing neoliberal dispossession of Tanzanian communities. Fundamentally, it seeks what Sandra Harding refers to as "strong objectivity", which requires placing the subject of knowledge "on the same critical, causal plane as the objects of knowledge".

My critical feminist methodology strategically employed a number of qualitative data collection techniques aimed to facilitate intricate *inquiry from the inside* , as opposed to gathering data to facilitate testing a set of hypotheses. The method served my inquiry well by allowing an integration of context specific effects and subjective meanings that other approaches, such as surveys, seek to control. More importantly, I vigilantly historicized my respondents' accounts – meaning that I made deliberate attempts to locate the different accounts in their respective temporal contexts. This was key to the ongoing

analysis of data, which allowed me to verify the factual qualities of things believed to be true by my respondents (Bengtson & Roberts, 1991; Silverstein & Bengtson, 1997b). This means that while I relied heavily on respondents' accounts and interpretations of events in their own lives, I remained cognizant that more often than not, individual truths (i.e. things believed to be true) do not necessarily constitute historical facts.

Below I explain how I went about conducting this research; from conception of the topic to the process of identifying the study site and methods for data collection as well as how I analyzed and interpreted the findings. Throughout, I engage in discussions of the validity and reliability of the methods employed, which included in-depth interviews, participant observation, focus group discussion, and document analysis, supplemented by a set of brief standard questions (a life course calendar).

2.1   Site Selection and Recruitment Process

The site for the research presented in this dissertation was Moshi rural district in Kilimanjaro region, also referred to as Chaggaland. The district was selected following an exploration of four possible sites in Tanzania[3]. The district is located in the northern end of the Kilimanjaro region, 39 km from Moshi town and 28km from the Kenyan boarder (Taveta). The district occupies a 1,713km^2 area and is divided into 4 administrative divisions made up of 150 villages. According to the 2012 census report, the district is

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[3] A three-month scouting trip was completed in the summer of 2009, at which time the Coastal Region, Dar es Salaam, Iringa and Kilimanjaro were explored as four potential sites for fieldwork.

home to 466,737 individuals, about 29% of the population of the Kilimanjaro region . The average household size in Moshi rural is 4.2 people, with a sex ratio of 94 (ibid). Figure 2:1 below, shows an administrative map of Tanzania, indicating the location of Kilimanjaro region. Specifically, the study took place in four neighboring villages where fieldwork was conducted over a one-year period, between January 2011 and January 2012. The process of collecting data was preceded by a series of interrelated activities, many of which transcend the distinctive fieldwork period as I discuss in more detail below.

The choice of Moshi Rural district in Kilimanjaro as the site of this research was both theoretical and personal. First and foremost, it was theoretically sound to use Moshi rural based on its high number of elderly persons. In fact, throughout Tanzania, a majority of elderly persons reside in rural areas. Secondly, the research questions required examining lived experiences of elderly persons in a rural setting. Moshi Rural emerged as a suitable study site, given that the area has one of the largest elderly populations in the country (ibid). This site therefore, enhanced prospects of enrolling sufficient numbers of participants for examining the research questions. Thirdly, consistent with migration theories and literature, conversations with different community members during the pre-dissertation period signaled emigration from rural villages and migration trends of prime adults as important factors behind intergenerational relationships. Moshi Rural's high migration rates thus made it a fitting setting. Related to this, was the presence of published historical accounts of Chagga familial dynamics, which makes temporal analyses possible. The same was not the case for the other potential sites.

Two other factors were considered in the site selection, namely access and communication. As far as accessibility is concerned, I considered all wards where I had established relationships that assisted access to potential respondents. As for language, I considered wards where Kimarangu (a dialect of Kichagga) was widely used mainly because I had intermediate knowledge of the dialect. I relied on my extensive family, friendship and professional networks forged over the years to gain entrée into the study areas. During fieldwork I was practically a foster child of a respected elderly woman, which contributed to my relatively swift acceptance by community members. Building on the ideas of Ganga and Scott and numerous other practitioners of ethnographic research, I visualized my insider status as beneficial to this project. For example, my familial ties to the communities (albeit distant), made gaining access to individual participants relatively easy.[4] By design, my approach resulted in an oversupply of both extended kin and non-kin residents who offered to serve as informants.

Based on the foregoing criteria, I developed a short list of wards in the region, from which I randomly selected four villages where the study was conducted. This sampling design made it possible to achieve comparisons between the two groups of interest, while allowing me to separate subtle variations and qualitative differences between them. Individual respondents from the villages were selected through stratified-purposeful

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[4] There was also the issue of my extended absence from the village during my years abroad and in other parts of Tanzania. This generated a plethora of rural residents who were keen to use my residency in the village to teach me the local ways of doing.

sampling . The purpose here was to understand how care for the elderly is organized in the four rural villages from two distinct groups: the elderly people themselves (care recipients), and the adult children responsible for their care (caregivers).

Figure 2:1 Administrative Map, Tanzania
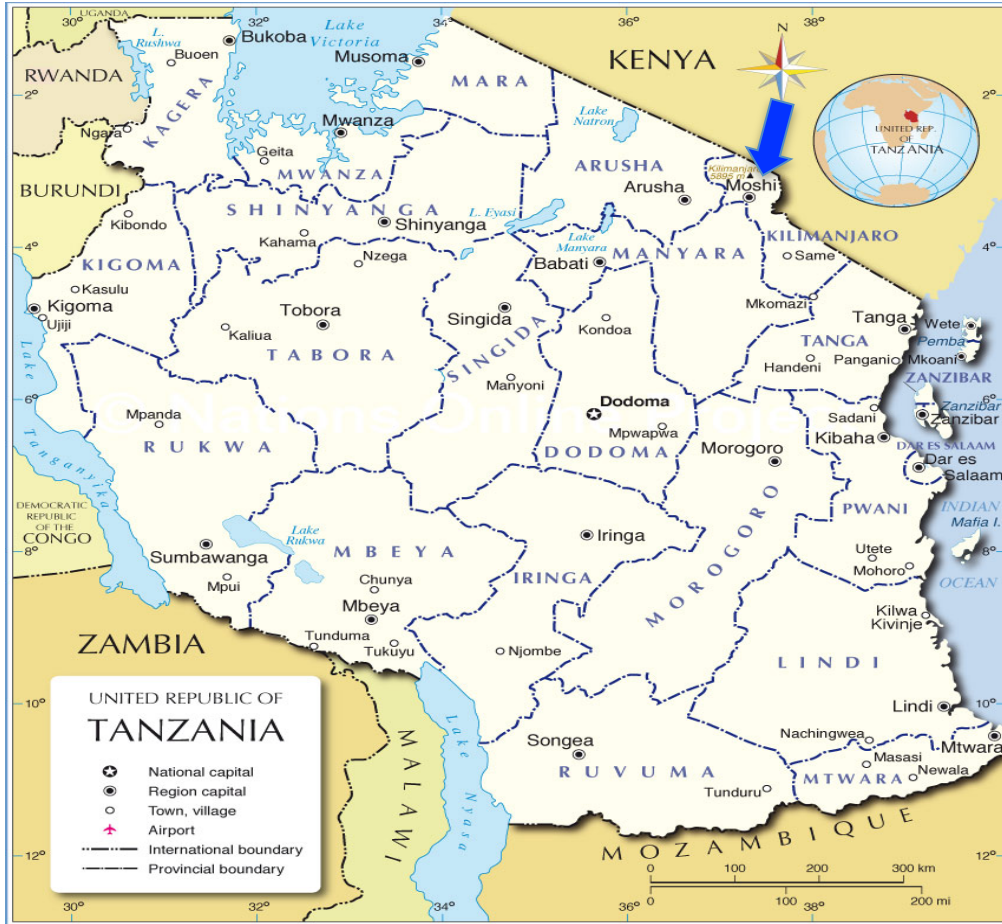
Access and Rapport

Fieldwork began with a month of obtaining necessary local permits and reorientation into the research areas. I liaised with community leaders, located NGOs and local government officials as well as pursued archival sources for a historical analysis. During that time, I also conducted observations in communities and used the information I gathered to enrich

data collection tools, which are discussed in more detail below. This phase was followed by in-depth interviews, from which more categories and relationships were identified and included in a standard questionnaire that was administered later – upon completion of all ethnographic research. Ethnographic data collection continued throughout the year, and was continually refined using findings from the complementary data collection methods. In so doing, all methods were enriched from triangulation and their ability to capture data that accurately reflects respondents' experiences was enhanced.

While I relied heavily on extensive family, friendship and professional networks forged over the years to gain entrée into the study areas, I excluded members of my immediate extended family[5] from participating in the study, namely parents, grandparents, uncles, aunts and first cousins. As a way of giving back to the communities, I volunteered during weekly Village Community Banking (VICOBA) meetings, and lent support to local organizations and community initiatives in the area, which also created rapport with the institutions and residents involved.

Institutional Admission: The process of gaining access to the site of my fieldwork was, as customary, officious and complex. The first entry point was getting a research permit, which I submitted to the Regional Administrator (RA) office in Moshi town, in exchange

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[5] Parents, grandparents, uncles, aunts and first cousins are categorized as immediate extended family members for the sake of this research. Given the Kihamba cultural arrangements and definitions of family, discussed in Chapter Two, it would have been risky to categorize all distant blood relations as extended family members as this would have greatly minimized the pool of possible study participants from two of the four villages.

for a letter introducing me to Moshi Rural District Officials. At the district offices, I received a different letter, which I brought with me to the final gatekeepers – the village leaders. The Lutheran Church was an instrumental space for identifying and recruiting study participants. Given its prominence in the area, I visited local churches and parish workers and formally introduced myself. I used letters from the district and blessings of village leaders to post announcements of my research interests, which also requested volunteers to participate in in-depth interviews.

Other researcher's experiences involved long wait periods to see officials, more waiting for letters to be produced between the different levels. Cautions about the nature of social capital boomed during the first phase of entry, seeking official permits for entry (Steinbach, 2008). Having been away from the area for more than five consecutive years, I did not know anyone at regional offices who could help me navigate the complex process of getting a local permit. I had a very hard time achieving any traction on the first day of my visit to the offices. Although I had the sense to go in early in the morning, I still found myself waiting in the corridor for approximately four hours, only to be asked to return the following day.

My initial experience made clear that I seriously lacked social capital in that context, despite my Chagga and Tanzanian identities. The privileges of past larger social networks typically able to accelerate the bureaucratic process through social contacts had evaded me, leading to a realization that I was not quite the insider I considered myself to be . The reality was that I was an insider on the outside, in need of establishing myself locally almost as much as any foreign researchers would need to do. I however had a

breakthrough on my second visit to the regional offices.

When I returned as advised, to try to get a hold of the party who had the power to issue my permit, I realized I had picked a wrong week to visit – a Minister from the president's office was visiting the region and the whole *boma* was working towards preparing for his arrival. I stood for a while outside the *masjala* (reception) door, contemplating my options (and lack thereof). Luckily I had gone prepared, in light of prior day's experience. Adorned in a local batik *buu buu* (a loosely fitting dress made of locally wax-dyed fabric), I sat on the bench in a queue of other people with business at the offices.

As is customary in Tanzania, I politely greeted all who passed by close to where I was sitting, and to my amazement, a middle aged woman dressed in casual attire carrying files in one hand and a thermos on the other passed me by. I said hello as she passed, to which she responded in a trance and passed me by. After taking two more steps, she stopped and came back as if she had somehow *placed me*. We exchanged a couple more friendly words before she asked whom I was waiting for. I told her the reason for my visit and mentioned that I was just idling there contemplating what to do next. She, Aisha, asked me to tag along and I did.

When I walked into the office, she handed me a bottle of water and offered me a seat. Unbeknownst to me, Aisha was a secretary for one of the officers working under the officials I was supposed to meet. On her own accord, Aisha went in and spoke to her boss on my behalf. Aisha's boss then called the responsible party who agreed to see me briefly before heading out for a meeting. In a span of two hours, after meeting Aisha, I had my introduction letter in hand and a phone number for Aisha's acquaintance at the district

offices who she said would be happy to help accelerate the process at the district offices. I couldn't help wondering why the older woman gave me sisterly treatment and kindness that went beyond her call of duty. Before I could finish my chain of thought, Aisha reached out a hand to say goodbye and said to me, *"you should carry a kanga or something to protect yourself from the sun. Be mindful of your 'condition', don't overexert yourself."* It was then that I realized that my being "in a motherly way" is what had saved me from the existing bureaucratic bondages.

My encounter with Aisha is one of many *'aha moments'* during my fieldwork – moments when events or words triggered a deeper level of cultural understanding and reflexivity that had lurked. It was a reminder of how easy it was to become *culturally blind* to seemingly ordinary issues and events. In the case of my run in with Aisha, I had failed to immediately realize that my being pregnant had placed me in the *vulnerable* category; yet another reminder of how difficult it can be to "switch off" what we think we know. Some scholars suggest that using *a cultural lens* assists researchers to actively avoid cultural blindness. Prasad for example, advocates deliberately approaching "…familiar cultures as if they were foreign" as a way of avoiding this pitfall. He relates how Aboulafia (1996) managed to "unveil intense symbolic domains" by skillfully employing a cultural lens. I agreed with Prasad and I made deliberate plans for adopting the necessary cultural lens (ibid). Interestingly, I had planned for such moments, but still found myself surprised at how certain plans need a reality check to manifest themselves.

In my case, the cultural lens is what eventually enabled me to understand why Aisha and her supervisor reacted to my situation the way they did. The familiar sympathetic

treatment of vulnerable people, which was extended to me by virtue of my pregnant state, had become strange. My presumed insider status acted as a visor, blinding me from the reality of how my being with child had spontaneously placed me in a vulnerable category. This realization made me more cognizant of my positionality and its power: my body was effectively a source of social capital that I could tap into to facilitate my work. This understanding caused me to reflect on other aspects of my positionality more closely, including, for example, my relative age compared to the subjects, marital status, mothering, and attires, as well as public staging and performances of self. Although I had deliberated these issues beforehand, they gained new and more important meanings than previously imagined – they could either sink or save my fieldwork. I deliberately and constructively presented myself as discussed below.

Community: Although the Lutheran church and community bulletins played a crucial role in facilitating my acceptance in the community, access and rapport with individual participants was largely achieved by way of word of mouth through key informants, village leaders as well as religious leaders. Having the blessing of religious and village leaders played a crucial role in facilitating my field work; said leaders publicized my presence to their communities, emphasizing that I was officially received and a recognized temporary resident among the people.

Recruitment

Initially, the selection of individuals for the study took a "big net approach" where I mingled with different groups in the community and refined my understanding of group dynamics as a way to come to a decision about subgroups that would be theoretically

sound . The preliminary interactions together with prior experience during the scouting trip produced several criterion considered in the ensuing selection – consistent with Hammersley and Atkinson's design, which favors gaining some perspective of local cultural dynamics before a final decision of who to include in the study (Cattell, 1990).

Creating dyads

 Dyads comprised of an elderly parent and adult child were created as a strategy to examine how the two generations make sense of and maintain relationships, organize care and support as well as how the two differ qualitatively. The underlying assumption behind this strategy is that lived experiences are products of social and historical circumstances, which essentially suggests the two cohorts – one of elderly persons (born between 1913 and 1951) and the other of their adult children born between 1961 and 1995 – would present qualitative differences and influences . Each represents life courses shaped by a different complex interplay of social-historical dynamics. The oldest of the elderly cohort was a widow believed to have been 98 years old at the time of interviewing. The youngest focal child selected was 16 years old, a household head responsible for her grandmother and one niece from a deceased older sister.

The elderly subgroup (N= 38), which was oversampled to increase chances of yielding enough matched pairs for comparison, was selected and interviewed first.   They responded to questions about their own lives, including the number of children ever birthed, live births as well as children's whereabouts. At the end of each interview, the researcher randomly selected a focal child and a backup participant from the list of living children and asked to be put in touch with them for possible inclusion in the study. For

each elderly person/couple, only one focal child was selected for the study. In most cases, the focal child was the one included, with the exception of two cases where the initially randomly selected focal child could not participate and the back-up focal child was recruited in their place. The randomization procedure applied to the selection process for the children was purposefully built-in to moderate parental bias from corrupting the sample.

As expected, the two cohorts differed considerably in education levels, number of children ever born and literacy rates. The differences were especially sharp between elderly women and their daughters, with the later appearing to have pursued most activities that women in earlier generations in their families and beyond did not. Most elderly women who could read and write indicated that they learned through the daughters they had sent to school. A more in-depth analysis of the relevance of the generational distinctions and divergent life courses to old age support is presented below.

Figure 2:2: Demographics of Parent-Child Pairs

Parents (N=30)		Children (N=30)	
Age at time of interview		**Age at time of interview**	
60 – 69	8/ *23%*	16 – 20	4/ 14.5%
70 – 89	8/ *23%*	21 – 28	9/ 27%
90+	14/ *46%*	29 – 49	17/ 58.3%
Gender		**Gender**	
Males	12/ 39.5%	Males	8/ 25%
Females	18/ 60.5%	Females	23/ 75%
Number of Children ever born		**Number of Children ever born**	
1 Child	1/ 3.3%	1 Child	2/ 6.6%
2 Children	3/ 2.3%	2 Children	3/ 2.3%
3 Children	4/ 13.3%	3 Children	6/ 20%
4 Children	6/ 20%	4 Children	15/ 50%
5 Children	6/ 20%	5 Children	4/ 13.3%
6 or more children	10/ 33.3%	6 or more children	0/ 0%
Education		**Education**	
No education	15/ 50%	No education	1/ 3.3%
Primary	12/ 40%	Primary	18/ 60%
Secondary	1/ 3.3%	Secondary	7/ 23.3%
Some college	2/ 6.7%	Some college	4/ 13.3%
Literate[1]		**Literate**	
Yes	9/ 27%	Yes	27/ 90%
No	21/ 70%	No	3/ 10%

[1] Ability to read and write, barring problems with eyesight

Criteria for Inclusion and Exclusion

Several criteria were established to guide the selection of participants. Individuals had to

be adults of at least 16 years of age[6] and be of sound mental health to participate in the

study. Individuals who were identified but declined or were not available for an interview

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[6] 16 years of age is a logical cutoff point in the case of Tanzania, where a girl of as low as 15 years can enter into a legal marriage (1971, Tanzania Law of Marriage Act). Local realities whereby women become caregivers long before they are married further validate this low cutoff point.

were dropped. For phone interviews, researcher made three-phone calls and two short message (sms) attempts, after which the individual was dropped from the sample. To boost the number of focal children for creating dyads, the researcher oversampled elderly respondents to the matched pair category. Once 30 dyads were recruited, the remaining preselected cases (10) were not contacted.

2.2   Data Collection

Triangulation was used to achieve crystallization . To achieve this, I employed a combination of methods that *refract* within themselves, amend and get amended as data became available, so as to *reflect* history and situational realities. In so doing, the numerous data collection methods employed side by side improved each other's capacity to accurately and reliably capture lived experiences. The methods included key informant interviews, in-depth interviews with individuals and groups, participant observations, focus group discussions and the life course calendar method.

Figure 2:3 offers a summary of data collection activities. A total of 88 in-depth interviews were conducted with matched pairs and key informants. All parents and their children completed a life course calendar, denoting places where they have lived and the duration of their stay as well as when key transitions or life events, such as starting and finishing school, marriage, and childbirth, were celebrated. Additionally, observations were conducted during family (by invitation) and public events. Focus Ground Discussions (FGD's) with groups of men and women were also conducted to bring in immediate feedback to the ongoing analysis of data.

Figure 2:3: Summary, Data Collection Methods

METHOD	(n)	TARGET
In-depth Interviews	88	Lived experiences
Life History Interviews	39	Elderly participants
Individual Interviews	49	Adult children and other participants
Key Informant Interviews	8	Access and member checks Opinions on credibility of interpretations
Focus Group Discussion	4	Shared and contested realities Opinions on credibility of interpretations
Life Course Calendar[1]	68	Mapping key life course events and transitions and their timing
Participant as Observer[2]	100	Gendered social enactments

[1] Participants also responded to a supplemental WHO Quality of Life Questionnaire (WHOQOL BREF)
[2] Overt Observations at events such as church meetings, family & community meetings, Jumuiya meetings, VICOBA meetings, baptisms, weddings, funerals, local pubs, markets and the like

Following below are detailed descriptions of the each data collection method employed in this study, including a discussion of their target data and the imagined complementarity.

Life History Calendar (LHC)

Life course approaches, including the calendar method used in this study, are based on the fundamental idea that the history of each human life is a meaningful progression of life events, which occur within a specific historical and social time . Furthermore, such approaches also investigate the ways in which social institutions shape and institutionalize individual lives, especially focusing on interconnected spheres of daily lives such as work, family and the like. Key events and life transitions may have a cumulative effect on later life events, expectations, preferences, perceptions and needs. The life course perspective analyses therefore, have been very instrumental in deciphering the effects of personal and collective (cohort) past experiences on future behavior (Burgess, 2005) and outcomes.

Thus, I utilized a life history calendar to collect retrospective data, as part of the brief structured interview administered to all matched respondents (n=68). The goal was to concretely locate the time and timing of what respondents identified as key events in their lives, as well as deemed to be so in the literature. In so doing, it was possible to trace back patterns of movements among parent/child pairs and map them against broader social events. I used a general question: "*thinking back to when you were 'growing up'*[7]*…*" to prompt recall. Noticeably, older respondents were asked to recall longer spans of time than their adult children, since younger respondents lives were relatively short in comparison.

Respondents were simply asked to mention key events and transitions in their lives and when they occurred. Data was recorded to show spontaneous and probed responses as a way to further isolate key events and transitions from other events. Behind this strategy was an assumption that people will be more likely to instantly recall the most important events and therefore offer spontaneous responses, while less *defining* events may need a reminder (probe) to come back to mind. The amount of detail in the first use of the tool was limited to three standard questions: First, why participants thought an event happened at the time it did, followed by participants understanding and/or explanations of their experiences. Lastly, participants' observations of notable changes and the

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[7] Locally, 'growing up' was widely used to refer to the period and process of becoming an adult. Similarly, individuals who had successfully undergone the expected rituals marking their entry into adulthood were referred to as 'grown ups'.

importance of different ways of reacting were explored.

I partly used the calendar as a guide to facilitate collection of retrospective data during in-depth interviews. Calendar data was collected first, before respondents were asked any other questions that could potentially influence how they understand their life course trajectories. The data provided a snapshot of an individual's history including information about events that they considered most important in their lives and the different transitions, their timing and procedures. All that information was used to frame recall questions that were asked of each respondent.

Accordingly, respondents were asked to look back and think about specific events and review them. This captured nuanced evidence of processes through which individuals make sense of their lives. More importantly, it enabled collection of data about the living and those who have passed. For example, in some instances respondents were asked to think back to significant others, including those who have passed away, and go over the roles they played in their lives and how their passing has changed the dynamics of their own lives. By adequately motivating respondents to actively participate in analyzing their own lives, there is no reason to expect any less reliable results from these retrospective accounts than one would of any other type of interview data .

Key Informant Interviews

I took advantage of key informants' knowledge of the culture as a way of confirming my interpretations of what I was noticing. For example, all my interview data suggested that family members regarded the elderly very highly and always considered their needs with

utmost urgency. Consequently, I expected to *see* problems affecting the elderly at the top

of the agenda in all family meetings. To the contrary, there was no mention of the needs

of the elderly woman's welfare or caregiving plan during the first family meeting I was

invited to attend, which led me to question what my respondents were telling me all along.

As if reading my mind, the key informant I had gone with to the meeting urged me to not

jump to conclusions.

> *You know, simply because not much was said about bibi (grandma) it does not*
> *mean that the families don't care… to the contrary, people care so much about*
> *the elderly and that is why there is no longer a need to talk in great detail about*
> *them in each meeting. There are systems in place to address all their needs…*

As if sensing my inevitable skepticism, Elias went on to tell me how a year or so earlier

another family meeting was held in the same Kihamba and caregivers were designated. It

was sensible to assume that *bibi* was not discussed because the system that was put in

place is functional. *Teachable moments* such as this, and there was countless of them,

revealed the tacit suppositions and processes that shape what an observer sees. This

shows yet another benefit of triangulating data collection methods.

In-depth interviews

In-depth interviews were useful for collecting rich details surrounding different social

issues and processes such as decision-making processes at individual, family and

community levels. In-depth interviews were used as tools for establishing rapport with

respondents as much as it was a tool for data collection. By allowing respondents

freedom to discuss the key events in their lives in sequences that made sense to them, the

initial data collection process seemed more like storytelling than interview. Strategically,

the approach enabled the researcher to disperse anxieties associated draining positivistic approaches discussed earlier. It also served to reduce hesitation to answering questions that solicited intimate details of how lives are lived. Two distinctive strategies of in-depth interviewing were employed; life history interviews and individual interviews. While the two involve similar approaches to collecting data, in which individuals are encouraged to share as much detail as they can remember on an issue with little interruptions, their usage and purposes in this research were strategically different.

The *life history interviews* solicited the stories behind the lives of elderly persons. I asked the elderly participants to construct for me the story of their lives'; pasts', present and anticipated future. A majority of the interviews were tape-recorded, except for three where participants did not consent to tape recording. In addition to areas that the elderly freely chose to include in their storytelling, the researcher encouraged discussions of accounts related to decision-making processes in different domains of life, care and caring experiences, practices and expectations as well as perceptions towards generational relationships. These selective reports provide the basis for identification of significant commonalities and differences in life course pathways and familial processes of elderly persons discussed in subsequent sections.

In-depth interviews were used to collect detailed information around specific issues related to intergenerational relationships and organization of eldercare. Participants included adult caregivers living in the villages, focal adult children. Numerous professionals and paraprofessionals, such as doctors, pastors, community leaders and leaders of community organizations working in the four villages, were also interviewed.

Personnel from different government ministries, such as the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare, Ministry of Community Development, Gender and Children and the Ministry of Lands, Housing and Human Settlements Developments, were also interviewed in this format. With the exception of interviews with adult children, whose proximity to the research site differed considerably, all other in-depth interviews were conducted face to face. A majority of interviews with focal children were conducted on the phone. In-depth interviewing made it possible to collect data on personal experiences as well as historical information about families and communities .

I strategically used a few open-ended questions to get respondents to tell their stories uninterrupted and refrained from probing until later because I considered spontaneous reports meaningful in their own way, as discussed above. I reasoned that respondents would most likely spontaneously relay events they consider vital in their storytelling and that most peripheral events would require probing. As such, probing was used as a central technique for gathering data, which helped to keep most of the discussion focused on the topic at hand. In the final analysis, interviews lasted an average of two and a half hours. I did all the transcriptions in the language of interviewing because it was important to capture respondents' own words, as well as the contexts in which different utterances were used.

Close to three quarter of the interviews were tape recorded and transcribed verbatim. The number of individuals who refused to give permission for tape-recording was unexpected, given that all participants were very eager to share their stories with me. Further probing into the refusals, which was conducted upon completion of interviews, bolstered my

confidence in the strategies I had adopted. Neither lack of trust in the researcher's ability to maintain anonymity (rapport/positionality problem) nor the idea of being quoted verbatim was unnerving. For the most part, it appears that the cause for much of the uneasiness stemmed from the quality of information that respondents wanted to divulge. There was also a belief among elderly women that tape-recording was not good because it, in some way, takes away a part of the soul. One elderly woman explained this saying "It's like you can take a part of me in the voice you record… that is just weird".

A woman I call Mai, who was the most vocal of the women I interviewed, expressed reluctance to being recorded during one of my visits due to the nature of the discussion we were engaging in – traditional rituals that the church frowns upon. Mai took pleasure in recounting events with juicy detail including talk of ongoing practices in the village but insisted that such topics are not supposed to be discussed openly and having a record of it would not be wise. Mai was the only respondent who declined both tape recording and note taking during her actual storytelling. Her explanation of why she did not want to be recorded "in any way" was due to the sensitive nature of what she was about to divulge. My notes jotted down immediately following the visit summarizes her warning to me that some people would strongly prefer what she was about to divulge remain in the dark and that she wanted to make sure there was "no evidence out there", of her ever divulging such details.

Mai's concerns were well founded and reflect some of the pitfalls of ethnography such as those discussed by sociologist Judith Stacey , who talks about the pervasive nature of ethnography that carries the potential for harm. From what I understand of the residents

in my study area, they much preferred to wipe out the less tasteful beliefs and events from the past by capitalizing on what is acceptable today (fictional revisionists). Essentially, they actively used what they know and aspire for today to censor the past – in an attempt to cleanse their ancestry of "the shame" of having been traditional believers. Stacy's sentiment, which is shared by many other scholars, served as a reminder to me as an ethnographer, to tread very carefully in my quest to uncover social realities.

I grappled with other disadvantages of the interviewing method, especially when I set out to ask respondents to recall the past. One such problem was the possibility of faulty memory. This was of particular importance here because I was gathering information about lived experiences of *elderly* persons – who are likely to be experiencing poor memory (ref dementia in old age). Additionally, the information I was gathering was almost always unpreserved, hard to verify and happened long time ago. Some of my elderly respondents made incorrect estimates of key things because of faulty memory. Still, this was not necessarily a bad thing. Factual truths or not, what my respondents were sharing with me was locally believed to be the truth. The reality of these 'truths' was very pervasive, not only cited as occurrences but also linked to their perceived consequences. Thus, the truths were recorded as such as they were THE lenses with which my respondents interrogated their lives. Still, as much as possible, I tried to verify the events that they referenced by asking follow-up questions. In some instances, I consulted secondary sources for details of how the same things manifested in the past. However, for the most part I rely on my respondent's memories of their lived experiences.

A related challenge from interview data is the reality that respondents use their current knowledge to assess the past. For example, most respondents talked about how before Christianity people did not know better and therefore did ungodly things such as performing ancestral rituals and the like. On the other hand, certain tribal rituals such as the ongoing practice of seeking blessings from ancestors remain unquestioned. This is just one example of how religious knowledge is used to interrogate past events and practices, sometimes excusing them while others are accepted as if they were givens. Essentially, data from my interviews are not objective truths i.e. unaltered recitals of past events; rather, they represent respondents' subjective lived interpretations of the events in their lives, which partly include their understanding of them on the basis of current knowledge. I reconcile this actuality of interview data by using the evidence in this context.

I took several measures to alleviate the impact of these methodological challenges. One strategy that I adopted was historicizing events in order to find evidence that would either confirm or disconfirm what is believed to be real. For example, whenever I recorded the time and timing of events, I concurrently asked questions about broader social events that were happening around the same time and used it to verify the time and timing of personal events. The task of establishing an individual's chronological age almost always necessitated this approach, particularly among the elderly, many of whom were unschooled. Other limitations such as the possibility of exaggerations and romanticization of past events and behaviors that could not be confirmed were addressed methodologically through triangulation – which enabled me to gather evidence about the same issues through different means.

Participant observations

Participant observation, "the process of learning through exposure to or involvement in the day-to-day or routine activities of participants in the researcher setting" (Elder, 1975), was also used as part of the broader methodology. There are two strategic ways that researchers position themselves when conducting participant observations: as covert observers – who oftentimes distance themselves from the people they are examining or overt observers – who make their position known. But then again, distancing strategies have been employed beyond field interactions – where researchers in search for objective knowledge have neglected to situate themselves amongst the subjects of their investigations. Like , I strove to offer an honest assessment of bias via self-disclosure in place of false objectivity, which "results only in surreptitious couching of bias."

For my part, I took a middle ground where I sought what was culturally appropriate. Basically, my visibility as a researcher was moderated by circumstances because more often than not, I maintained a *participant as observer* role as a member of the group with the group aware of my role as a researcher . Seeing as I was intimately involved with the communities I was seeking to understand, pursuing self-disclosure was a more logical approach. In fact, I disclosed my researcher role to everyone I spoke with as was appropriate. I used every opportunity to divulge to whomever I spoke with that I was a researcher; something that the Kichagga culture of "situating" acquaintances made relatively easy. For example, nearly every person I met used the first few minutes to ask *proving questions* – such as "whose child are you," which enable locals to "place" newcomers before they continue with other interactions. Such questions that put my

insider positionality to the test and classified the type of insider I was, which was then used to determine what kinds of information I could get. I typically responded with a personal introduction that included my research agenda when efforts to "figure me out" were instigated. A notable difference in my approach to positionality is that I did not push to make myself more visible than was necessary as some scholars suggest.

During this research, I closely linked participant observations with interviewing, which was used as a means for collecting evidence about behaviors as it occurs in the usual contexts. I considered the two methods complementary to each other. While observing natural occurrences in the course of everyday life allowed me to *capture* both spoken and unspoken evidence, interviewing provided me with an opportunity to probe perceptions behind behaviors. I treated all my interactions during my time in the field as opportunities for collecting more information. Since I lived and participated in social events the way most residents did, I was welcomed to social events such as weddings, funerals and *matanga (*family meetings subsequent to a funeral), community organizations, religious events, local taverns and markets. As I spent time with community members in these settings, I actively observed behavior that either substantiated interview data or provided questions to probe in subsequent interviews.

Figure 2:4 Intergenerational Bonding: Subsidiary Interactions

Analogous with other data collection methods, participant observation has its advantages and disadvantages. On the one hand, it was a useful tool for confirming interview findings in an unadulterated format. Observations also provided the researcher with questions to probe in interviews, usually things that are taken for granted when people examine their lives. When used together with other methods, participant observation enhances the validity of findings . In contrast, participant observations may have somewhat problematized the reliability of what was observed because the meaning of what was observed depended almost entirely on my experience and interpretation. Triangulation, pairing of varied methods to collect data on same issues, was strategically employed to offset these partialities. For instance, observed instances that were not elucidated by interview data were included as topics for focus group discussions, which either validated my interpretation or highlighted their local understandings.

Focus Group Discussions

A total of four focus group discussions (FGD) were conducted towards the end of my fieldwork (see Table 1 for details). The goal was to use group discussions to gain in-depth understanding of salient norms and beliefs or those that appeared to be highly contested (1978). By listening to participants as they contributed to discussion, I was able to compare their experiences, feelings and opinions towards the different issues. The group setting was also crucial to the process of discerning data collected through other methods (ibid), because the synergy in the group context generated more than the sum of individual participants.

Focus groups were typically made of 7 – 10 individuals, who were purposely selected for their perceived knowledge of local culture and customs . Separate groups were formed for men and women, to reduce gender influences. Age and residency were also considered during focus group formation. The perceived benefit was the shared experiences and similarity in residential patterns at the time of interviews.

Documentary Review

Documentary analysis was critical to this research and it involved analysis of all accessible writings on intergenerational relationships in Tanzania. Documentary sources served two purposes; first, they were treated as secondary sources of data and also, as sources of information that helped me put the primary data into perspective . Past documents not only illuminated places and social relationships from a time when the researcher and some respondents were not yet born, but also served to validate some of

the accounts.

Given Tanzania's historical background of strong oral traditions and illiteracy, it was critical to consider all accounts, written and unwritten, published and unpublished for this study. Consequently, my analysis reflects both published and unpublished accounts from oral retells, newspaper reports, official statistics, published research as well as policy documents. Without a doubt, this dissertation presents rich details of cultures and cultural practices that have not previously appeared in published sources.

A foreseeable documentary data problem was its predisposition to reflect the views and lives of the elites while ignoring the less powerful. There exists a wealth of written accounts on chiefs and their families, much of which owes to scholarly interest in recording momentous historical events. Expectedly, the prominence of the upper class in written documents reflects benefits gained by chieftains from their early interactions and prominence during the British colonial divide and rule epoch. The gap between early chieftain's families and ordinary families remains very pronounced today, whereas members of former chiefly families remain relatively more educated, wealthier (monetarily and in their local holdings) and politically powerful than their local counterparts.

2.3   Analytical Procedure

Analysis of data was integrated into the ongoing data collection process in keeping with a constructivist grounded theory approaches . This approach, as (Booth, Crouter, & Shanahan, 1999; Elder, 1977, 1985, 2007; Hagestad, 1990, 2003; Jong & Graefe, 2008; P

Moen, 1999, 1992; PE Moen, 1993; Jeylan Mortimer, 1986; JT Mortimer & Larson, 2002; Riley, Foner, Hess, & Toby, 1969; Riley, 1973; Shanahan, 2000) affirmed, allows the researcher to "…move grounded theory methods further into the realm of interpretive social science consistent with a Blumarian (1969) emphasis on meaning, without assuming the existence of a unidimensional external reality (p. 521). According to Glaser and Strauss , the process of grounded theorization comprises the following vital features:

1. Theoretical sampling
2. Simultaneous collection and analysis of data
3. Data-based construction of analytic codes and categories
4. Constant comparisons during each analysis stage
5. Inductive construction of abstract categories
6. Memo writing to elaborate categories and their components
7. Review of literature subsequent to independent analysis of primary data.

All interview data and observations notes and jottings were transcribed, organized and coded using MaxQDA® software. My analysis included use of both a priori (selected before data collection) and inductive codes (emerged from examination of primary data). In the first stage, sets of *a priori* codes of intergenerational solidarity, conflict and ambivalence based on intergenerational solidarity and conflict and intergenerational ambivalence models were used to examine the status of intergenerational relations between elderly parents and their adult children. In contrast, fieldwork data formed the basis of a middle-range theory of elder-caring labor.

Initially, all verbatim data underwent an initial analysis immediately following data collection. In so doing, each step in the data collection process benefited from earlier steps. The same benefits were realized across different data collection methods, whereby lessons from one method were conversely used to enrich other methods. In the second

stage, I conducted open coding and analyzed data for key concepts . During this phase, I made efforts to avoid conventional categories of intergenerational relations in order to extract distinctive concepts. I paid close attention to similarities and differences between interviews and interpretations revealed during informal and group discussions. During this phase for instance, I realized that motives for giving financial support are conceptually dissimilar from motives for giving direct care with activities of daily living (ADL). Likewise, acuities of direct care and indirect care were also found to be considerably distinct. Consequently, later stages of coding and analysis of data from the two cohorts was conducted separately; followed by a comparative analysis (Marini, 1985; Shanahan, 2000).

Data Profile

Most adult children resided elsewhere in the country and their interviews had to be conducted over the phone for logistical reasons. Interviews with the elderly respondents were all conducted face to face. Almost all the life history interviews were conducted in the national language of Tanzania, Kiswahili. Two interviews with elderly women were conducted in the Kichagga language (Kimarangu).

Participants: The final sample comprised 120 individuals, six of whom were couples. A group of 60 respondents was made up 30 pairs of aged parents and their adult children (focal children) as previously discussed. The remaining 60 participants were local residents of different capacities, such as community development officers, religious leaders, village leaders and various community members; who were either interviewed individually or participated in focus group discussions. A large majority of the

participants are from the Wachagga ethnic group (90%) and the remaining were individuals of different ethnic backgrounds who migrated to the area for work (teachers, doctors and others).

2.4   Negotiating Researcher Positionality

Reflexivity is a vital element of conducting quality research and is especially key in ethnographic research. As a middle-aged, well-educated, married African woman with children, who has spent years living and studying outside of Tanzania and is trying to understand the lived experiences of women I closely identify with, it has been critical for me to be very *reflexive*. I constantly assessed how my own experiences, beliefs and values shape, not only what I know about the world, but also what I am able to see or not see, or understand. Robertson calls this the capacity to 'mirror' oneself. Like many scholars, I sometimes closely identify with groups I am trying to understand and reflexivity becomes the only way I am able to separate my own voice from those of people I seek to understand.

Critical scholars emphasize this reality . Baker, for instance, reasons "…humans enact or construct truth rhetorically through persuasive symbolic action at the individual, social, and cultural levels, both in the moment and across epochs" (p233). As ethnographers, we have an obligation to reflect on our own position and make clear our prejudices as a mechanism for producing objective knowledge, because it is only by knowing our prejudices and how they may influence what we see that we are going to be able to evade such pitfalls. Just as Robertson argued, reflection on positionality is what makes it [positionality] useful. In her own words, Robertson stated:

Family history, ethnicity, sexuality, disability, and religion, among other distinctions, can be usefully woven into an ethnographic narrative, but only if they are not left self-evident as essentialized qualities that are magically synonymous with self-consciousness, or, for that matter, with intellectual engagement and theoretical rigour. Their usefulness must be articulated and demonstrated because such distinctions are not fixed points but emerge and shift in the contiguous processes of doing and writing about fieldwork .

My contemplation of the pros and cons of my education level and institutional situatedness as an Assistant Lecturer at the University of Dar es Salaam and graduate student of the University of Minnesota gained new meaning after the aforementioned experience. My position at the University of Dar es Salaam gave me a "cover" that reduced some of the likely biases and distance from the residents, and allowed me to "blend in" more easily with the communities. Ties to the University also afforded me the right to access literature reserves such as the East Africana Collection at the University, which would otherwise have be difficult and costly to access. In common with my institutional position, I considered the relationship between my gender, age and education alongside predominantly male government officials and the patriarchal communities where fieldwork was to take place. To gain acceptance as well as give back to the community, I lent my skills as a volunteer with local groups in the area.

Upon reflection, between my association with a U.S. higher learning institution and an assistant lecturer post at the University of Dar es Salaam, the latter promised to be less precarious. I therefore identified myself accordingly, always exploiting the assistant part of my title. I envisioned that assistant echoed my enthusiasm to learn and also fit well, with my relatively young age, the image of a lecturer in Tanzania. I also recognized the need to soften my assertiveness and present myself as a normative well cultured Kichagga woman: humble and feminine. The fragility associated with feminine identity

further solidified my need of privileged local assistance to accomplish my task.

I also did not overtly display my knowledge of customs and norms, through presentations of self that suggested lack of nuanced knowledge of local values and customs. At times I deliberately enacted rookie mistakes such as bowing curtsy to age mates and bowing my head to older women, something only men perform. These solicited sympathies and compelled "teachings" of proper etiquette, norms, values and beliefs. Predictably, the elderly were more forthcoming with teachings than those who appeared to be closer to me in age. These tactics gave locals opportune openings to use their boundless enthusiasm to *teach me*. In the end, the "teaching sessions" provided me with the more detailed evidence I later used to formulate my arguments. I realized in the end, my feminine presentation might well have been the single most valuable tool for soliciting dependable data.

Language is a significant aspect of conducting fieldwork. Although Tanzania has more than 120 tribes and tribal languages, almost everyone speaks Kiswahili - the national language), in addition to their tribal language. Being a native of Tanzania, I speak fluent Kiswahili as well as intermediate level dialects of Kichagga, the main language of people in Moshi rural where ethnographic work was conducted. These language skills were indispensable in my conversations with older people, who often use the two languages in tandem.

Significance of the Moshi Rural Case in Tanzania

Findings from this study would apply to a good number of rural Tanzanian communities,

given its likeness to overall rural life in the country. First and foremost, Moshi rural resembles the rest of the country in its reservoir of older persons. As research has shown, a majority of elderly persons in Tanzania (~90%) reside in rural dwellings (Aboderin & Ferreira, 2009; Aboderin, 2004; Bongaarts & Zimmer, 2001). What's more, my analysis indicates that decision-making in most families, Kichagga families in particular, is rooted in the family epicenter, which in most cases are the rural dwellings where the elderly reside. As I discuss elsewhere, the navel of Kichagga families is the Kihamba *(pl. Vihamba)*, the rural family farm and dwellings of the elderly, which ancestral spirits inhabit. Vihamba, as a geographical space and symbolic navel of families, are where rituals, family meetings and important family events take place and decisions take shape.

As it relates to aging experiences, life in Moshi rural is comparable to other rural areas in Tanzania. Characteristically, most residents live in multigenerational households, with the middle (sandwich) generation of women shouldering caring labor for the older and younger household members. By and large, a great majority of households are made up of extended family members, with few exceptions of transplants from other areas of Tanzania. In line with literature on characteristics of rural communities of Tanzania, Wachagga are more likely to send youths elsewhere in search of *greener pastures* than they are to receive youth populations into their rural areas .

The most notable oddity of Moshi rural, relative to other rural districts in Tanzania, is probably its emblematic wealth. For instance, Moshi rural benefits from a large number of primary and secondary schools , close proximity to excellent health facilities at less than six hours travel from the far end of the district as well as regular interactions with

outsiders by virtue of its proximity from the Marangu gate[8]. This uniqueness made Moshi rural a more suitable site for this study because it gives the location the quality of *communities in transition* that other rural sites could not provide. For instance, in line with characteristic features of transitioning African communities, Moshi rural boasts high literacy rates , high ratios of female-male literacy at 0.97 (Harvey, 2005), political awareness, and participation in market economies . What's more, Wachagga familial organization presented a distinctive structure that allowed a detailed analysis of familial processes between spaces. Rural sites operated as reservoirs of cultural practices and familism and urban sites as satellite portals; coordinated by the elderly and adult children respectively.

Methodological Suitability: Local response

Ultimately, I deem this ethnographic approach rooted in the life course perspective as the most suitable for the analysis of fast changing familial relationships in poor settings like Moshi rural. Given that the typical extended method inquiries embrace considerations for multiple contexts in which lives are lived, they allow researchers flexibility to effectively explore unexpected ideas and patterns that emerge during data collection . These qualities were unmatched in the site for this research, where histories of poverty, systemic oppression and research fatigue entwined, creating a complex setting demanding an

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[8] Marangu gate is the first stop in the Marangu route to Mount Kilimanjaro climbers, deemed the shortest and cheapest route to the Kibo peak.

intuitive methodology.

The quality and appreciation of this careful in-depth investigation of aging was unmistakable, given local responses to it. It was interesting to hear natives describe how noticeably different this extended method was compared to the run of the mill research encounters that they were familiar with. For many, my extended stay in the village was very unexpected and was considered very surprising. For instance, a few days before my final departure from the village, an adult woman whom I had met and spoken with several times during my stay shared her amazement with my approach.

> *You… I never believed for a second that you would be able to live here for so long. You city people are used to luxuries – you like your TVs and things… my friends and I were marveling just yesterday about how different your research is. Other researchers usually stay very briefly, a day at most and even then, they live at the Inn (a nearly tourist hotel) but you, you managed to surprise me…*

Furthermore, attempts at "going native" were also instantly recognized and appreciated. According to a 48 year-old gentleman, my relaxed approach was "*quite refreshing*". Muze expressed these thoughts during a two-hour *teaching session* at a local *kilabu* (bar), where together with three local gentlemen, we deliberated acceptable household and family decision-making processes in Kichagga families. Granted, my Mchagga woman status and the fact that I was well versed in customs and norms (to begin with) helped me to blend in and accomplish this extended inquiry in a more seamless fashion.

Insider positionality of any kind may be a double-edged sword, as it also invokes expectations of decorum that may work to the researchers' disadvantage where locals assume the researcher ought to know certain details. The extent of the disadvantage would certainly depend on the nature of the topic under investigation. For instance, it

stands to reason that as a Mchagga woman researching families, I was treated characteristically different from how researchers perceived to be outsiders would be treated, which may have been a disadvantage. As a "local" I was expected to know certain things, such as not to ask an older man about his sexual practices directly, because it is locally considered an indication of disrespect and ill manner. Worse, I would likely have been furnished with "data" based solely on what respondents believed I wanted to know *beyond* what they expected me as an insider to already be cognizant of. To respond to such anticipated traps of my insider status, I tapped into the few (yet significant) outsider advantages. In my case, this outsider advantage consisted of the ability to use my extended absence from the study area to feign ignorance of local norms. In turn, I was able to overcome expectations of decorum, necessary for asking people to offer detailed accounts of their lives, which local norms dictate be left unquestioned.

Ultimately, efforts at going native are indispensable and would go a long way to safeguard the quality of data and interventions for the outsider-Africanist Scholar. More importantly, researchers need to be mindful that *localizing* physical appearance requires more than a wardrobe change; it needs conscientious impression management that may prove unusually challenging . The process involves an intricate practice of identifying, gauging and balancing aspects of a researcher's life while maintaining a high level of authenticity. The importance of maintaining authenticity when attempting to "go native" cannot be overemphasized given that like most social phenomena, going native need be attempted using culture-sensitive strategies.

Having summarized the selected methodological approaches, I next address the

importance of the family, as a unit of production and reproduction in a discussion of the

current status of familial intergenerational relationships in the study site, Moshi rural.

From Kichagga folk wisdom, one learns the value of having and supporting children. Chief among them, is the increased likelihood of continuing intergenerational links beyond the realm of the living and children's special place in it. As the saying goes, "whoever leaves a child lives forever". However, much of the existing literature on family paints a bleak picture of intergenerational relationships in poor countries, with many uncritically repeating the notion that 'things are worse than they used to be'. Organized around the premise of building upon time-tested strategies as a sustainable and efficacious approach to social development, this chapter looks at the current situation as symptomatic of intertwined societal obstructions. What follows therefore, is an examination of parent-child relationships in Kichagga families; with special focus on continuities and changes in perceptions and practices comprised of solidarity, ambivalence and/or conflict.

Family Solidarity

Numerous theorists have empirically established that solidarity not only maintains links between generations, but also that maintaining it [solidarity] provides a "buffer" from specific threats (Burawoy, 1998). Heller put forward a convincing argument for using familism to measure family solidarity. She identifies three ways of looking at familism. First, familism as *social organization;* where roles, rights and obligations connecting kin members are identified. Secondly, familism as behavior (representing kin engagement in fulfilling obligations to their families), and lastly, familism as attitude, which captures the manner with which individuals approach their obligations towards the family. This study

explored all three elements in Kichagga families and the findings are reported below.

In Chaggaland, traditional norms of familism call for individuals to aspire for cohesion in order to keep familial relationships smooth and at their optimal levels of function. The oldest generation decidedly maintain a strong familistic outlook as Table 3-1 shows.

Table 3-1 Familistic Attitude Across Generations (%)

	Parents	Children
A. Solidaristic/Familistic	86	57
B. Ambivalent	11	37
C. Conflictual	3	6

A=If identified with four or more norms of familism; B= If identified with two or three norms of familism, and C= If identified with one or none of the norms of familism

The table above summarizes familistic attitudes into three sub-categories: solidaristic/familistic (positive attitude), ambivalent (mixed) and conflictual (negative attitude). This demonstration of family solidarity typology is meant to broadly plot familism archetypes in the solidarity continuum. As the data in Table 3-1 above show, more elderly parents hold positive (familistic) attitude towards family compared to their adult children, at 86% and 57% respectively. There were also relatively high self-reports of ambivalence and conflictual attitude to family among adult children. To some degree, the latter substantiates concerns over the overall future of intergenerational relationships. Nevertheless, that more adult children fit in the ambivalent rather than conflictual type may suggest that their deviation from distinctly familistic attitude and behavior is a recent phenomenon. It may also mean that adult children are on the fence.

The percentage difference demonstrates variations in perception with traditional familistic norms, further validating the widespread beliefs that the younger generation is progressively digressing from traditional norms. It is important to note here that the patterns revealed by this evidence did not give credence to any distinct typology of family meaning that identification with familistic/solidaristic norms does not imply absence of conflict and or ambivalence characteristics in a relationship, and vise versa. In fact, all families included elements of solidarity, ambivalence and conflict. The difference is that some families were for the most part more solidaristic than others.

Since Table 3-1 only gives a snapshot of attitudes to family. Its findings are meant to be considered in conjunction with those presented in Table 3-2 and Figure 3:1, which illustrate the percentage of those who agree with the different elements of familism by generation and gender respectively. The latter findings were compiled using a set of core culturally grounded items of familistic behavior, which are broadly similar to those identified in other scales . The core items, associated with eldercare, were explored in interviews with elderly parents and their adult children. Participants were asked whether they agreed or disagreed with each item.

Table 3-2 Core Measures of Familism/ Solidarity, by Generation (%)[9]

		Parents	Children
1	Parents should support their adult children financially if they have economic difficulties	100	100
2	Children should support their parents financially when they have economic difficulties	100	100
3	As much as possible, individuals should discuss any major changes in their lives (such as getting married) with their families before taking action	100	82
4	Children owe it to their parents to put family interests above their own personal interests	98	45
5	Marriage is a way of continuing families (and the family name) rather than creating new families	100	65
6	Adult children should adjust their work around their parents' needs	98	40

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[9] The difference in the values (up to 100%), represents individuals who disagreed with the statements

Figure 3:1 Familistic Ideals Among Adult Children

Familism by Adult Child's Gender

	1	2	3	4	5	6
■ Females	100	100	90	55	80	60
■ Males	100	100	75	35	50	20
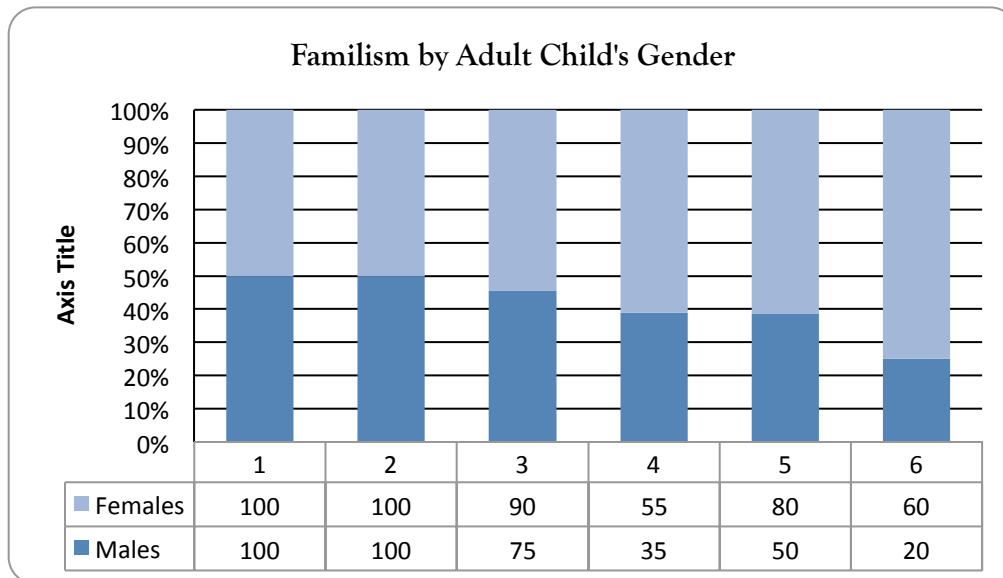
As the data illustrates, there is generational and gendered variability in both attitude and behavioral responses composed from local ideals of familism. For example, there is more agreement with norms within generations than across, evidenced by somewhat homogenous responses. The elderly hold stronger familistic positions than their children, except on the issue of mutual support in times of need, where the two generations are in agreement with each other. Interestingly, gendered differences were observed among the children's cohort as Figure 3:1 illustrates. These findings suggest that women are more likely to hold familistic attitudes than men. And while there was weakness in the dataset, where elderly women were overrepresented in the elderly sub-sample, the homogeneity of responses among the elderly cohort further increases confidence in the gender finding.

Family Intergenerational Solidarity and Eldercare

The importance of intergenerational relationships in family based caregiving is widely known. In Chaggaland, familial and intergenerational relationships are the breadth of social protection for a majority of families. In fact, it was collectively remembered that those with living children have always had better chances at longevity and continuity of their family name, because their children and children's children could be relied to care for them. Indeed, all participants in this study identified family members as their first and second line of defense against instrumental and financial hardships, and a great majority of helpers were of different generations from those being helped. For example, the elderly relied on help from their children rather than from their own cohorts. Children relied on help from their parents as well as siblings (including cousins) and paid sources (in that order), a reflection of the generational differences in present day families[10].

Based on these characteristics, family intergenerational relationships are unmistakably the basis for continuity of family units and for eldercare. It also means that the quality of intergenerational relationships is vital for social support strategies and must be underscored, as I have attempted to do here. The quality of relationships between different generations in families, in this case between older parents and their adult children, is fundamental if we are to extricate ongoing trends and their possible impacts

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[10] Relatively wealthier and/or educated families identified other sources of support as their third and fourth course, while less wealthy families relied entirely on their familial networks.

on the future of eldercare. Bengtson and his colleagues' , have particularly steered researchers towards this line of thinking. For example, Bengtson and others uncovered positive relationships between levels of normative, affectual and associational solidarity between generations, which led to two key conclusions: one, that solidarity is multi-dimensional and secondly, that it (solidarity) remains a key ingredient of harmonious parent-child relationships (Evered & Louis, 1981). Using their example, I sought to qualitatively investigate the different dimensions among Wachagga and I discuss the findings in detail below.

3.1   Characteristics of Intergenerational Relationships

It is useful to think of family relationships as a medley of varying degrees of solidarity, conflict and ambivalence. To this end, I endorse Giarusso and colleagues suggestion to combine the six solidarity dimensions with a conflict dimension for a comprehensive model of familial relationships thus capturing the diversity of familial experiences . Interestingly, conception of intergenerational relationships in Kichagga families is encapsulated under the spirit of *ujamaa* (a swahili term that refers to both belonging together and to the socialist experiment), which encompasses high levels of all six elements of intergenerational solidarity as stipulated by Bengtson and colleagues , blended with elements of ambivalence and conflict. Below is a discussion of these findings.

Affective, Consensual and Normalcy components of Solidarity

Solidarity is an essential component of close generational ties. Solidarity also encourages

intergenerational exchanges of support and continuity of desirable characteristics of families over time. Reflectively, Kichagga familial arrangements include measures for maintaining cohesion, including rewards for compliance (blessings, gifts and leadership positions) as well as penalties for deviance (disinheritance and curse).

1. Affectual solidarity

"[I] Make sure they know how much I value them"

The affectual solidarity dimension presented by Bengtson and colleagues refers to the degree of positive sentiments held about family members, and the degree of reciprocity of the shared sentiments . For Wachagga, "being there for each other during good and bad times" is a key aspect of doing family, as were "caring and having their best interest at heart", "helping and alerting each other when opportunities arise", and "considering each other's situations when deciding personal and family matters". Such qualities are expected of everyone and most participants (98%) expressed a desire to uphold them.

Surprisingly, simple statistical analysis shows noticeable variation in views towards coresidence, which has existed for a long time as a strategy for maintaining affectual solidarity. As Table 3-2 shows, while nearly all parents agree on this norm, less than half of their adult children do. Also, younger women appear to be slightly more likely to agree with the elderly than younger men. The implications of these variations are somewhat worrisome, especially considering that considerable portions of rural dwelling elderly people depend almost entirely on the goodwill of their adult children to provide eldercare.

It is important to note here that traditional values and practices such as coresidence

emerged as among the more inconsistent aspects of familism in Kichagga families. Also, this study quantitatively explored only one aspect of effectual solidarity (coresidence), which may be outdated in light of other findings from this study. As my ongoing analysis will show, Chaggaland has recently experienced extensive shift from traditional strategies such as coresidence (that was anticipated thus explored here), to use of newly emerging "modified strategies" that comprise of traditional and modern elements such as sub-contracting of social roles, including childcare and eldercare.

Presently, a common way that families express affectual solidarity with each other is through participation in events and ceremonies such as baptisms, confirmation, weddings, mourning and funerals, which families celebrate by financial contributions and direct involvement. For many, attendance at family members and at times, neighbor's events is compulsory. Vicky, 38 years old, presents an example of the serious nature of such gestures. Vicky, whom I interviewed when she visited one of the villages briefly, had travelled eight hours by bus, to attend a neighbor's funeral.

> *I had to come, you know, it is not like I had a choice. I respected her a lot and her family and I had to be here to make sure they know how much I value them.*

The sentiment that Vicky expressed extends to aiding with financial contributions (regardless of attendance) and performing chores at events. To show support and convey a sense of *ujamaa* among kin, family members rarely act as guests during events, but participate in organizing and implementing plans such as hanging decorations as needed, serving food or simply cheering from the sidelines.

> *I can't sit like a guest, where's the respect in that? I mean, they didn't even need to invite me. They just inform me when the wedding would be and it is my*

responsibility to show support by finding out when the meetings would be and what I can do to make the event a success… (Moshana, 53 years old)

3.1.1 Consensual Solidarity

"We were all on the same boat"

Consensual solidarity refers to the degree of agreement on values, attitudes, and beliefs among family members, particularly members of different generations in the family (2006). By and large, the two generations in this study showed strong agreement in the core values of families, which are respect for elders, continuity of family lines, and the belief that the needs of the family should take precedence over individual needs and wants. Nevertheless, beneath the shared values and beliefs are considerable differences of opinions as to how values and norms are to be satisfied.

As one would have guessed, the elderly are very insistent upon following prescribed ways of doing inherited from generations past without modification while notions of the second generation were the antithesis. For instance, as far as the show of respect for elders is concerned, the elderly I interviewed favored residence in multigenerational rural households over living alone or with non-kin. Adult children do not share their parent's viewpoint, but rather offered explanations pointing towards more individualization. For them, it is critical that obedience to values and norms not interfere with their individual pursuit of social mobility. This is an extension of adult children's innovative propensities, fostered by an altered neo-liberal socio-political context that valorizes individual mobility, which creates opportunity structures for personal enrichment alongside the persistence of traditional norms and values.

While my research indicates that families retain high levels of consensual solidarity, it also reveals that consensual solidarity is on a declining trajectory. This is not at all surprising, given that younger generations tend to creatively transform ways of doing to fit their socio-historical contexts. Indeed, Alwin, Cohen and Newcomb pointed out that young people, particularly in their formative years, tend to be more vulnerable to historical and generational influences. Intrinsically, the adult children generation in this study, whose members were transitioning to adulthood around the time when Tanzania was undergoing neo-liberal structural adjustment policies (SAPs), cannot be expected to hold similar viewpoints as their parents' generation. Evidently, their outlooks reflect micro level effects of macro level social change.

Unlike their parents, who enjoyed some of the fruits (albeit bitter sweet) of socialism, such as free social services including education and healthcare, adult children began their adult years in greater uncertainty. Immediately following the introduction of SAP's, families faced great challenges in supporting the needs of their families. Some semblance of stability was achieved later with adaptive strategies, as the next chapters will show. For instance, many of the present-day adult children articulated despondency for what they had to endure and spoke about how it necessitated a shift of focus, from the family (familism) to their own individual needs (individualization). The implicit shift from agriculture to commerce, indicated by a cessation of agricultural subsidies and weakened cooperatives on the one hand, and an increased focus on micro loans for businesses on the other, had a "numbing effect" on the youth generation. Here I am referring to the shifts in empathies, from familism to individualization tendencies. The two excerpts from my interviews below exemplify this shift:

I suddenly found myself looking for loans to send my children to school… my family could not help, we were all in the same boat. At the end of the day, you have to focus on your own family first (procreative) and worry about others later (52 year old woman)

It is absurd to think that I would leave my children hungry or without a good education in order to maintain relatives in the village. We all have to work and maintain ourselves, even them… things have changed. I mean, I help but my immediate needs and visions for the future have to come first… (48 year old man)

What's more, almost all adult children implement some form of market tool, including hiring helpers, sending money for the parents to care for themselves, and/or pulling monies together to enable a non-designated caregiver to accomplish the task at hand.

3.1.2 Associational Solidarity

"Some of us are not as capable as we would like to be"

Associations between members of different generations in families are crucial for maintaining unity, which in turn facilitates eldercare. As defined by Bengtson and colleagues, associational solidarity comprises opportunity structures for intergenerational relationships as reflected in number, type, and geographic proximity of family members. Here, I retrospectively explored patterns of migration among parents and adult children in the sample. The aim was to ascertain trends in migration over time and answer the question of whether or not SAPs and modernizing agendas have indeed transformed geographical proximity of rural dwelling elderly people and their adult children.

This study found that individuals with more education and wealth are more likely to reside further away from the rural villages than those who are less educated and have less wealth. Education levels were calculated based on a question of completed years of schooling, while subjective individual and family wealth statuses were used to categorize

respondents in different wealth quintiles to facilitate this analysis. Here, respondents were asked to choose which wealth group they identify with, relative to fellow community members. Categories of: *uwezo mkubwa* "wealthier than most" (2%), *uwezo wa kati* "average wealth" (70%), *uwezo mdogo* "not that wealthy" and *sijiwezi* "poorer than most" were used to correspond with local conceptions of different wealth quintiles. The assumption is that people's behaviors tend to be associated with perceptions of their own powers, financial power in this case.

As expected, I found that across the board, individuals' responses to the wealth categories were associated with levels of education attained and the perceived success of their own endeavors. Higher educational attainment acts as a means for accessing capitals necessary for accumulation of wealth. On the other hand, certain individuals with relatively low education had wide social networks from which to draw capital and amass wealth. In certain cases, individuals whose lifestyles suggested greater wealth identified as average wealth. This may have been due to the comparative categories used by different individuals to define their relative wealth, meaning if one knows people s/he perceive to be wealthier, they would likely identify in a slightly lesser category.

As Figure 3:2 demonstrate, adult children with higher education were more likely to live further away from the rural villages. What's more, their reported migration stories indicate progressive migration, from locations closer to the rural villages to far away distances. Frequency of interaction with rural family members differed greatly, with certain wealthier children conducting frequent trips while others achieving only the Christmastime pilgrimage visit each year. Here, individual factors seem to play a bigger

role in determining the extent to which resources are used to facilitate face-to-face interactions between family members.

I compare Mai and her daughter Vicky's life histories (side by side) to illustrate life course pathways and transitions in relation to different social institutions. As Figure 3:2 and Figure 3:3 illustrate, life course transitions ensue in relation to social institutions such as family and household (micro) and state (macro). What I found confirms what I suspected all along in light of census data, that younger generations are more mobile than their predecessors and that they tend to migrate further away from home than their parents generation. This example also goes to show changes in women's migration as well as the tendency towards migrating to urban areas as opposed to moving to other rural areas like past migration trends used to be, thus offering further confirmation of twists and turns in both migration trends and life course pathways.

3.1.3   Functional Solidarity

"Money cannot give you quality in everything…"

Financial aiding endures as the core of parent-child relationships, especially in later life when parents' advance in age and lose their earning potential. Norms that generate obligations for exchanges of financial support are especially widely shared by the elderly and their adult children alike in Moshi rural. These norms constitute what Bengtson and others classify as the functional dimension of solidarity .

Figure 3:2 Mai's Life Course

Family Trajectory

0		10		20		30		40		50		60		70		80		90

A	B	C	D
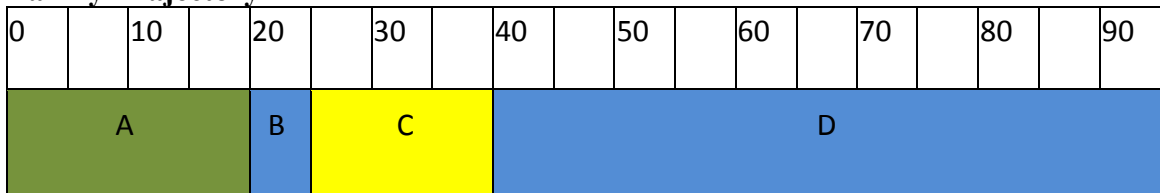
A = Mai lived with biological parents from birth to 16 years
B= Mai lived with aunt between ages 17 and 20
C= Mai got married and lived with husband

D = Mai lived with different family members (away from spouse)
+ = Births
X = deaths (spouse or child)

Migration Trajectory (Interactive)

0		10		20		30		40		50		60		70		80		90

A	B	C
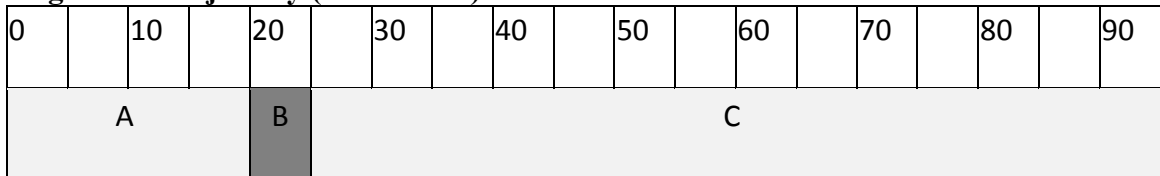
A = Mai lived in the village, with parents
B = Mai lived with aunt, <10KM away

C = Mai returned to live in birth village
* = Move

Figure 3:3 Vicky's Life Course

Family Trajectory

0		10		20		30		40		50		60

A	B	C	D	E
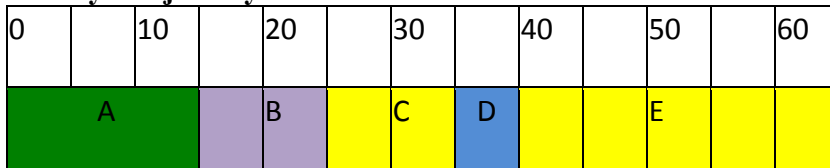
A = Vicky lived with parents
B = Vicky went to boarding school
C = Vicky lived with spouse
D = Vicky lived away from spouse and children, college

E = Vicky lived with spouse and/or children and other family members
+ = Births
X = deaths (spouse or child)

Migration Trajectory (Interactive)

0		10		20		30		40		50		60

A	B	C	D	E
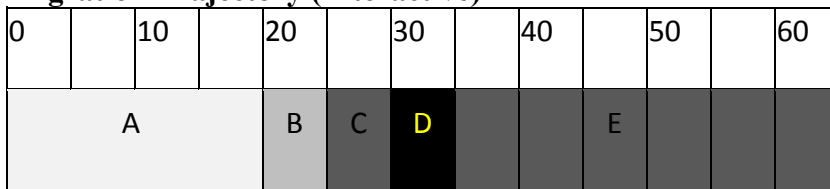
A = Vicky lived in the village with parent(s)
B = Vicky lived ~5mi away from birth village (boarding school)
C = Vicky lived >500mi away from birth village (college)

D = Vicky lived >3000mi away from birth village (college)
E = Vicky lived >500mi away from birth village
* = Move

Predominantly, respondents in my sample accomplished this through individualized aiding relationships between parents and children, and at times by pooling resources. Consequently, demarcations of different types of needs were key to the determination of not only who deserves support, but also the amount of support given at different times in an elderly person's life. Individuals perceived to have legitimate need for assistance, such as widows, especially those without children, tend to be subjected to less scrutiny as to their worthiness for added support. Those deemed "unquestionably worthy" of support also tend to receive more assistance compared to people such as elderly couples, who are perceived to be capable of meeting their basic needs. The latter category not only receives more scrutiny as to their worthiness, they also tend to draw relatively smaller amounts/duration of support from their adult children. This trend was widespread, regardless of motives for giving. Essentially, even obligatory helpers, those who tend to aid regardless of need, gave more where there was a perceived pressing need.

However, whereas the commonly shared logic among the children's' generation was that monetary needs override all other needs, a majority of the elderly in the study thought otherwise. Essentially, the elderly sentimentalized the past and their own needs. When asked "what types of help makes the biggest difference in your life", most elderly people (85%) cited everyday practical assistance such as "help fetching water", "help bathing and using the toilet" and "help with chores such as gardening around homestead, cooking, cleaning, and running errands". Other forms of help spontaneously mentioned as important were "someone to talk to" (22%) and "someone to go places with – such as church, funeral etc." (10%). Only 3% of the elderly instinctively cited "money" among the five most important forms of help that would make the biggest difference in their

lives. Arguably, this owes to instrumental family values rather than lack of financial need among the elderly. In essence, given that

Still, elderly people's opinions towards money affirm its importance in the range of resources, as depicted by the majority (98%) who deemed it 'very important'. However, the level of importance elderly people attach to money, differed considerably from the opinions given by their adult children. For instance, money ranked fourth in the overall ranking of levels of importance among the elderly sample, while it was ranked the number one resource by the adult children subgroup. Kile, a 62-year-old widower in Mwika, gave an explanation that exemplifies the typical reactions of elderly on the question of the importance of money.

> *Money cannot give you quality in everything… it can't help you when you fall, you need a person for that! You can have all the money and helpers [hired] in the world and still long for companionship… some things in life just can't be bought… until young people start looking at things that way, they will never understand.*

The elderly's conception of financial support, linked to their preference for physical closeness was interesting and expected. However, the intimate but distant approach to life rendered by their adult children appears to be a new phenomenon. Adult children who live away from their village remit monies to their parents as a way of expressing their oneness with them. The latter's emphasis on finances is not entirely misplaced the way most elderly persons believed it to be. For adult children, money means more than just money. It is perceived as a form of resource that can be used to achieve more socially accepted results, such as expressing togetherness, contributing to the wellbeing of loved ones, and enhancing opportunity structures necessary for effectively participating in a

family. For example, a large majority of adult children used their financial "gifts" as a way to express other forms of solidarity such as Samson (48 year old male), for example, lived more than 500kms from his parents and remitted funds to his parents in the village as a way of expressing affection towards them.

> *"I send them money because I want them to know I am with them in their need…*
> *"I love them so much and at this distance, sending them some money every now*
> *and then is one of the ways I can show that to them."*

Adult children made similar claims regarding financial exchanges intra-generationally (between siblings and extended family members of the same age cohort or *rika*) as well as inter-generationally (to parents, parents' siblings and children, nieces and nephews).

Financial remittances are also used to show respect, especially where parent's remitting/giving behavior was impressionable. Adult children are likely to mimic acts of kindness that their parents showed to others, especially where the children themselves found what their parents did as having gone beyond the call of duty. This is particularly strong between daughters and their mothers. Salma, aged 32, exemplifies this group of adult children. At the time of our interview, she expressed being "very impressed" by the way her mother treated her mother-in-law and said it is the reason she does what she is doing now.

> *You should have seen her. It is not like we were rich growing up, we did not have*
> *that much, but she always pinched (kumfinyia) some money on her mother-in-*
> *law's hand when we visited. I asked her once why she does that, and she said*
> *every woman – especially older women – need to have their own money stashed*
> *somewhere for the rainy day. I never forgot that. I swore I would do the same for*
> *her in her old age and now that she is, I make sure she does not want.*

Salma, who has built a modern home for her widowed mother, is married and also

provides care for her in-laws, both factors that release her from being responsible for her mother. Be that as it may, Salma continues to provide her mother with financial support, mostly in secret so as to not dampen the support that should come from her siblings. As she puts it, "I don't want it to distract my brother (the designated caregiver) from fulfilling his obligation". The implication is that if he becomes aware of his mother financial security based on his sister's support, he (the brother) may reduce his own support. The financial camaraderie between Salma and her mother is very extensive in the community, an expression of indebtedness to ones parents.

It is quite uncommon for family members to pool financial resources for purposes of meeting everyday familial needs. In my sample, two out of three couples maintained separate finances. On the other hand, it is very common for family members and close associates to pool financial resources for a specific goal, such as throwing a party commemorating a familial event, marking a rites of passage event, or to help a family member in destitution.

Anecdotally, there is evidence suggesting that elderly people living in rural areas tend to need more support (quantity) and need it earlier (timing and duration) than those who live in urban areas. The findings of this research indicate that rural dwelling elderly persons typically need support with activities of daily living much earlier in life than people living in urban areas. This may be explained by the nature of rural livelihoods that involves hard labor and poor nutrition. For instance, fetching water in the rural typically means fetching and transporting water from a well to the home, which involves significant movement and stamina. On the other hand, most urban dwellers have

relatively easier access to tap water, making the activity less laborious.

3.1.4   Structural Solidarity

"These days anything is possible…"

Bengtson and Roberts describe structural solidarity as rooted in structures that either restrict or open up opportunities for generational interactions. Two major themes emerged for this dimension in Kichagga family, namely geographical separation and technological advancements, which explain how parents and their adult children make use of "opportunity structures" to further interaction and closeness.

Geographical separation of elderly parents and their adult children has been a point of concern for majority of Africanist scholars of the family, following an upsurge of rural-urban migration that leaves most rural areas with few able bodied adults to sustain them. Similar concerns can be raised in Moshi rural. While a majority of Kichagga families maintain *Vihamba* in Moshi rural, typically, most adult family members live elsewhere in the country. This is especially common among young adults who tend to migrate to urban areas where education and employment opportunities are believed to be in abundance. Split living arrangements, whereby elderly parents and a few family members remain in the rural homestead while most adult children and the third generation (grandchildren) reside elsewhere, impede certain aspects of intergenerational interactions; something that concerned most elderly people for various reasons.

For Mai and some elderly women, the main concern is with regard to loss of cultural knowledge, which in their view, is imparted to younger generations through daily

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interactions and storytelling by the elderly (oral tradition). As Mai's words indicate, some elderly people feel that they are best suited to impart wisdom, a role they value very highly and take equally serious.

> *It is important for me to guide the young ones in the path to a rigorous understanding of what it means to be Mchagga. There is a reason why the Wachagga who follow their customs become so successful wherever they go…*

Mai's concerns were shared by many elders, such as Ambuya and others, to whom the current trends of splitting families' presents a major threat to their legacies and to the continuity of their families.

> *… I would be happy just having mpora (daughter-in-law) look after me and we can eat whatever we produce here in our garden but instead, we have to live so far apart… the grandchildren will be a mess, they don't get to spend that much time with us or learn our culture… (Ambuya, 87 years old)*

However, what seems like a grave mistake to the elderly emerged as a necessary evil in the narratives of their adult children, whose accounts were infused with optimism for the future. Many adult children for example, expressed the desire to, and even tried to, continue the traditions of co-residence and direct care provision by ones biological family. However, with time, many have resorted to modified ways of doing family that they associated with the changing times. Gloria, 45, had the following to say about things.

> *Things have changed and I am really trying [to make things work], we all are… that's why I can't just stay there and care for my mother or my mother-in-law, it's not a sensible thing to do anymore… in the end I took the sentiment out of it and I am being realistic… living in Arusha gives us a fighting chance… all of us…*

Still, many adult children talked about the increasing possibilities that migration affords them and find ways to reconcile it with traditions. For instance, Samson looks at the current state (split families and hired helpers) as a natural progression of things. For

every negative effect identified by the elderly, Samson pointed out some benefit that can be harnessed to better his family

> *These days anything is possible not like the old days… I can take care of my parents and still live far away… I have hired a maid for the chores and to take care of the needs inside the house and outside there is shamba boy who looks after the livestock and the banana orchard. In the end, everyone is happy… I visit every now and then – I came home may be 5 times this past year alone, it's like I live here… If I should be able to take care of them (parents) properly I need more money and I can't make it here… the market for the business I am doing in Mwanza is saturated here. I tried, so I had to move further away… important thing is eventually things get done, differently but they get done… the older people understand that things have changed and we have to find ways to keep things under control… (Samson, 48 years old)*

Technology and technological advancements, on the other hand, appear to have momentous positive effects on intergenerational relations, a view shared by both generations. Technology has compressed spaces and created opportunity structures for interactions, exchanges and participation in family processes by geographically distant family members. Some elderly participants hinted that things (interactions) were worse, between mid-1980 and 2008, which marks the period between the introduction of SAP's and the current surge of mobile technology. Machuwa's example reflects one aspect of the perceived changes.

> *I used to go for months without knowing how some of my children were doing. But now, oohh, now things have improved a lot especially with cellphones. Now I talk to my children and know how they are doing and I am very happy about this, very very happy*

By their own admissions, Wachagga prefer to tell of their solidarity and hide shortcomings (*mapungufu*), which included actions and issues that relate to conflicts and ambivalence. Correspondingly, many participants are reluctant to report conflicts because in addition to being considered a weakness, such reports have the undesirable effect of

painting a less than ideal image of oneself and associates. After a lot of probing, many participants disclosed clashes and feuds between kinfolks, some dating several generations back.

3.1.5 *Ambivalence and Conflict*

Crudely defined, ambivalence refers to 'simultaneous and contradictory attitudes or feelings (as attraction and repulsion) toward an object, person, or action'. It is also broadly used to refer to continual fluctuation (as between one thing and its opposite) and/or uncertainty as to which approach to follow. The concept has received a lot of attention lately, both within and outside the field of sociology. As a sociological concept, ambivalence is considered in relation to the social structures that introduce it, such as gender, race, class and ethnicity. Essentially, social structural arrangements may hinder certain people from applying agency in negotiating their relationships with others (Ganga & Scott, 2006). For purposes of this research, sociological ambivalence is used in its most restricted sense, which refers to irreconcilable normative expectations integrated in a single role of a single social status . In this viewpoint, social structures stimulate interests and values (associated with different statuses) that an individual or individuals hold, clash to produce mixed feelings and what Merton calls 'compromise behavior' (ibid).

Many sociologists predicted increasing ambivalence as societies modernize. Giddens for instance, suggested that modernity would inescapably involve feelings of "ontological security" and "existential anxiety" which will co-exist in ambivalence. Beck on the other hand, supposed that modernity would pave way to "irreducible ambivalences" as "the

new disorder of risk civilization" . These ideas, coupled with local realities, have raised concerns over the future of intergenerational relationships, should ambivalence become more prevalent. Thus, my approach to ambivalence in this study takes a relational approach. I use narratives of elderly parents and their adult children, who are engaged in a caring relationship, to find out whether and how their relationships during modernizing times are characterized by ambivalence, and the extent to which ambivalence impends challenges to the future of intergenerational relationships.

Additionally, I agree with the idea that ambivalence and conflict are normal aspects of family relationships (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983). Clearly, as family members, individually or collectively, struggle for resources and social control as modernizing conditions necessitate; ambivalence and conflicts are bound to emerge. In Chaggaland, for example, scarcity of land for Vihamba is a major source of conflict as family members struggle to preserve borders. Partly related to this first issue, is the issue of generational struggles for power and control. Traditionally, the elderly have been valued as the most knowledgeable, thus acting as enforcers of customary laws. As society changed, including occupational shifts away from predominantly agricultural work, or "deagriculturalization", younger generations have become unyielding to customary social control hence conflicts between them and their parents and grand parents' generations . Evidently, issues such as an overemphasis of norms of solidarity are among the leading causes of conflict in families.

On the whole, conflicts revealed by participants showed three distinct characteristics. The first and most common characteristic was evasiveness, which frequently consisted of

third parties as instigators and/or mediators of conflict. Basically, disagreeing parties get involved in restrained disagreements without any overt hostility. In this fashion, most if not all exchanges take place via third parties. Interestingly, this type of conflict does not keep people from working together in the family as needed; rather it interferes with other aspects of doing family.

The second major characteristic of conflicts in families was avoidance, whereby individuals withdrew from interaction as a technique for demonstrating disagreement without actually confronting the other person or group. This form is usually acted out following a specific undesirable incident, meaning that the beginning and end of the conflict can be easily determined. In unavoidable social circumstances such as a death in the family, hostile parties would still come together for the good of the family, although strains may still be discernible. Dysfunctional patterns usually persist until a truce or reconciliation, through third parties, typically family elders, takes place.

The last feature, also less common, was confrontation. Events of conflict that included direct confrontations were typically between members of the same generation, with the exception of one case, in which adult children were involved in a confrontation with their paternal uncle. Evidence regarding confrontational conflicts was limited but it is hard to escape the relationship between the significance of the issue being contested and the defining features of the ensuing conflict. In both cases where direct confrontation was observed and/or reported, dispute involved culturally significant issues namely Kihamba (border conflict and inheritance rights). Therefore, my interpretation is that the seriousness of the matter being contested shapes the type of conflict features likely to be

observed.

Three important categories of conflict emerged from analyzing the reported conflicts, namely "lateral conflict" or conflict between siblings of the same family, 2) "intra-generational conflict" or conflict between members of the same generation from different families within a kinfolk group (including prolonged family feuds), and lastly 3) "inter-generational conflict" which refers to conflict between members of different generations in the same kinfolk (ukoo).

Lateral conflict, as used here, refers to conflicts between siblings. These were found to be very common in families, mainly a product of disagreements on ways of handling family affairs. Timing of transitions from one stage of life to another, such as from single to married in the case of last born males, emerged a major source of lateral conflict. In most families where lateral conflict was found, it was concern over when different individuals are to assume their traditional roles that generated tension and conflicts. In Masuki's family, for example, conflict ensued amongst siblings because of disagreements on who should assume the main responsibility of supporting their parents.

Masuki's heir, Samuel aged 35 years, had just gotten married a year earlier and he (heir) and his new family lived in Arusha at the time. Masuki's second-born child, Marko, lives in a house he built in his allotted Kihamba a few feet from his parent's house. During a family meeting held following the passing of an extended family member, Masuki's children had come together to talk about their own immediate issue – ensuring constant care for their aged parents. During the meeting, it was suggested that Marko (a middle child) should take on the role of primary caregiver because of his proximity to the parents,

which led to fierce exchanges and heated debate among siblings.

The Masuki's case exemplifies lateral conflict that included some elements of direct confrontation. An interview with Marko, which took place two years following the events, illustrates the ordeal.

> *They ambushed me and set me up to appear as though I don't care for my parents, all the while knowing that the responsibility does not fall with me. I was resolute about the issue because I know my little brother; he will go to high lengths to have others take on HIS roles… I love my parents and I willingly provide for them, more than my siblings. Each time something happens they point at me… it is as if I am an only child… they come to visit and start acting all concerned in front of my parents while they usually steer clear of direct responsibilities… my being here does not release my brother of his responsibility, we all have to chip in but it is HIS responsibility… mother is always complaining about how Sam is always evading responsibility… if he wasn't pressured he may have remained single until now… they should be pressuring him not me…*

Intra-generational conflict is used to refer to instances of conflict reported between extended kin of the same generation within families, for example conflict between first cousins. This form of conflict had a tendency to develop out of prolonged family feuds that were passed down from older generations. Such family feuds were typical of many families but were also admittedly rare subjects of discussion among kinfolks. In one case, involving Mai's children, there were reports of direct confrontations between first cousins. The conflict [over Kihamba periphery] was between Mai's children and those of her brother-in-law, over a long held feud between the two families. The conflicts had been ongoing on for two generations and Mai's children are the third generation to fight over

the property lines. Mai, a widow, 'owned' a Kihamba that her husband left her when he died[11]. Unfortunately, her husband and his cousins had lingering boarder conflicts.

According to Mai, such feuds tend to generate a lot of tension and create a lot of conflict for families, some of which cross generation lines as it happened in her family. Mai told, as she pointed at the masale hedge demarcating her area from that of her brother in law, that;

> *This part of the Kihamba —has been problematic for a long time… all my children were told by their father about the conflict and grew to believe his side of the story… with time they became so immersed in the whole thing that they started fighting their cousins even before my husband died… he knows I wanted to put a stop to it by rezoning our Kihamba before he died, my husband made us all take an oath to never do that… [How about the conflict at the meeting, how did it start?] It was actually at my brother–in-law's funeral. His children [brother–in-law] decided that my children should not participate in any of the traditional roles of preparing the body for burial or any such things because they had denied the old man his rightful inheritance and were therefore responsible for causing him to die before his time… they were very adamant and when my children insisted, my in-laws kids went and laid on the doorstep – a traditional way of telling someone they are not welcome. In the end my children retreated, after I demanded they stop causing a scene… I don't think things had ever escalated to such levels before in this family…*

The conflict that Mai described above was the only substantiated intergenerational conflict, which has a cross-generational dimension to it that I recorded. The significance of the masale hedge is also critical here. The *cornstalk dracaena* shrubs, popularly isale or masale (*pl.*) is considered a holy plant . Wachagga use it to mark Kihamba boundaries

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[11] When a husband dies and leaves his wife behind, she becomes the custodian of that piece of land until she dies or chooses to call on the rightful owner, youngest son, to take over.

as well as for social purposes of atonement. It is important to note also that there were many other unsubstantiated reports of intergenerational conflicts and family feuds, which were left out of this analysis. All of them, the latter, involved unidentified third parties. The conflict was also confrontational rather than restrained. When the cousins of Mai's children blocked their participation in the burial rites, they did the same to their uncle (Mai's husband) as well. The confrontation was referred to as "extremely insulting and out of line" by Mai, who added:

> *They said and did a lot of stupid things that they should not have done. You don't just curse your elders and block their way when customary rites are performed… they denied their father his right to a proper burial, more so than denying my husband or children participation…*

Intergenerational conflict, or conflicts between members of different generations in the extended family network, were rare and typically involved the elderly and adult children generations. The few cases of intergenerational conflict were reportedly "restrained", in the sense that they do not usually involve any direct or public demonstrations.

3.2   Continuities and Changes

As evidence presented above suggests, familial relationships are not immune to broader societal changes. Families have undergone important transformations in response to and as a strategy for interacting with influential contexts. The biggest change observed in this study is in the area of *familial role enactment*. Different generations in families use dissimilar strategies in the performance of their roles within families, which echoes the importance of social contexts within which individuals grow up and acquire their social skills. In this case, the elderly, who transitioned to adulthood during times of strong

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socialist influences, retained a mentality of entitlement; meaning that those that lived through the Ujamaa phase, tend to expect others (specifically their families and the government) to do more for them. This generation has unmistakably performed the roles that they expect of others, unfortunately, rapid changes befell society before their compliance was reciprocated.

In contrast, the children's generation, a majority of whom attained their adult status at a time when Tanzania was transitioning from socialism to neo-liberalism, has a different conception of their roles and the roles of others. The latter, believe they have an obligation to their elders but a large majority of them do not believe they should pursue this ideal at a high cost to themselves. The children's perspectives and ways of doing family represent what I dub *a transitory approach to family*, which is a midway point between traditional familistic ways of doing and individualistic tendencies. T*ransitory families* are ones in which the household heads attained adulthood (and roles such as marriage, parenting and eldercare) during the momentous policy changeover, and they *do family* very differently from how their parents did.

While elderly headed households (traditional, characteristically multigenerational) approach familial duties, particularly eldercare, as nonnegotiable obligations, negotiations are at the core of transitory families approaches to doing family. Whereas the elderly sought to fulfill their familial roles with little to no regard for their own interests, their adult children consider their own needs alongside the needs of their birth families and are hesitant to forgo personal gain for the sake of their families'. Much of this is not surprising when the context of their upbringing and role attainment is

considered; yet it has been a major source of ambivalence and conflict in families.

More importantly, intergenerational contact, a vital aspect of familial relationships remains intact. First, both younger and older generations maintain willingness to fulfill the implicit generational contract, which emphasizes mutual respect and reciprocity of family goods including affection, knowledge, everyday help and financial support. Intergenerational interactions emerged as the single omnipresent strategy in Kichagga families, associated with a willingness to help irrespective of the perceived benefit to the helper.

Navigating 21st Century Families

Elderly status continues to be venerated in Chaggaland, as the saying *old is gold* suggests. Not only does being an elderly person afford one the highest level of respect from everyone around them, it is also believed to place older people closer to God. Customarily, older people retreat from active income generation activities in their old age, and are provided for by their children, grandchildren and their clans. This notion of the golden years remains the most desirable old age outcome today. Nevertheless, circumstances have forced changes in the way the 21st Century family operates. Today, much to their dismay, adults envisage "working" for as long as they are able to, regardless of age. This is mainly because demands on the family necessitate increased participation of all members, beyond what was customarily decreed. Essentially, present-day realities have forced people of all generations to rethink and reorganize their lives, especially the timing of familial roles.

In addition to the familistic strategies of elongating and/or retaking of old roles, the elderly very aggressively pursue strategies for improving their livelihoods and the livelihoods of their whole families. One way that they navigate their changing contexts is through collaborative efforts. For example, together with adult women, elderly women throughout Moshi rural actively participate in building local affiliations geared at increasing their capacities to do better such as village community banks (VICOBA) i.e. basket funds.

VICOBA are voluntary financial organizations aimed at helping members to increase their meager finances through cooperative endeavors, investment and saving. The basket funds are formed and controlled by members. Votes are used to choose new leaders each year and in operational decisions. Each group has its own established norms which are strictly enforced such as timely attendance in weekly meetings (tardiness is fined), discipline during meetings and beyond, including neatness (e.g. environmental management and personal hygiene) as well as moral conduct (such as established pattern of excessive drinking would result in disciplinary action and even loss of membership in the group). Groups receive technical support and mentoring from local organizations, which in the study area was provided by FLORESTA. Floresta is a Christian NGO operating throughout the district, whose mission is to "work directly with communities to create economic opportunities through village savings and loan associations, micro-enterprise, implementing sustainable agriculture programs, and encouraging spiritual renewal".

Similar to other forms of informal organization, women were more likely than men to

participate in VICOBA. At least 97% of VICOBA members were women. Consider, for

example Mama Elias, who teamed up with 29 like-minded villagers to start a VICOBA

group in their village. Mama Elias had the following to say about her participation in

VICOBA.

> *I went to the Ashira church one day and one of the women there mentioned VICOBA, I listened carefully and then later went to their offices to see if I can also join… they were very helpful… I had to mobilize others and form a group… we have a teacher, a Floresta community development officer, who trained us on the principles of VICOBA and helped us qualify… I like it because it is our group; we are in charge of everything, they simply provide us with the technical help that we need… it has been three years now and they still visit us and help us troubleshoot… I eventually stopped using the other banks; I now save through VICOBA… every week I buy about ten shares (laza mbuzi) and I know when it matures I will have almost twice my money… through VICOBA I can also take a loan and send my children to a good school and I continue to repay slowly… you can't believe what people do through VICOBA; my neighbor's daughter actually sends her mother some money every week so that she can invest it for her… it is such a commitment and if you don't live here you just won't be able to become a member – we have required weekly meeting attendance, weekly investments and many other rules… lazy people just give up when they hear that… deed down they still wish for the benefits though…*

By actively pursuing membership and participating in everyday decision-making

processes and leadership training, VICOBA have played a big role in enhancing women's

civic engagement and leadership skills. Although men find community organizing

important, they tended to shy away from VICOBA, preferring instead informal teams and

individual undertakings. This may be explained in part by men's ability to access loans

using inherited land as collateral, something that women could not.

In contrast to VICOBA groups, religious affiliated groups such as *Jumuiya* groups, which

were less regulated, provided certain similar benefits to members. For example, Maria

(whose husband left her in the village to care for his mother with no independent income)

summed up her experience with *Jumuiya* as follows.

> *When you live in these areas you can't afford to be isolated because then your life becomes very difficult… a very high value is placed on religious affiliation and participation… there are many groups and when you join one, everyone will know your attending behavior… you have to be active in order to benefit… one time I was sick from malaria and could not even cook so I sent my son to the Jumuiya leader to give them the news. They organized themselves and took turns with helping me until I was well enough to do my own things… imagine what would have happened if I was not connected to them. Oh and at the same time, I also got a lot of help – money even – from my VICOBA friends, which was very very helpful…*

Maria's words point at two important qualities of collaborative engagements, namely community building and mutuality. By joining a local group, community members solidifying their togetherness thus improving the quality of their relationships with one another. Cooperative endeavors also make for efficient development tools because they provide a venue where decisions about the direction of local developments is crafted and executed in a democratic manner. Also, locally organized and managed groups provide much needed safety nets for its members. Like Maria, people whose lives would likely crumble in the absence of formal social protection measures can rely on their local groups for support. As such, village organizations have been instrumental in facilitating resiliency.

Using in-depth interview data, this chapter focuses on the subtleties of social scheduling of individual life courses and the ways in which families attempt to adapt. In keeping with life course sociology, I consider individuals' life courses "outcomes of institutional regulation and social structural forces" . Therefore, my analysis situates experiences alongside historical developments in order to capture their "temporal intersections" (PE Moen, Elder, & Lüscher, 1995). I attempt this by tracing family life over time, which allows capturing of similarities, variations and equivalents of values, beliefs and actions.

Conception of Family Based Eldercare

In Kichagga communities, elderly persons are considered vulnerable and worthy of care, a deeply rooted notion that few see a need to discuss. As a *fact of life*, as one elder called it, both the young and the old are expected to know and comply with principles of family life such as respect for elders, role allocation and completion. Mandates for caregiving, including eldercare, are imbedded in cultural norms of respect for human life, instituted in all aspects of life. These norms are linked to higher powers (God and Ancestors), and they are usually heeded in just about everything echoing the belief that the living and the dead are intertwined in the endless cycle of life through Kihamba heritage. The certainty of *Ruwa's* (God) existence is believed to be exhibited in the giving and taking of life and other events and sequence of events that cannot be explained by everyday logic, thus making Ruwa's teachings absolute. On the other hand, clan ancestors are believed to have a presence in the Kihamba where they are buried by virtue of their position in life and closeness to God in death. To understand the embeddedness of eldercare in other

spheres of life, we must first understand the Kihamba-based intergenerational contract.

4.1   Kihamba Intergenerational Contract

An intergenerational contract is an agreement between generations, in which the older generations invests in the young with an expectation of reciprocity for care and support as the former age . While in certain societies intergenerational contracts have been written into laws and constitution such as in China. However, in Tanzania, the intergenerational contract is inherent; meaning it is not a product of conscious decision made by each successive generation, but rather an inherited commitment. Inescapably, younger generations find themselves voluntary subjects to their place in the family hierarchy, owing to intense purposive socialization. As one would expect, the intergenerational contract has enjoyed broad following, especially in poor communities, wherein class mobility is limited and the family remains the sole safety net for the vulnerable.

Wachagga prefer organizing families' in multigenerational households that follow a typical traditional African style. For the longest time, the three-generation family model of an elderly parent, adult child (youngest son) and his family was the most common household arrangement and the basis of support for the oldest and youngest generations in Kichagga families. Customarily the last-born son and his wife would typically co-reside with the aging parents in the family homestead. Their role was to provide daily

support to the parents and take care of the family farm (*mgomba*[12]) on a daily basis. However, my study found the *ideal type* three-generation household structure to be infrequent.. Instead, families now maintain altered variations of the traditional extended family model.

A common type of family arrangement is modified-extended family, which was characterized by two generations (lineage notwithstanding) living together in the ancestral *Kihamba*. As a rule, adult children of the elderly who cannot fulfill their own customary caring duties commission the house girls to operate on their behalf. Intrinsically, housegirls are more than "maids" in terms of their labor. They act as surrogate children of the elderly, attending to all their needs, similar to what biological children are expected to. These families tend to sustain long-lasting connections with both kin and fictive kin. Families fitting this categorization comprised of non-kin surrogate parents and children (predominantly house girls) co-residing for continually long periods of time. The surrogate children play meaningful roles in maintaining familial relationships with their proxy 'parents' and vice versa, for example through bestowing privileges reserved for kin; thus forging new familial relationships. Essentially, through this process of *undugunaizesheni* (undugu-nization), non-kin relations are conferred kinship designations, which facilitates family-like relationships.

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[12] Means banana tree. As used here, it more relevantly refers to the family farm i.e. a banana orchard surrounding the family home. *Mgombani* is also where immediate family members are usually buried.

Take Alma, a married mother of two young children, who started working as Mangare's keeper immediately following completion of her primary education. When it came time for her to marry, Alma directed her fiancé to pay the part of her dowry to Mangare, a privilege traditionally reserved for the bride's grandmother. Likewise, the transference of privilege and expectations extends to other areas of life, including expectations for the elderly to provide for surrogate children and grandchildren. In Alma's case, she felt it was only fair that Mangare helps her with the costs of her children's education – "it is her grandchildren and I know she considers them her responsibility to some extent, just like all the other grandmothers". Through *undugunaizesheni*[13], families are also better equipped to handle demands of eldercare, by extending expectations of care and respect to non-kin. Surrogates therefore, take on respect and expectations of kin who would have traditionally been obligated to care for the elderly.

The second type of family organization frequently found in the area was the *simple extended family,* which was comprised of blood related extended family members of different generations living together in the same household, which I refer to as intergenerational households. Some extended families included closely related family members while others had characteristically far-removed relatives, such as a granddaughter of an elderly person's first cousin, co-residing with them in the rural household. Households fitting this type had two key features that differentiated them

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[13] A local concept; refers to the process whereby distant relations are made closer by way of inference. For instance categorizing a second cousin as ones sister.

from the other types: high educational attainment levels among the elderly parent's children and elevated emigration incidences.

Actually, Kichagga family values are such that lineage and family identity – conceded in a family name – speak for more than an individual's character and accomplishments. This symbolic feature of strong norms of *familism*, the preferentiality to the needs of the family above those of its individual members , appears as one of a few enduring features of the Kihamba culture and way of *doing family*. True to principle, families historically established multigenerational households where the very young, prime aged and those advanced in age lived alongside each other; serving to reconcile intergenerational fissures and foster solidarity. Thus, living arrangements are essential to understanding family dynamics.

Family Dynamics of the Wachagga

Participating in the Kihamba regime obligates limited mobility depicted by lifelong residency in the foothills of Mount Kilimanjaro. Actually, up until the end of the 19th century, majorities of Wachagga spent their whole lives at *mgombani* [the family mountain homestead surrounded by banana grooves]. Life course pathways were very predictable: individuals were born, came of age and got married in their parents' Kihamba without ever leaving their parental home for extended periods of time.

Life in the Kihamba follows male-controlled principles, in which the male offspring has an advantage over the female. Regarding what constitutes family, both young and old Wachagga consistently agreed upon three basic elements: "belonging together", "concern

for each other's wellbeing" and "persistent support". Family means "belonging together and being there for each other" said Mai in a separate interview. Another elderly man defined it as "being there for each other", including helping each other during times of need, being happy together and showing concern for one another even when you cannot help in any other way. Masha, an adult woman from Mamba village, offered a definition that nicely ties the three features as it relates to her ties with her in-laws. Married to a last-born son, Masha has submitted herself to living with her mother-in-law, while her husband continues to live in Dar es Salaam where his businesses are centered.

> *… it means belonging together, being concerned for each other's wellbeing and also tirelessly taking care of each other the way the bible tells us… you see, Mai (mother-in-law) and I are not exactly related by blood but my marrying her son makes me her daughter; we are family. That's why I am back here. As their daughter, I have an obligation to see to their needs just as they saw to my husband's needs… and they are concerned for all of us; it is important that they know we are concerned for their wellbeing too.*

Family members in Moshi rural homesteads (Kihamba) belonged with each other in three ways. First is family membership by blood or consanguinal family bonds. This form includes immediate and extended blood relations such as parents, children, grandchildren, siblings as well as children and grandchildren of siblings and so forth. Second, belonging by marriage, in which a wife or husband is converted into a relative of the spouses' extended family network. Third, belonging by close association or fictive kinship.

Distinction between the different family ties is rarely made without probing. Maria's discussion of her family touches exactly on the fluidity with which the terms *ndugu* and *jamaa* (relative) are locally used. In a discussion about her family, Maria explained that she was the last-born and only surviving female in her family. Halfway through our

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conversation, which lasted about two hours, Maria made reference to a sister in Dar es Salaam and her plans to relocate to live with yet another sister in Dar es Salaam. Surprised by this revelation, I asked if she had other sisters that she forgot to mention at the beginning. Laughing, she clarified that the sister in Dar is *"my sister, born of my mother's older sister"* i.e. first cousin. *"I have two other sisters from my mother's side who also live in Dar and one from my father's side who lives in Arusha"*; the latter reference being to a female cousin twice removed.

Thus, terms of endearment, symbolic of close filial ties, such as sister and brother are widely used to refer to not only cousins but also fictive kin. The prevailing practice was to refer to any helpful acquaintances with terms of endearment and entrust them with roles and respect reserved for family (undugu-nization), a strategy that extends family networks and augment family social capital. As Mangare, an elderly widow in Marangu cautioned; *"you never push acquaintances away by emphasizing your kinship distance with words like cousin or friend, it doesn't matter how far removed they are from you"*. The essence of Mangare's argument is that calling someone *binamu* (cousin), *ndugu wa mbali* (distant relative) or *msichana wa kazi* (house girl) has far-reaching impacts beyond its seemingly simple classification of otherness. Setting apart blood relations from other forms of kinships is construed as an attempt to keep the *other* at arm's length. In so doing, the other is instantly released of the caring obligation, which depletes the caregivers' pool.

The few instances in which participants spontaneously differentiated types of kinship popped up during dialogues on the subject of deteriorating assistance provided to the elderly. Participants' viewpoints on factors triggering adult children to slacken their

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support for their rural families helped to sharpen what family means in its multitude of structures. To this end, most participants explained how caring decisions involve more than willingness – that, *"it depends on the circumstances of each person"* as Masha put it. *"They [adult children] have their immediate families and responsibilities to them right where they are"* Mai said. Another elderly woman, Shangaa (72 years) explained,

> *"We cannot expect him (his last born son) to let his own household starve just so they (the son and his wife) can send us help; they do what they can… too bad it usually isn't enough to fully support (pause) – but times have changed".*

Both younger and older participants in my sample were well versed with the implicit Kihamba generational contract[14]. The agreement points at how different generations in families ought to conduct themselves in relation to other generations at different times in the life course. Wachagga exemplify a typical patriarchal age-graded culture, with an unmistakable observance to time and timing of life events. Observance of time and timing in this culture, are key to the effectual functioning of the family as a unit, and eventual success in meeting the needs of various members.

The process of transitioning between different positions and roles within families clarifies the stakes for successful family functioning and eldercare provision is therefore discussed below; followed by an in-depth discussion of what it means to be an adult and elder, and the roles attached to these positions. Afterwards, I examine the issue of divergent life

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[14] It is worth mentioning that different Kichagga groups may follow variations of the intergenerational contract detailed here, although the basic tenet is the same throughout i.e. mutual respect and care across the life course.

course trajectories (because of societal changes), and it's implications for the future of eldercare.

4.2   Social Scheduling of Life Courses

Chronological age has only recently become important in Moshi rural. Typically, social schedules, whereby familial and community needs, perceived readiness and other socially created criteria have been used as the basis upon which individual life course pathways and transitions were set. This is despite the strong age-graded qualities of Kichagga communities. For example, immediately following birth or a few days later, a child was designated their unanimous place, marked birth rites. Boys were received and dedicated as future heirs and ancestors in a cord stump burial rite in the ancestral land. The ritual, which was understood to authorize boys to claim ownership and belonging with their ancestors and the ancestral land, was performed within fourteen days of being born. By traditional decree, women cannot inherit Kihamba nor be ancestors. Therefore, female lives were received and celebrated differently. Cord stumps of women were prohibited from being buried or even thrown in the Kihamba. It was believed that if the cord stump or even a drop of blood of a female child were to fall in the Kihamba at birth, the spirit of that child would seek ownership of the land thus causing havoc in the family. Accordingly, earlier convention was to throw cord stumps of girls in the river or on the periphery of the Kihamba so as to not initiate a curse. Noticeably, birth rites mark the initial symbolic delineation of gender identity, which also guides allocation of roles in families.

Gendered birth rites mark the initial symbolic delineation of individual's place in their

family as well as the subsequent socialization. Allocation of adult roles in families is correspondingly strictly gendered. Preparation to take on adult gender roles starts gradually from childhood and culminate when an individual becomes an adult. The process comprises of coaching and official initiation by way of customary and/or religious rituals. Entry into the adult status is typically contingent upon two important factors; perceived maturity and demand for someone to fill a role (social need). More often than not, the timing of entry into adulthood corresponds with maturity and demand for adults, but other times it is not, necessitating contingent measures to address the discrepancies.

Regular Social Schedule: Maturity-Based

On the one hand, maturity was characterized by physical and mental readiness, judged by ones age in conjunction with parents' knowledge of their child's ability to take on adult roles. For men, the abilities were judged against roles such as fathering children and financial independence. Women were assessed by their readiness to bear children and nurture them to physical, mental and spiritual health. On the other hand, sexual puberty was also considered, and it was the more celebrated quality of adulthood. For boys, sexual puberty was established by *balehe* while for girls it was by onset of hedhi known as *kuvunja ungo* (menstruation). Immediately following these manifestations, initiation rituals and ceremonies of shija and ngasi (for girls and boys respectively) were conducted to officially mark the transition.

During shija, young women received teachings about menstruation, sexuality and procreation to prepare them for wifery and motherhood. Boys on the other hand, went

through ngasi initiations around the same age. Ngasi included isolation in the forest where they were circumcised and trained in self-defense, perseverance, and resourcefulness. After initiations, a public ceremony was held to honor the passage. The ceremony was a way to sequester the new adults from children and gesture parents' approval of betrothals and future adult roles. At one time, shija involved female genital cutting, a practice that appears to have disappeared in the 1990's, which parallels the peaking of female education. Once these requirements were satisfied, a child began the process of ascending to adulthood under the patronage of uncles, aunts and clan elders. Wachagga used the time around these milestones to isolate transitioning boys and girls and train them as part of the initiation process into adulthood, marked by shija and ngasi for girls and boys respectively.

Coming of age accounts of the adult children in my sample suggest a departure from the traditional practices. I found evidence indicating that shija and ngasi initiations were excluded from family experiences. For example, none of the thirty adult children I queried about *shija* and *ngasi* experiences had themselves gone through the initiation process, unlike their parents, who all reportedly went through the initiation process. Additionally, older generations accounts confirm that initiation processes included circumcisions in sequestered forests. In certain areas, circumcision ceremonies included female genital cutting. Today, according to my respondents, female genital cutting in the four villages has ceased, and male circumcision is currently performed at a young age, typically before a child begins elementary school. What's more, medical professionals at health facilities perform the circumcisions, thus reducing mortality rates and disfigurements associated chronic infections.

Interestingly, parents and cultural patrons i.e. uncles, aunts and elders (who all reported having learned about adult roles and expectations through ngasi and shija initiations) reportedly abstain from conveying shija and ngasi lessons to younger generations, outside the culturally organized drills such as kitchen parties. They instead leave it to the teachers to teach about sex and marriage, a trend confirmed by their adult children. For the most part, parents' reported feeling uneasy to offer sex education at home. For their part, a large majority of adult children (95%) cited school as the source of knowledge about adult roles. Interestingly, the knowledge was credited to peers rather than teachers, which contradicts parents assumptions about the sources of sex education.

The departure from using traditional rituals and markers is closely associated with broader social change. History shows that colonial rulers, particularly Germans, used political powers and religious teachings to bring many of the customary Kihamba practices to an end. As a result, families gradually began using religious rituals to conceal banned customary rituals. For example, many families allegedly tied baptism ceremonies with cord burial rituals. Religious confirmations, which typically occurred around the time when boys and girls were coming of age, doubled as masks for private performances of ngasi and shija rituals. Unmistakably, many customary practices were not eliminated but became matters of clandestine operations. Documented cases of female genital cutting in the region, long after independence, lend further credence to this conclusion .

Despite the evident departure from shija and other traditional ritual performances, women rarely get married without lessons of sorts from other women. Older women especially, are relied upon to give the younger generations' tips and lessons on wifery.

Mainstreamed shija-like gatherings have mushroomed particularly in urban areas and are spreading to rural areas, filling the void left by shija and similar initiation rituals across the country. The most popular format for women of marrying age (young adults) is kitchen parties; women only gatherings held a week or two before a wedding. Kitchen parties are a time when women of the bride's rika (cohort members) together with older women in the community get together and talk about sex, relationships and marriage. Mlangwa's (Creswell, 2009) investigation on the social construction of gender and sexuality in Tanzania chronicles the use of kitchen parties as spaces where gender ingenuities are imparted to younger women. For instance, she quotes a woman who uses kitchen parties to dispense advice to other women on the importance of breaking free from male-controlled sex lives.

> *It is true at times I really feel I want to be with him but to say it to him, I feel it like a heavy load on me until we have now aged. I never could do it. I now tell brides in the farewell ceremonies like the kitchen party, to talk to their husbands, and tell them when they desire them. I realized my husband was good he was well trained by his grandfather, but you never know (Mlangwa, p. 111)*

Still a couple of young adult women in my study expressed grief over the complete removal of shija. For them, the sex education provided by teachers and other sources does not give them sufficient preparation for successful fulfillment of wifely duties. Responses of women who had not attended a kitchen party nor had a one-on-one sit-down with a family member to talk about sex expressed feeling anxious and incompetent as adult women.

Divergent Social Schedules: Need-based

Sometimes the need for someone to play adult roles superseded age and maturity in the

process of transitioning to adulthood. It is common for example, for children below the age of 15 to drop out of school in order to work and support their families. Boys typically work outside the home as fundi, kulis or storekeepers while women tend to get hired to do domestic work in urban areas. Increasing incidents of HIV/AIDS morbidity and mortality went hand in hand with intensified child labor in the whole country. In these instances, needs for someone to take care of the family in the event adults are unable to do so forces children into adult statuses and roles.

On the other hand, wifery and husbandry roles of adulthood have also necessitated premature elevation of children into adult statuses so that they can perform those roles. Mamkwe*'s account of her own life provides a good example of how it can happen. Mamkwe got married at the age of twelve, to her father's friend who had lost a wife in childbirth. Her parents met with elders from her husband's family and consented to her betrothal. After the negotiations were concluded, her mother informed her of her impending marriage and started getting her ready for marriage with the help of her aunts. Mamkwe relayed that because it was not a shija season, and the husband to be who was a progressive businessman based in Moshi town had preferred a mellow woman who was not circumcised, she did not go through a traditional shija. Mamkwe's release from shija expedited her betrothal and she was married within two months or so. "I was the perfect choice," she told me, "because he [husband] knew my father and could ascertain that I was from a good family. He knew I would not give him grief".

Mamkwe told me she was scared at first but after talking to her mother and aunts for a couple of days, she became comfortable with the idea. She has never regretted marrying

the man because she says he treated her well. After they were married in a traditional ceremony, the husband took her home and they agreed to wait until she was ready before consummating the marriage.

> *He knew I was just a child… what he needed first and foremost was a mother for his child while he mourned his first wife properly. We never told anyone about our decision [to wait to have sex] because it would have infuriated my parents… it would have been a sign of failure …*

To a certain extent, Mamkwe's story represents a classic example of arranged marriages, many of which were to fit men's expediency. Mamkwe's, thus women's, desires and feelings were not considered in the negotiations. What counted was that she was considered a suitable candidate and her parents and elders had given their blessings to the betrothal. The husband-to-be on the other hand, was fully cognizant of the arrangement ahead of time. In many cases, as was for Mamkwe; the would-be husband participated in identifying her as the prospective suitor. However, in many respects, Mamkwe's story is uncharacteristic of women's experiences in forced marriages. A few of the elderly women in the pool of participants admitted to having been "married off" against their will and they re-counted harrowing accounts of sexual violence in the hands of their suitors and suitors' families.

All elderly participants in my sample followed somewhat identical pathways to adulthood, whereby their families' perceptions and needs corresponded to lead to their transition to adult statuses. For them, coming of age was strictly timed and marked by initiation ceremonies. Thus, the elderly in my sample could refer to a specific day when they ceased to be children (and became adults). Their children, on the other hand, followed more divergent pathways, influenced greatly by delays as both boys and girls pursued

education and formal work, as well as by the lack of urgency for role players. The latter is partly an outcome of diversified strategies for filling traditional roles. For example, in so long as housegirls can be used to perform duties traditionally reserved for daughters in law, both men and women can delay marriage, parenthood and other culturally sanctioned adult roles for as long as it suits their distinctive aspirations. Thus, it stands to reason that the two factors that traditionally necessitated transitioning to adulthood are no longer of great importance to the younger generations.

Today's adults understandings of adulthood also significantly differ from that preceding generations. Instead of relying upon cultural milestones to determine who the grown-ups are, the status is increasingly noticed through the roles that an individual plays in the family. Therefore, adulthood or more aptly, grown-up status as locally termed, is defined by the roles an individual play in society. Essentially, grown-ups are individuals who contribute more than they draw from the communities around them. This newly emerging view of adulthood matches with newly emerging classes of adult role players. For example, where a child (by definition), takes on caregiving roles as many orphans do, they are treated as adults in other spheres as well. Thus, children household heads also participate in decision making for their households and also participate in family meetings where important decisions are made.

Eldership

To be considered an old person in Chaggaland, one has to have lived a relatively long life compared to the rest of his/her family. Thus, the status is cohort based and reflects the value of endurance. Old people enjoy the highest status and privilege in their families and

communities at large, since advanced age is considered to be symbolic of acquired wisdom and nearness to ancestral status. For a long time, the elderly played the role of gatekeepers of the families and communities by virtue of their status, and majority of the elderly in my sample identified themselves as such. As gatekeepers, they were and continue to be final decision makers on all plans contemplated by the rest of their families, communities and even the nation at large. For example, when a father wanted to divide his inheritance among his sons, he would first share his proposal with the elders in the kinfolk and only after they approve his plans would he proceed. In cases where decisions needed to be made in a widow's household for instance, a small committee of elders occupied the role of the household head. They listen to the widow and considered her wishes together with theirs and decided the course of action.

The elderly cohort in my study reported strikingly different aging experiences based on factors such as relative age and gender. For example, although both elderly men and women are held in high esteem, elderly men tend to exude more power than elderly women. Elderly men express their power through acts such as methodical public contributions where important issues are deliberated. A good number of respondents of all ages deemed public displays of belonging at the decision making table as symbolic of older men's perceived status and power. Elderly women, it was said, have traditionally had a tendency to "hold their tongue" in public, and only contributed when their opinions were solicited (if ever). More often than not, women reportedly shared their opinions in private and the man of the house (husband or brother) brings it to the table during deliberations.

Interestingly, during individual interviews, elderly women explained their comportment in very different terms than those used by the rest of the participants to define their status. None of the elderly women seemed to believe that elderly men outrank them. Quite to the contrary, elderly women saw themselves as vital part of their families based on the roles they play. Nearly all of them spontaneously described their significance as kin-keepers and mentors in their families. Ambuya, an 86 year old (elderly) woman in Mamba, went as far as declaring that *"no one does a better job in that (imparting wisdom to younger generations) than an elderly woman,"* a widely shared belief among women of her cohort. What's more, it was evident that women in general, and elderly women in particular, have gained reputation due to their incessant dialogues.

"Things are changing", I was told, *"old women outnumber old men and they have become so vocal, men rarely speak."* This, according to a 48 year-old man who perceived elderly women's new reputation a result of their having to step up to fill men's roles because women tend to outlive men and there's thus a scarcity of men to continue the male dominant traditions. However, according to most elders throughout the four villages, women have always been opinionated, they just chose to refrain from showing this quality in public. Many of the people I spoke with confirmed this observation. An old man in Mwika, mzee Ngiro, expressed amazement about previous practices that obliged women's silence in public.

> *I don't see how anyone can make a woman stop talking… the only way a woman would stop talking is if she doesn't want to talk anymore… I wonder how it worked in the past, I don't know how they even managed to make women shut up – maybe there were more men then, I don't know. I just don't see how you can make the old women I know stay quite if they have something to say.*

For their part, women explained their silence in a number of ways. One is the expected

compliance, especially during young ages, which tends to change as women get older as the quote below indicates.

> *Women don't usually participate all that actively as younger people but when we grow old our statuses among kinfolks change… women are very highly regarded… and for some reason tend to outlive most men (laughs jokingly). Everyone listens to the older women because they are reservoirs of wisdom… when conflict arise, women are also brought in as mediators, [adding jokingly] although men tend to take the credit… as I was telling you earlier, if women don't teach the young children their places in the larger family and society, there will be no one left to take care of us when we grow old… it is important to have the children brought over and gain that wisdom (Woman 2, FGD).*

> *You are taught (during shija) to obey and be a good girl by respecting your elders, brothers, husbands – I mean men in general. Part of that means you do not raise your voice when speaking to them and you do not contradict them. Doesn't that mean you just shut up? Good girls, respectable girls know to hold their tongue, especially when speaking up means being contrary. But most of the time we know better, we just don't say it out loud… that is the acceptable way (Mai).*

As the foregoing quote indicates, silence was also construed as a strategy to gain legitimacy, which was in no way associated with their ability to contribute to discussions.

Marriage and Eldercare

Marriage, as implied earlier, is an expected step in the transition to adulthood. It is also the most critical step in the continuation of caregiving, because of its function of replenishing the caregivers' pool. As my analysis will show, here and in the subsequent chapter, daughters-in-law are at the core of family based eldercare and childcare arrangements. Correspondingly, traditional Kihamba principles dictate that women, once initiated into adulthood, should marry and have children as soon as possible. Thus, women (older generation) tended to enter marriage at relatively early ages than men, while the latter typically delayed their first marriage because their desired path towards

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adulthood comprised of capital and wealth accumulation ahead of matrimony. Likewise, women of the older generation were also susceptible to marry men who were substantially older than them. On the other hand, many men pursue occupations outside the home and rural village, while women's migration trajectories tended to be constrained within the locality of their birth village.

Most acceptable paths to marriage involve a long process of betrothal and rituals. Notably, some of the rituals continue to be observed until a spouse passes away. In the past, as indicated by the lived experiences of the older cohort in my study, the route to betrothal and marriage started with parents and clan elders identifying suitable suitors for young men. Once an agreement was reached, a delegation was sent to the young woman's clan to ask for her hand. This was then followed by negotiations of dowry and eventually a wedding ceremony. Some variations of this engagement process involved identification of suitors by the groom, which was then approved by clan elders and a progression similar to the above was followed. However, in other instances, marriage was forced upon women. Some unceremonial marriages were outcomes of abduction, known in Kichagga as *iiro,* which was typical of young men seeking to marry from a family that could potentially reject their proposal[15]. Kidnapping was the predominant form of abduction used for *iiro*, in which a woman has no part in plans for her betrothal. In

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[15] By and large, marriage proposals were rejected on grounds such as family feuds, known mental illnesses and curses that are perceived to pose danger to the two families or the family that would develop from such unions.

certain cases, a young couple would conspire and pretend abduction or *ikusutsa* was staged to hasten a marriage. *Ikusutsa* also denotes instances where a woman willingly visits a man's home and spends the night. In all cases, if a woman spent a night in the home of a man she was not married or related to, she was considered married even if unceremoniously.

Subsequent to *iiro* and *ikusutsa* incidents, are Kihamba based atonement rituals. The ritual involves bringing a female goat that has yet to have offspring and a blanket to the woman's family, to inform them of her inconvenient marriage and beg their forgiveness for the method used. The living she goat is meant to indicate that the daughter is alive and well. Acknowledgment of her unadulterated state (having note born children) when the abduction occurred is signified by the goat's state. The spokesman among the messengers kneels before the abducted girl's father while holding *masale,* a sanctified plant used in atonement. There is a strong belief that refusing *isale* apologies brings misfortune and blocks blessings. Therefore, by bringing masale, the man's family is guaranteed forgiveness and doors are opened for dialogue and negotiations between the families.

Regardless of the betrothal process that a marriage followed, the Kihamba rules are clear; once married a woman must not spend a night in her parent's house ever again. Essentially, a daughter is a daughter until she gets married, at which time she permanently leaves her birth family. A few exceptions, which also required substantiated permission from her husband, can be negotiated. The ban can be lifted for instance, if the parents are in dire need for help and there is no one else who can provide that help. This rule was very strictly enforced, to the point that women did not take part in wakes for a

parent's death because that constituted betrayal to their husbands. My key informant, Mangare – a 97 year-old widow, the ban from parental home was set up to prevent women from permanently returning home (or leaving their husbands). Returning home was significant because regardless of the reasons for their child's return, the woman's parents/family is obligated to repay the dowry. Consequently, returning home to live was frowned upon and even prohibited by a woman's family.

Some [forced *brides*] attempted to return to their birth home with ominous consequences, as a Mangare further explained.

> *Some girls just couldn't fathom a life after being abducted and they did everything they could to return back home… you know, after iiro a bride was not left alone until the 'husband' felt confident she wouldn't run away. Some were locked in the house for months on end because they threatened to leave... they would lock you up until you are no longer a threat… And the ones who attempted to leave had the worst experience… those were guarded more forcefully. The guards would not leave until she gets pregnant, then they know she'll have no say anymore…*

However, younger generations perceptions towards marriage and family has changed with time. All of the adult children in my sample identified two immediate families, birth family and family of procreation, unlike their parents who referred to their procreative families as the immediate one. Still, both older and younger respondents considered the needs of the procreative family to be more pressing than those of the birth family. This shift owes, at least in part, to the geographical split-up of the majority of families. Where an individual resides in a secondary location with their procreative family, with the birth family located elsewhere, the needs of the family in close proximity become the more paramount needs. In the same way, proximity in lineage and birth order also works to give rise to a sense of urgency or excitement to each other's needs.

Emerging Trends in Family Dynamics

As the analyses indicate, there are noticeable differences between the way older persons and their adult children do family. As "social innovators", younger people's behaviors perpetuate newer ways of doing . In this case, the adult children in the study, having experienced the formative years and events during a period significantly different from their parent's generation, go through a process of figuring out their position and roles in families. An in-depth look at the contradictory attitudes between elderly parents and their adult children reveals apparent historical influences.

The elderly in the study grew up during a very different era than their children. The two cohorts investigated are separated by about 20 years, with the youngest participant born in 1964 and the oldest in 1912. A majority of the elderly parents were coming of age in the 1930's and 1940's, a period when Tanzania was under colonial rule. In contrast, the adult children of these elderly reached adulthood during a period of state socialism and intense nationalism, when the country was highly charged by ideologies and sentiments of promise and possibilities. Similarly, it is the third generation in these families, those who came of age during the neo-liberal era, who would likely experience a major share of its impacts. The events from earlier in their lives (transformative years), and historical atmosphere and ideologies, shape the schema with which each generation makes sense of and react to future events in their lives and the world at large. In other words, there is a cumulative impact of varied generational experiences, which influences perceptions, approaches as well as outcomes of respective members.

Most notably, adult children are now faced with conflicting demands during the era of

neoliberalism. Because of growing social and geographic mobility and increased out-migration from rural villages, adult children have ended up with two immediate and dependent families with contending needs, namely the procreative family and birth family. Current economic and social circumstances, such as women's labor force participation and education opportunities, necessitate taking residence with the procreative family, thus making the needs of the latter more critical. Unfortunately, this translates into relegating the family left behind a lower level of importance. On the one hand, adult children look at split families as a normal aspect of family life, whereby members live in various parts of the country. What's more, adult children associated new ways of doing with opportunity structures for continuity in family. The relationship between Moshi and his mother is characteristic of the majority of parent – adult child relationships in the four villages. Competing needs of procreative families have taken precedence in Moshi's life, resulting in the decision to live far from home, whilst utilizing market-based measures to fulfill his filial obligations.

Adult children themselves recognize the great value in what they do, something that their parents still do not grasp. For instance, by pursuing opportunities away from the village and also having two incomes, some adult children are able to do more for the families they have left behind that they would have had they stayed in the village. In Moshi's case, conducting business in Mwanza, where his wife has also found a job, made it possible for him to renovate the old house structure in the Kihamba he has inherited, which now features several western amenities such as a master bedroom, indoor plumbing and in-house kitchen. Moshi and his wife have also hired a housegirl to take care of his parents and have an on-call nurse, who makes house calls to check on their health. Moshi

associates his ability to "make life a little easier" for his parents with his and his wife's pursuits 500 kms from home. In his opinion, living far from the village is advantageous.

> *Yes I am far, but I also make a lot of profit… I can take care of my parents and still live far away… everyone is happy… To top it off, I visit them [parents] every now and then – I go home a lot, may be 5 times this past year alone, it's like I live here…*

Despite his optimism, Moshi and those like him, still find themselves in a quandary with their families and communities, because the new ways are not well matched with the deeply rooted family ideals. As Moshi explained, the whole thing is a major source of stress and anxiety.

> *Its nerve racking… everyone knows I can't be in two places at once but that does not stop them from expecting me to be. Sometimes it's like they [family] want me to continue the success with my business but also be at the village taking care of wazee – I don't know why they always need me to spell it out for them, it is impossible to do that. And I know they are judging us [him and his wife] because everyone expects my wife to go back in my place. She even offered to do so and I forbade her – I told my parents that I forbade her so that they don't hate her… its easier if they hate me because it is not her fault. I remind myself that what I am doing produces best results for everyone.- I even had a chat with wazee and explained it to them until they understood – I have children who need me also, and they need me more than my parents do because they have other children to provide for them but my children have only one father, me… The schools in the village are not as good as the ones we have here and they [children] deserve a good education. What's more, money circulation in the village is really tight so my business won't be as lucrative if I moved it there… so, if I move back we won't have any of the luxuries that we have now…*

Alternatively, in the eyes of the elderly, the splitting of families and priorities appear to pose great danger to intergenerational relationships and caregiving arrangements. Certain community members, particularly the elderly, view recent changes as precursors to normlessness and chaos. Moshi's parents, for instance, were not as optimistic and content about the way they are living their "golden years" as Moshi sounded in his interview.

Moshi's mother, an 88-year-old former nurse, is as conservative as Wachagga can get. Growing up, Makyao endeavored to do everything right in hopes that her children will do her right in her old age. Of the eight children she bore, 7 are alive, dispersed between Dar es Salaam, Arusha and Mwanza. She explained her pursuit, expectations and outcomes when I met with her in 2010.

> *You know my daughter; everyone knows that if you want good things to come to you, you must do good unto others. My parents taught me this growing up and I stood by that... when I got married, my husband wanted to live near his parents so that he can take care of them – they were already advanced in age and needed help. I left a new job I had gotten at KCMC and took a less prominent position at a dispensary nearby. My father in law lived another 17 years and before he died, he called me and blessed me... My mother in law outlived her husband by 10 years, and I took care of them both – with help of course, but my husband and I performed the tasks that mattered the most... It's a pity none of my kids are willing to do the same for me; instead, I am left in the hands of strangers.*

The picture that emerges from Moshi's mother is one of nostalgia and frustration for what she is enduring. The later years she envisaged growing up do not compare to the realities she is living. While she appreciates her last-born son's efforts, given a choice she would turn back the hands of time and prolong the old ways of doing. Surprisingly, Makyao has not explored her feelings in depth with her son. She rationalizes that her son is dead-set in his own ways and it is no use pushing for what the children do not think she "deserves".

What's more, elderly parents gauge their perceived value in their families against their children's comportments. Members of the older cohort believe whoever raised their children right, is worthy of the best eldercare possible – a classification reserved for reciprocal care personally delivered by ones own children. Actually, older Wachagga still believe in the old adage that "whoever leaves a child lives forever", a viewpoint representing the value of children and children's special place in the continuity of

intergenerational links beyond the realm of the living . When this vision of the golden years is not realized, its alternatives frustrate the elderly, which is unfortunately a common occurrence in Moshi rural since modernization continues to pull prime aged adults into towns, never to return for longer than the mandated pilgrimage.

As Moshi's story indicates, the current adult generation (and their descendants most likely) treat the majority of cultural norms as negotiable understandings. My analysis has shown, for instance, that adult children carve out new ways of fulfilling time-honored duties such as eldercare. One way they do this is by turning to the marketplace for solutions. Hiring out filial responsibilities, which was almost unheard of when the elderly participants in my study were adult caregivers, is now a common occurrence where adults are concerned. The movement to outsource caregiving is now extensively normalized during the neoliberal era of market-based reforms; captivating even some of the elderly for whom, the news way of doing family is still extraneous.

4.3   Family Adaptive Strategies

Tanzanian's have been slow in their public response to the needs of the elderly. For instance, there are still no large-scale social protection plans for aged populaces, despite the strong and widespread norms of respect for the elderly. Instead, families are forced to implement adaptive strategies. Here, I use the concept of adaptive strategies to refer to mechanisms used by social actors to cope with challenges facing them, be they human or naturally occurring . A family's ability to effectively adapt to different situations is dependent upon social structures and the socio-economic environment within which lives are lived. Essentially, adaptive strategies are behavioral patterns assumed to achieve

collective goals, in this case, the goal of continuing family lines and maintaining intergenerational relationships. As evidence will show, some of the strategies are short term while some get used for longer durations. Still, some are more widespread while others are localized; and more importantly, some of the strategies are effective while others are like a drowning person, who struggles to their last breath. For as the Swahili saying goes, *mfa maji haishi kutapa tapa* (a drowning person never stops struggling).

Challenges facing contemporary rural families in Tanzania, including rural emigration, rapid social change, changing status of women and youth as well as widespread poverty and diseases have produced barriers for livelihoods. Thus, families have been compelled to adapt strategies in order to match local realities. Two fundamental challenges are notable in Moshi rural. First, is a concern on how to assemble support for the aged while at the same time attending to pressing individual needs. This is hardly a personal trouble, as many adult children who are expected to provide for the elderly (examined elsewhere in this dissertation) tend to maintain support commitments to both consanguinal and procreative families. In light of widespread poverty, it is understandable that the middle generation may be forced to prioritize the need of one family over the other, which may have adverse implications on those left behind in the village. The second challenge has to do with renegotiating gender roles within families attributable to changes in women's status in their communities. Recent changes towards less traditional gender undertakings by women have been a double-edged sword, resulting in women overloading with both domestic and external roles and responsibilities, while men fall short in the domestic front.

Below, I discuss three primary strategies and their subthemes as they were employed by Wachagga in the four villages, as exemplars of the ways that families have successfully attempted to transform their ways of doing to fit changing circumstances. I use the subthemes to postulate a richer interpretation of the gist behind the broader categories. It is important to note outright that the categories are not mutually exclusive. Actually, different strategies are typically used together, little by little establishing a safety net.

4.3.1 Pursuing Solidarity

Nearly all participants spontaneously professed a desire to maintain positive relationships with other family members in their clan. This has emerged as a result of distinct yet related actions taken by both elderly people and adult children, with the goal of enhancing solidarity. Both the elderly and their adult children negotiated points of constriction in certain norms. The elderly for their part, have relaxed the desire to control the timing of their children's lives, including the nuances of when, how and who they marry, which are directly associated with the quality of future intergenerational relationships and eldercare. Essentially, elders clearly preferred that their children marry in a timely fashion. Interestingly, there was no consensus as to what is timely, and a majority of Wachagga identified the ideal age to marry and start families as early twenties and early thirties, for women and men respectively. Wachagga also hold strong views on proper marital pairing, where preference is undoubtedly towards intra-ethnic marriage. However, in light of the perceived need for enhancing solidarity between the elderly and younger generations, many concessions are now made. Today, elderly people are more accepting of interethnic marriages; concessions that many said are difficult to

live with due to their potential cultural implications.

> *When they marry a kyasaka (outsider) it makes life really difficult. It is hard to know where you stand with the in-law, or even what would be acceptable by them. In the end, we have to take the high road and let go of what we want so that our families can flourish and be happy (Focus Group participant, elderly women)*

As the quote above indicates, the elderly ransom their own happiness for the benefit of their families. For their part, children also let go of some of their own dreams in order to keep the peace with their parents. Adult children also cited the desire to receive parent's blessings as a reason for conceding to certain traditional demands, although some demands are treated as secondary, thus negotiable to the point of subcontracting the roles or exempting themselves altogether. For example, the two generations are in agreement on the obligatory respect of elders. However, adult children consider the need for them to be direct caregivers to be problematic. As a price for solidarity, adult children use surrogates to fulfill them roles in their steads.

Extending and/or taking on new roles is another popular strategy used in pursuit of intergenerational solidarity. Elderly persons, particularly women, use the need for caregivers in their families to solidify their position in their families by making themselves indispensable. Elderly women have picked up parenting roles to help their children and families in general, despite being very old and in need of care and support themselves. In so doing, elderly women occupy exceptional positions in their families, which in addition to drawing respect, carries with it a privileged status in the allocation of support. Basically, women who go out of their way to make their family members happy, beseech higher levels of support and intergenerational contact

4.3.2 Expanding Support Sources

A large number of residents employ unconventional strategies to increase sources of support. Some of the strategies, such as enlisting non-kin and use of market-based sources in performing familial roles were common among adult children, while other strategies such as complaining, exaggerating and silence were common among the elderly.

"Adoption" (Undugunaizesheni)

Partly, families recruit new members (adopt[16]) in the provision of support, who are mostly women who either marry into the families or come to work for them. For example, housegirls who are paid employees and who join families on contractual basis, now tend to extend their stay with their charge families due to a sense of obligation. In certain cases, the employer – employee lines become extraordinarily fuzzy that salaries are no longer given as payments for service, but get discharged as lump sum allowances that are much higher than the agreed upon amounts for services rendered. More often than not, adult children offer generous rewards to housegirls who commendably accomplish familial roles in their elderly parent's rural homes. For example, as a reward for their self-giving, housegirls have been rewarded with education, paid vacation, childcare and even monetary support for the families they left behind. In that way the housegirls

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[16] Broadly defined as the process whereby an individual, young or old, is granted special recognition as a family member regardless of heritage. In Tanzania, adoptions are largely customary (informal).

develop a stronger sense of kinship with their charges, to the point that they voluntarily remain with them for as long as they are needed.

Complaining/Attention Seeking

The elderly, for their part, play an even greater role in rallying support, especially during specific crises. For example, I found evidence that elderly persons use complaining and silence as strategies for soliciting support without having to ask for help more directly. In a way, complaining was used both as a strategy for coping with adversities (invoking sympathy and concern) as well as a strategy of accumulating support. Munira, a third generation family member living with one of the elderly participants in Marangu West had the following to say about complaining strategies.

> *Elders complain a lot sometimes… they complain even more when they don't have money. Sometimes I think the complaining is a way of begging for money without really coming out and ask for it – I can tell when my grandmother is complaining because she wants someone to give her money as opposed to just needing attention.*

As Munira's words indicate, a closer look at the target of complaints and the manner of complaining are very revealing of the anticipated outcome.

> *When she needs money she goes on and on about how tough life is (maisha ni magumu) she would talk about how things have become too expensive and how she has to pay for everything these days. Usually she says this to strangers. But to her kids, I mean my uncles and stuff, she would mostly complain to gain their sympathy – mostly she would talk about how tired she is nowadays and how she has aches and pains everywhere. I think its because they, uncles and other relatives, already support her financially and what she has to pull out of them is sympathy for her personal issues.*

Several elderly participants acknowledged complaining as a strategy for amassing support. Some even admitted to using it deliberately when they can't find a way out of

situations. *Mosha* reminisced about a time when he avoided begging a doctor for free medication by complaining.

> *That day I was feeling very sick and my nephew and his wife were out of town. I asked my girl [housegirl] to take me to the hospital and after seeing the doctor, he ordered some tests, which consumed all the money that my son (nephew and guardian) had left me. When the doctor gave me a prescription to go and buy medications, I was at a loss and had to think fast. I asked if I can get the medication for free at the clinic – knowing they don't do that anymore. When he said no, I started complaining about how I was at loss for what the government is thinking. An elderly person like me cannot work and I wondered how they expect us to generate money for medications and things. The doctor asked me if I had kids who can help and I told him I was not blessed with any kids and my husband was dead. Then I thanked him for his kindness and that's when he gave me some money and said 'I hope this will help you a bit down the road'. He gave me enough money for the medication and some food too. God bless his kind heart*

Although it is not entirely condoned, complaining was not openly disapproved either. This has made it a strategy of choice for many elders', especially elderly men, in part because it is not an expected reaction from them. Men, considered to be masculine and exude strength and power, can and do successfully use complaining as a 'shock and awe' strategy to compel others to come to their aid. Interestingly, while complaining was a very effective strategy for the elderly, focus group participants were quick to assure me that the same strategies would not fly when used by women or younger persons. As one of them put it,

> *"When an older person does that (complain), it invokes a certain kind of sympathy. It's like this energy, this thing, forcing you to imagine your own parents and what you would do to make sure they have all they need."*

Exaggerating/Subtle Coercion

Exaggerating was another strategy used by the elderly to temporarily acquire support during times of need. According to key informants, exaggerations are habitually

employed when an elder had no money but needed immediate access to services such as medical care. A good example was Manjo, who, fearing things would get worse with her illness, theatrically over exaggerated her condition to solicit transportation and delay reimbursing her neighbor to give her children time to pool resources together.

> *One time I had very bad pain down my shoulder and back and I wanted to go to the hospital. I knew if I went during the day it would asked me to pre-pay for services so I asked mpora to call a neighbor [distant relative who owns a car], and ask if we could get a ride at ten in the night. When they came, I pretended to be in too much pain to speak. They took me to the hospital and my neighbor paid for everything, knowing I (my kids) would repay the money. The next morning I had mpora call Val (my daughter) and tell her what had happened. In a few hours, she and her brothers gathered some money and sent it to us by m-pesa. When the neighbor returned me home that afternoon, I repaid him and he did not have a clue that I did not have a cent to my name that morning. I pretended that I had the money all along to save face…*

By and large, these strategies mesh well with local customs, which render seeking help from non-kin or distant relatives undesirable and wrong. The only traditionally consistent substitute for individual agency in old age has been reliance on family for support. Many elderly people for example, are preoccupied with concerns over coming across as *omba omba* (beggar) if they ask non-family members for support. This was even more critical if the help sought was monetary. It became clear, from daily interactions and interviews, that maintaining independence and being able to meet their own needs without asking for outside help was very important for the elderly. They expressly preferred their children and other community members to anticipate their needs and assist without being asked.

While exaggerating is in essence a form of attention seeking, it is employed in a manner that sought far beyond what routine attention can achieve. My observations revealed that routine attention from others rarely produced hurried support in areas other than

emotional support. More often than not, dramatic forms of exaggeration coerced tangible support from others, particularly non-kin, which would otherwise be inaccessible. This quality differentiates exaggerations from other forms of attention seeking, without necessarily qualifying it as coercion due to its subtleness.

Silence

Complaining, exaggerating and other emotional responses are stereotypical female behaviors, and women in Chaggaland know this. So, instead of behaving in expected ways, women turn to unexpected comportments to invoke the desired effect. More often than not, women used silence as a shield that hinders others from discerning their true feelings, which typically results in the helpers desire to play safe.

For example, adult children said they expect their mothers to complain to them when they do not have money. Even when probed specifically on the issue, none of the children in the sample were able to recall the last time their mothers complained about money. The elderly women, for their part, explained that instead of complaining they remain silent about all things monetary, and focus instead on other issues. By doing this, one elderly widow said, "the kids are forced to judge by themselves whether they are doing enough and I think the answer is always, it could be better – so they go out of their way to try and do more". "If I was to complain", another elderly woman said,

> *"I would come across as ungrateful and emotionally unstable, so I don't. By keeping my mouth shut about material things, my children know I am thinking of them. I guess it makes them think of me even more".*

Ultimately, the elderly resort to behaving in a roundabout way to oblige support from

others. Instead of focusing on their own needs and feelings, they employ reverse strategies by showing concern towards their helpers in order for them to feel obliged to do the same in return. As my surrogate mother during fieldwork told me, "you cannot afford to make others feel distant or unloved, or you'll really end up alone and God knows what then"

4.3.3 Spreading risk

Families are known to turn to migration as a way to diversify risks and Moshi rural families are no different (McIntyre, 2009). Families send out their able bodied members to secondary location and later attempt to pool their financial and human capital to form stronger social protection arrangements. While in the past risk spreading strategies were highly gendered, with more men than women as its handlers, present day families deploy both men and women. Actually, in 21st century families, women get deployed relatively early compared to men (as housegirls or wives), thus spending longer periods of time in service of their families.

Ultimately, adaptive strategies work to mediate the changing needs of different generations in families. These strategies are called adaptive because they work to increase capacities of families to survive the diverse stresses thrown at them. When employed effectively, they promote resiliency and help families to circumvent failure of key structures in the face of economic adversities. Adapting therefore, smoothens transitions from conventional ways of doing things to incorporate innovative strategies that match changing contexts. In so doing, families are able to honor the intergenerational contracts while maintaining a sense of normalcy at the same time.

This chapter examines the caregiver role allocation process, bargaining and gendered eldercare practices among Kichagga communities. It builds upon findings of preceding chapters, which revealed that men are the *de facto* custodians of families, although they seldom take on the day-to-day caregiving roles. Instead, the caregiver role befalls immediate female relatives, typically daughters and daughters-in-law. The gendering of eldercare is in part a result of socially constructed norms, whereby women assume a lion's share of nurturing roles in families.

One of the prevalent assumptions is that women are better nurturers than men, an idea associated with biological factors. In Kichagga communities, ritualized symbolic activities within families such as those discussed earlier, including purposive gender-based socialization and ceremonies, intentionally reproduce beliefs about gender, thus extending them across generations and times. Like childcare, eldercare includes a need to make personal changes and sacrifices in order to create a balance between competing demands on the caregivers' time and resources, which is exactly what evidence from this study indicates. The giving of the care therefore, could be perceived as a gift altruistically given, an entitled service to the elders and as a compensation as discussed below.

5.1   Gifts, entitlement and compensations: Family Based Care Transactions

Analogous to a typology of transactions offered by Zelizer , caregiving transactions among Wachagga can be understood using three lenses – as gifts, entitlement and compensation. What distinguishes one form of care transaction from the others is the underlying meaning of the transaction and the relational context within which the

transaction occurs. As evidence shows below, care bestowed as gift and as entitled packages symbolize durable relationships between the caregiver and the recipient. *A*s a gift, care is voluntarily bestowed upon the elderly person. The giver, in this case the adult child or surrogate, determines what to give and in what quantities based on factors such as their perceived worthiness and the givers ability and willingness to give.

Given as compensation, care is treated as a direct exchange for either past deeds towards the giver or significant other, such as when it is correlated with what a particular elder did for the adult child earlier in life. Elderly persons also receive compensatory transaction in the form of care as a direct exchange for expected monetary gain, as expected in market transactions between employers and employees – in this case, housegirl and employer. *Thirdly*, as forms of conventional entitled remunerations, elderly persons are sometimes bestowed care packages. For example, Kihamba doctrines dictate that a child offer their first salary to their parent(s) as a symbol of thanksgiving for the nurturing that made their rewards possible.

As I see it, there are two main categories of caregivers among Wachagga, *family members* for whom caregiving is an expected part of doing family and *hired helpers* for whom caregiving is a transaction in the informal labor market. Among Wachagga, "anchor wives" and "surrogates" make up the largest portion of caregivers. The former, wives of last-born males left behind, act as extensions of their husbands in the obligatory caregiving role within the family. The latter, were largely hired helpers who for all intents and purposes are adoptees of the elderly people they care for.

While a few typical housegirls were found to work in Moshi rural, they were

characteristically different from the surrogates. Fostering was characteristically ethnic, in the sense that it was more likely to occur where a housegirl and the employer shared ethnic backgrounds and/or culture. Essentially, most surrogates were Wachagga (90%), while the remaining 10% were from neighboring districts whose cultures were similar to Kihamba doctrines such as Waarusha and Wapare from Arusha and Kilimanjaro regions. Female helpers were also more likely to be fostered than their male counterparts, which may be attributed to the level of intimacy involved in their transactions with the elderly . By and large, male helpers had less intimate connections with their charges as they often work outside the house performing roles such as farming, security and other intense physical work while women tend to be involved more intimately with their charges, performing ADL tasks such as bathing, dressing and companionship.

Below, I present four biographies of female elder caregivers, intended to offer an initial look at the face of the informal eldercare labor force and initiate my analysis of gendered eldercare. The biographies also serve to identify key issues considered in this section including recent developments that have placed female surrogates (popularly *housegirls*), typically young women hired to provide care, at the forefront of the care work labor force. In Moshi rural, surrogates are replacing daughters and daughters in law in the provision of eldercare.

5.2   Anchor Wives and Surrogates: Archetypes of Elder Caregivers

Mpora Notaramo: Unconventional

> *"Mii is so kind and good. You know, she spent more than twenty years taking care of her mother in law who was a difficult woman and everyone says she did it with so much care. She still helps everyone and anyone who comes to her for help. She*

really does not deserve to be left in the hands of strangers in her old age…"

--(Mpora Notaramo)

At the time of interview, Mpora was a 38-year-old mother of two young children. Originally from a neighboring region, she relocated to ABC village four years prior to our interview. Mpora lives with and takes care of her 87-year-old mother-in-law (mii), who suffers from osteoarthritis, diabetes and high blood pressure. Before moving to ABC, Mpora lived in England where she and her husband (then boyfriend) pursued their respective college degrees. Mpora, a graduate with five years of professional experience, is a stay at home mother and caregiver, who depends on monetary transfers from her husband and his siblings, which subsidizes the income from her home based business – stationary/secretarial service. Mpora is also an active member and leader of a women's group in the village, which enables her to invest family monies and even gives her access to small loans to further her business ideas.

Mpora came to live with her mother-in-law after she was sent home, to her husband's Kihamba, to recuperate following a miscarriage. At the time, a house girl hired by one of the daughters was assisting Mpora's mother–in–law. According to Mpora, "everyone (husband's family) thought it would be nice for me to come here and draw comfort from Mii and for her to draw some comfort from having a family member here." After recouping for about a month, Mpo decided to stay on. She validates her decision based on mii's kindness, saying she couldn't leave, "… once I knew the kind of person she is, I just

couldn't leave her"[17]. From their living arrangements, it was clear that Mpora and her mmii are very close. Despite having her own wing in the Kihamba, which is attached to her mmii's house, Mpo uses the "assistant's space" adjacent to Mai's bed. *"This way"*, she explained, *"we can comfortably chat until we both doze off. And I can also hear her if she needs something at night without her having to raise her voice to get my attention"*.

Although Mpora's choice to remain in the village was largely influenced by her fondness for her mother-in-law, her motives were not entirely altruistic, for she explained that her husband's tendency to get` drunk and abuse her contributed heavily to her decision and contentment to staying in the village. Given her background, it was unsurprising when Mpora expressed a desire to remain in the Kihamba. Despite being a *kyasaka* (outsider), Mpora is very well versed with core Kichagga values of respect, including the kin keeping and caregiving identity that she has assumed.

Juliana Mpendwa – In-betweenness

Juli is a 48-year old primary school teacher in DEF village. She is married to Meshack, a last-born son and businessman from a wealthy[18] family. While her husband spends a considerable amount of his time in Moshi (15 miles) and Arusha (74 miles) where his businesses are located, Juli has spent the last ten years of her life in DEF, looking after

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[17] Mpora was referring to the way Mai, her mii, and takes time to listen to other people and solve their problems as well as to Mai's dedication to her own mother-in-law as a young bride.
[18] Relative to perceived social status of other residents in the village.

her in-laws. Juli was born in a neighboring village located approximately five miles from where she now lives, and received primary and secondary education from nearby schools. She then went to Marangu Teachers College and started her professional career in Arusha. Soon after getting married, she transferred to DEF to live close to her in law in preparation to take on "my caring duties" when the time comes.

Juli and her husband retain a modern unit located in the Kihamba where the main house where the in-laws live is located, where she and her family live. Despite having their separate unit, Juli's and her family eat at the main house with the in-laws; "we only go to the other house for personal care and to sleep, this is home as far as we are all concerned". A distant relative from her husband's family helps Juli with household chores while she is at work but Juli attends to the "most important" direct care needs of her mmii, namely giving baths, evening feeding, escorting to the hospital and family functions as well as being there for her emotionally.

Juli's marriage is typical of educated and wealthier Kichagga families. She and her husband both used to live in the village on a full time basis, during her husband's tenure at Kilimanjaro Native Cooperative Union - KNCU. When Meshack retired, he took to conducting business outside the village while still residing there temporarily. Like most families, Juli's husband is responsible for financial provisions while she takes care of household duties, either personally or by delegating and supervising others to work in her place. What's also common from Juli's arrangement is the fact that she and her husband do not mix their finances; "he has an idea of what I make and I know about his income but we don't really mix them. He has his responsibilities and I have mine, that's it!"

What's different, for instance with less educated couples, is that the most likely scenario is a wife and children staying behind with the in-laws, with extended periods of little to no contact or support from the husband. Mpo's situation provides a good example.

Alma: Archetypal Surrogate

Alma is a married mother of two young children. For six years, starting immediately after finishing her primary school education, Alma has been a housegirl for Mangare – a childless widow. Mangare's nephew, who is her appointed surrogate son, hired Alma to take care of her because neither him nor his wife were in a position to do so themselves. Today, neither Mangare nor Alma volunteers details of their kinship, leading many to believe they are related by blood. For example, Mangare refers to her as "daughter" and she calls Mangare "mai" for beloved grandmother.

What was striking about Mangare and Alma's surrogate kinship is the correctness with which it resembles consanguinal relationships between grandmothers and their granddaughters. For example, when Alma met her now husband two years after meeting Mangare, she insisted that her fiancé bestow Mangare all the traditional formalities and girts befitting a grandmother, including asking her permission and presenting her with a blanket and a female goat on their wedding day. For her part, Mangare treats Alma and her children as her own, going as far as providing money to help send them to school.

In this case, what started as employer – employee relationship with expectation of direct compensation for services rendered, has developed into a grandmother – granddaughter relationship that observes the ceremonial rituals and norms of respect reserved for

consanguinal relatives. Instead of a monthly salary as it were at the beginning, Mangare's surrogate son treats Alma as a younger sister, thus bestowing her with benefits fit of a sister – which are substantially more than the compensation extended to a hired helper. He and his wife buy her presents, give her monetary gifts at different times and also buy her and her new family groceries and other gifts. Although the giving of monetary gifts can be assumed to be a continuation of the contractual employer/employee relationship, the manner in which it is delivered holds it as something beyond a market-based relationship. What's more, Alma holds other income generating ventures in addition to taking care of Mangare, which is a sign that she does not treat her caregiving as a form of labor, but as a duty towards a family member.

The three biographies demonstrate the processes whereby caregiver roles are culturally produced, negotiated and actualized, and also demonstrate how they are incorporated into individuals' identities. These biographies were selected because they represent the assortment of caregivers of elderly persons, who are mainly *anchor wives* (those left behind in the village by their husbands) and *surrogates* (women obliged to provide eldercare for pay or to fulfill traditional roles). The biographies also reflect variations in the demographic and social economic backgrounds as well as personal styles and individual understandings and perceptions towards eldercare. In their own ways, the three women epitomize the ways in which women assume caregiver identities, their diverse understand of the caregiver role and the ways in which they negotiate control the actualization of those roles in their families.

5.3   Motivations Behind Eldercare

A broad review of the literature reveals that Africanist scholars have disproportionately focused on social exchanges particularly transfers of financial support and other tangible goods between members of different generations. Contrariwise, findings of this study show that at the heart of eldercare are three broad categories of motivations, that correspond to the type of transactions observed: namely moral obligation factors, humanitarianism, and strategic action factors. These factors help to facilitate prediction of the type of eldercare, the extent to which it is provided as well as the manner in which it is provided – including the gendered qualities attached to them.

5.3.1   *Conformity (Obligatory Reasoning)*

I call caregivers motivated by moral obligations *Conformers*, because they tend to be motivated by sets of values prescribed by religion and cultural traditions. To this group of caregivers, eldercare is a deeply rooted part of their identity and they primarily consider themselves to be fulfilling *their* roles and obligation through the activities they performed. The moral impetus that conformers, such as Mpora, engage the most demanded that they act as custodians of both families and communities, which highlights the gendered feature of social roles. Largely grounded in *undugu* principles, the moral obligation involves putting the needs of the larger family and relations above an individual's own needs at all times. Accordingly, conformers tend to help the elderly even where needs were not deemed to be pressing enough to demand live-in care. They also tended to stay-on, long after they are needed to provide care of the elderly, and prolong their roles to custodianship of whole families (kin-keeping) and properties (Kihamba).

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Whereas most conformers cited religious ethos and cultural wisdom to explain elder helping behavior, none of them said outright that their conformity was a form of self-sacrifice. Conformers seek to uphold social norms of respect for elders through dedicating part of their lives to ensure that their elders are cared for in a culturally sublime atmosphere, which involves co-residence and little involvement of non-designated kin in care provision. What's more, *conformers* tended to descend from conservative families, through which they experienced intense intergenerational contact over extended periods of time. Consequently, conformers underwent relatively more purposeful modeling for *their* future caregiver roles than the other two categories. For example, all conformers had resided with a grandparent during their childhood and witnessed first-hand, the practice of elder care through a designated family member. In the same fashion, conformers were routinely involved in the performance of caring duties as young people and tended to do the same to their daughters. The deliberate preparation for the anticipated future caregiver roles further coxed the inclination to notice quality and reward their charges' caregiver accomplishments.

Conformers went above and beyond the call of duty when caring for women with exemplary caregiving histories. Furthermore, conformers were also more likely than the other two categories to volunteer to take care of elderly persons with questionable caring track records. This echoes cultural and religious norms of respect for elders that obligates accomplishing utmost respect (worthiness) to elderly persons, regardless of past shortcomings. For Mpora and other caregiving women fitting this typology, it is the sense of duty and fulfillment from doing the right thing that drove their efforts. As Mpora put it, "its only right that someone takes care of washeku…", meaning that the someone had to

be her in this particular case.

On the other hand, scriptures such as "give and it will be given unto you"; "honor your father and mother so that things will go well for you, and you will live for a long time" were frequently cited. Two passages came from the book of Ephesians were especially popular,

> *"Children, obey your parents in the Lord: for this is right."*

> *"Children, obey your parents in the Lord: for this is right. Honor your father and mother; this is the first commandment with a promise that it may be well with you, and you may live long on the earth."*

These biblical citations and continuous reference to supernatural forces, indicate that at least in part, helping and conformity stems from the desire to earn favor with God.

5.3.2   *Need for Response (Humanitarian Reasoning)*

Predominantly, responders become caregivers out of necessity, particularly on basis of the level of need of the elders in their care. This is the most frequently cited motivation for caregiving in research on Africa, whereby families and other community members rally to support elderly people and other family members perceived to be in dire need of care. The general consensus among responders is that "the elders deserve support when they are in need, regardless of who they are or what they have done to deter the support of their children and extended family members" (Steve, key informant). Related to concerns over the wellbeing of the elders is the absence of ideal means of support such as multigenerational household arrangements. Similar to the traditionalists, responders tend to base their logic on reciprocity; underscoring the idea that by the time a person grows

old, they have contributed to the care and support of community members thus making them worthy of care, regardless of blood relationship.

As used here, altruism comprises of voluntary helping behavior whose primary goal is to benefit the receiver at some cost to the caregiver. Essentially, this category includes consideration of small gestures of support based on perceived needs, by both kin and non-kin, which assume that caregivers draw some benefit from the interaction. Take Juli as an example, who returned to the village in preparation to take on caring duties when needs arise. Unlike typical *conformers*, Juli's conformity to the cultural values includes an element of qualification (need based). Juli and those like her, expressed drawing pleasure in knowing that they "did the right thing" when they responded to the needs of others.

What's more, majority of caregiving women in the village firmly believed that they and they alone can deliver the very best services, as Juli put it, *"Mama is getting older and weaker and she needs a lot more care and understanding that only I can provide"*. This is symbolic of how deeply hold their eldercare roles are. This interpretation of altruism is fundamentally different from other usages of the concept, which tend to have at their core the assumption that for all intents and purposes, the helper sacrifices what they give with no presumed benefit to herself .

5.3.3   *Pragmatism (Individualistic Reasoning)*

Pragmatists, like humanitarians, are motivated by the needs of others but that is where the comparison ends. Unlike humanitarians and conformers who tend to consider their own

needs later and alongside the other respectively, pragmatists have a tendency to first carefully consider costs to self, and they do so early on in the decision-making process. Take Maggie for instance, a middle class female professional whose pragmatism led her to subcontract *her* caring duties to a house girl in order to be able to take advantage of higher wages offered through a job 74 miles away from the village.

Characteristically, gender and social class moderate pragmatism. Being female for example, restricts women's pragmatism while augmenting the same in men. Women with higher education, incomes and wealth (middle class women) tend to be more pragmatic than those with less. One explanation is that most middle class women grow up in middle class families and tend to marry men who are match their social status (intergenerational transmission of wealth). With the said social and human capital, middle class rely less on their biological families during adulthood and would therefore be more likely to behave in non-traditional ways. Poorer women on the other hand, are limited by their lack of wealth and dependence on families from exercising pragmatism, lest their families rebuff them. As one key informant put it, "some women just cant afford to step outside the strictures of traditional families, they just cant…" (Ushee, 54 year old woman).

However, men are not usually restricted from exercising pragmatism in the same way that women are. By virtue of their being male and considered masculine, men's upbringing can be said to prepare them to be pragmatic. As hinted upon elsewhere, men are brought up with ample preparation to leave their families and pursue formal activities. These public lives fostered by patriarchal systems augment men's pragmatism. As heads of their families, men are safer from rebuttal from their families than most women are.

Characteristically therefore, pragmatists are more likely to men and women who have attained a greater number of years of formal training and trade skills, than conformers. This was not surprising; bearing in mind that education engenders opportunities for involvement in formal occupations thus the need to calculate risks associated with extended and time consuming caregiver commitments. The same also removes the threat of rebuttal from families because the likelihood that the families themselves are heavily dependent on the goodwill of the pragmatist is very high. Ultimately, pragmatists desire to achieve socially acceptable levels of care as close to the ideal as possible, are overruled by perceptions of self-loss and/or self-gain scenarios, which dictate that they use means that allow as little costs to self as possible.

5.4   Navigating Caregiver Roles

As adults, women perpetually play the role of caregivers for the youngest and oldest members of their families. Agricultural production endeavors by Kichagga families' bring to mind Boserupian models of intense women's participation, since Chagga women shoulder the largest portion of production for their families (Morgan, 1993) Typically, a woman's time is spent on activities directly related to ascertaining the welfare of household members and members of extended family, regardless of where they live. Mpora's account of her time use in a typical week reflects this reality.

> *Monday: I woke up around six in the morning as usual and mjomba (houseboy) was already out in the barn putting feeds for the animals. I started the fire (wood) and boiled some water for milking and then proceeded to make breakfast for bibi and the children. I then started the washing (laundry) and cleaning of the house… Around eight I went to the butcher across the street to get some meat for machalari (traditional banana dish) and boiled it. I went in to have breakfast as the meat was cooking and cleaned the dishes afterwards. Then it was time to start*

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on lunch – I like to do these in succession so that I don't have to start the fire again before lunch is ready. Mai eats early, around noon so I made sure the food was ready then and after we had lunch I cleaned the dishes and went to chat with Mai for a while – she likes that a lot, we always hang around after lunch and after dinner and talk about things… today we chatted for about an hour and a half and Mai was tired and needed a nap so I let her be and went to fetch some vegetables from the garden and prepared dinner. After the food was ready I boiled the milking water and came here, that's when you found me – mjomba works mornings only so I have to take care of this in the evening

Mpora's day was emblematic of how stay-at-home adult women spent their time during a typical weekday. Some variations were noted on certain days when women would go shopping or participate in community events. For example, every Wednesday evening from 4 to 6pm, Mpora attends mandatory village community bank meetings (VICOBA) in which she is a member. Her Thursday mornings are spent attending *jumuiya* (community) prayer meetings from 6 – 6:30am. On Saturday she goes to the nearest market (3 miles) to buy food and run errands, which typically takes about 4 hours of her day. Sunday is a day to rest, and women usually take a break from cleaning houses and doing laundry, which frees time to attend early mass at church and visit with friends and neighbors later in the day.

Unmarried adult daughters, daughters-in-law and other females in the extended family share elder caring roles in their families. Women married to the youngest son, who tend to co-reside or lived nearby the elderly, typically play the central role in the planning, managing and provision of the care as obliged. Single daughters, especially uneducated

ones[19] also tend to remain in the family home with their parents and brother's family, which makes them obligated caregivers as well, because of their gender. Educated single daughters tend to leave the family home and establish themselves elsewhere yet try to actively participate in their parents care. Some uneducated single daughters leave their parental home. By and large, they leave to work as house girls under *undugu*[20] arrangements, which enable them to actively contribute to their parents care through the women who stay behind.

The traditional female gender role of care is maintained even in households where women work outside the home. Interestingly, women linked caregiving to gender. Women who work outside their homes usually rely on other women, typically women who are poorer than them, to help with some of the roles. Childcare is an exceptionally communal endeavor, a practice that has existed for a long time. Surrogate mothering included protective supervision, discipline and emotional nurturing. In the past, surrogate mothering also allegedly involved more intimate parts of nurturing such as breastfeeding each other's children, as was the case for Eunike. At that point, Eunike was a busy businesswoman who spent her days tracking local markets, followed with long hours on her feet selling meat in a butcher shop. Her young children spent daytime with Eunike's neighbor and friend, who also had young children and was still nursing. *"She would feed*

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[19] Refers to those who completed primary school but did not graduate from secondary school. The definition is juxtaposed from local designations of the title of *msomi* (educated) to graduates.
[20] Kiaga 2007 offers more in-depth discussion of undugu

(breastfeed) my youngest for me and nourished them while I was away". According to Eunike, theirs was an unspoken arrangement, whereas the stay at home mother looked after Eunike's children as her own and in turn, Eunike gave her tokens of appreciation, *"I would send a child with a kilo of good meat a couple of times a week"*. These sisterly exchanges molded solidarity among women of rika (age-mates). The focus on solidarity in this analysis aims to contribute to our understanding of how social ties bind family community members to produce networks of care and support.

Women have not passively lived through their subordination, employing different subtle gendered strategies to cope with their realities. To the contrary, they have enacted various coping strategies. Chagga women's struggle to gain control of their lives involved forging solidarity with fellow women, as a mechanism for pursuit of both familial accomplishment and engagement in more public spheres (Tripp 1994; 114). One of the more notable and widespread strategies is surrogating, which gives new meaning to the saying that "it takes a village *to raise a child*". I heard tales of older women's camaraderie through doing each other's chores such as cooking and cleaning each other's houses and some even breastfeeding each other's children and controlling children's behavior as a harmonized community endeavor. Today, women's unity and substitutive performances are extended beyond childcare, to include proxy filial piety for elder care, performed mostly by house girls. Most house girls are younger women from rural areas across the country who are subcontracted by older and typically wealthier men and women to perform the latter's filial duties.

Hiring *ndugu* (distant relative) works especially well and has unmistakable qualitative

benefits, above and beyond other contractual domestic relationships. For example, *undugu* contribute to minimizing feelings of discontentment for both the elderly and the adult women obligated to take care of them. A majority of the elderly who were cared for by ndugu, (80%), reported being "very satisfied" with their care, a striking contrast to the mere 20% of those who were cared for by house girls from distant places. For the most part, women who subcontracted others to work in their households in order for them to be able to work outside the home did so out of necessity . Many of those women would have preferred to stay at home and do things on their own but their families' economic circumstances makes that an unfeasible option. Machuwa's account nicely illustrates this dilemma facing a majority of working women.

> *I really hate leaving mama to be cared for by my girl (house girl) but if I leave my job we will be totally dependent on others and both of us would hate that. She already hates being dependent on us and if I was not the main provider here at home, it would kill her… well, she is a house girl – she can't do as good a job taking care of her as I could. She (mii) is my blood you know, but the house girl is here because she is getting paid… on days when mama becomes difficult, I worry that I might not find her [the house girl] here when I return from work… but soon I will have to make the move to full time homemaker, I can only put it off for a year or so*

Women feel trapped between pursuit of personal success and meeting their filial obligations as Machuwa's account revels. It is also apparent that there is a lot of social pressure for women to want to conform to cultural expectations. It is clear that Machuwa's example, the strict opinion of what proper care is clear. For her and most residents in Moshi rural, the best care an elderly person can receive is care provided by her own flesh and blood –including care by daughter-law; a target very few families are able to meet.

5.5   Bargaining Strategies

Lived experiences of the elderly and their children provide rich details of intricacies of doing family, revealing arrangements and processes where family members negotiate and renegotiate to have their interests incorporated in family endeavors. Evidence reveals Wachagga's traditional roots characterized by male-headed households where outwardly, women and children had little to no say in their families. A quick glimpse at the stories leads one to believe that the families acted as homogenous units where the interests of the benevolent provider and decision maker (male breadwinner) prevailed over the ideas and needs of the rest of the family. However, a closer look at details of how everyday events unfolded shows women and children as active agents in their families, as several fairly recent studies in Africa have revealed .

As revealed in my earlier discussion of parent-child relationships, family members are in agreement on a number of issues including the need for peace and respect, different family members obligations to each other and the family as a whole as well as the need for continuity of the family name. Yet, despite agreements (solidarity) and closeness among family members, within and across generations, individual interests occasionally overtake the utility function of their family or household. For example, countless elderly women spoke of a desire to give their daughters more options in life by sending them to school, at a time when most men did not agree with them, necessitating female based strategies. Interestingly, where societal norms failed to pay attention to their interests, Kichagga women strategically used their veiled resources to make things happen.

Most strategies employed by women to improve their situation and pursue their hopes

and dreams were anchored in their customary gender position and roles. For example, although Kichagga women participated in cash crop production, they largely had no control over the produce. Conversely, women were tasked with subsistence farming and they controlled all domestic yields. Instead of relying on monies from their husbands, women used their rightful domestic product to further their dreams. Sales of bananas and beans, for example, were cited as major sources of funds with which women sent their daughters to school. Essentially, domestic crops were sold similarly to cash crops and their proceeds went directly to women's coffers.

Although in most cases only half of domestic crops were marketed, and the rest used for subsistence, it gave women a lot more control over their lives than most assume. Hence, domesticity in Chaggaland carried a wealth of hidden value that women strategically utilize to better theirs and their children's (particularly daughter's) prospects. In the long run, women have managed to improve the status of women in their families and community as a whole, with little to no clashes. By strategically using their presumed subservient status, generations of women have successfully camouflaged their defiance against male domination in their households, families, local communities and nation as a whole. This nicely illustrates how much of what Scott says about peasantry and the poor applies to the study of women – on the one hand, poor/uneducated women are either too busy fighting for the survival of their families or do not feel it is necessary to bring about a complete overhaul of the existing system . Instead, they choose to "work the system" to bring about the changes that matters the most to them.

Nevertheless, recent years have been characterized by an increase of overt subversion by

women, a phenomenon closely linked to women with high education attainment and economic autonomy. During family meetings for example, educated women rarely had qualms about sharing their opinions. It stands to reason that their diversified sources of capital free educated women from the chains of subservience traditionally imposed by families. These women therefore, tended to make their opinions heard within family boundaries and beyond. This trend deviates from previous practices of subservient defiance. Less educated women on the other hand, remain bound by their lack of access to human, financial and social capital beyond what their families provide. The reliance on acceptance and goodwill of their kinfolk among the uneducated, coupled with the ties of gendered inheritance restricts, binds this group of women to traditional restrictions. This finding highlights the role of education in improving the overall situation of women. Correspondingly, family members were responsive to what women suggested, perhaps due to the realization that as the *doers* in families, their wishes would be law regardless of what the feeling was. For as one elderly woman suggested;

> *Women have been running families for ages; it is only now that younger women find the need to alert men to the fact. We used to say "ukila na kipofu usimshike mkono" (when eating with a blind person, don't touch their hands), lest you alert them to how close the food is to completion. But, anyway, there are many ways of getting the same results*

This does not in any way suggest that education gives women things to say *per se*, rather that it elevates their social status, an asset that they use to enhance their bargaining power (Charmaz, 1990, 2000; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1994). Education acts as a key that opens avenues for opportunities for accessing and accumulating all necessary forms of capital, which enhances women's independence and makes it less risky for them to speak their minds in public.

"It takes a Village"

Women's agentic endeavors have historically involved the support of other women. However, there is a big difference between the ways in which previous and current generations perceive community and participate in it. Community perceptions such as those identified by elderly women in my sample were more loosely defined and organized than they are in recent times.

Life histories of elderly women chronicle strong associations between women, within families and beyond, most of which were embraced as the 'normal' way of community life. At the domestic level, for example, women with children co-parented their children. This freed women with children to pursue activities other than the strict domestic duties they previously held. For example, opportunities for girls to attend school regularly owes to their mothers camaraderie with other mothers in the communities, who acted as their buffers at home. While girls were at school, mothers filled the vacuum of domestic labor left by the girl's absence from home. Likewise, where women involved themselves with small businesses, such as selling food crops in the market, other women acted as their fall back. Neighbors and friends took care of each other's children, cleaned each other's homesteads and sometimes even breastfed each other's children. Still, very few of these women reported giving a lot of thought before trusting their neighbors and friends with their lives. Truly, the camaraderie between older Kichagga women essentially redefines community and what it means to be a community member in this context.

The recent upsurge of individualization at personal levels during the neoliberal era has given new meaning and importance to "community". It is as if the more rural families

erect solid fencing to replace earlier plant hedges, the more significant formal community organizing becomes. Today, strictly formalized relationships are more common, as evidenced by adult children's perceptions and conducts. Even the seemingly rudimentary associations such as childcare now rely on actual accords rather than the general sense of reinforcing universal norms. In the place of collective parenting, today women either take care of their own children or semi-formally agree with specific people to act as caregivers of their children. For example, a majority of the adult women in my sample said they would err on the side of caution and refrain from disciplining other people's children for fear of reprisal from other parents, as Mpoo declared in her interview.

> *It would be so hard for me to know what would be okay for someone else's child, unless they tell me it is ok to do this and that on their behalf… I mean, some people want to spoil their children and if you so much as verbally reprimand them, you'll hear from the parents. Myself I don't care that much, I hope every woman would help me with my kids, especially discipline. It works better if everyone reinforces the general principles you know…*

Recent trends sharply delineate current generations of adult women from their parents' generation. The latter, who grew up disciplining all children in their vicinity, continue to think and treat parenting and other aspects of individual life as communal. For example, elderly women were of the view that "it is just not neighborly", to not reprimand a child who acts in a wrong way, regardless of their parentage. And in view of the current atmosphere of village life, where family members rarely reside together, few can *afford* to live *outside the community*; meaning opting out of community endeavors such as VICOBA and Jumuiya. Clearly, formal coalitions are more important than ever before.

The Longest Masquerade

"We are practical, not radical", one woman said during an emotionally charged focus group discussion. This firm distinction came as a surprise because it was unprovoked and seemed to come from nowhere. Still, it sums up very nicely the way lives are lived in a rural village in Sub Saharan Africa. Women in these contexts still live in the throes of patriarchy , where the law of the land favors masculine characteristics: here, men still masquerade as breadwinners of their families and women take on submissive standpoints. But for all intents and purposes, practices in families negate this position. In fact, it was easier to account for women's time use for family gain than it was for men. What's more, observations and narrated accounts showed that women's wishes are more likely to be carried out, although those wishes have rarely been disclosed in public. In other words, men's wishes have a chance of being implemented if they align with those of the women in the family. To understand these practices, which may well be the longest masquerade in families, one needs to understand the popular strand of African feminist thought adopted by rural women.

Of the different strands of feminism, the post-structural feminist school appears to offer the closest account of gender and empowerment discourses as understood by rural Kichagga women. Comparable to the post-structural feminist position, lay women in rural Tanzania perceived challenges facing them as a consequence of patriarchal social structures, in which men have higher status than women both socially and politically. The women were also in agreement that while this ordering of social life was previously considered *natural*, it is actually a socially constructed ideal that is only half true at best.

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However, this is where the similarities end. Unlike feminist thinkers and activists, Kichagga women were generally indifferent to the structural issues that bred their problems. They chose instead, to focus on developing ways through which their wishes can be achieved without disrupting the order of things. This was not surprising, considering poor people's (the vulnerable) tendency to employ weapons that are "well short of collective outright defiance" as Jim Scott suggested .

These approaches to change, to some extent, explain rural women's mechanical response to the prescriptions of their families. As previously discussed, women tend to be charged with the actual day-to-day doing of family, which to some appears exploitative and suppressive of women's rights. For example, where cash crops were the pillars of family income, women participated fully in cultivating, sustaining, harvesting and transporting crops to the markets but not in receiving payment for their labor – that was a mans place. Having been cut-off from financial rewards for their labor, women developed ways to generate their own incomes without changing the apparently oppressive patriarchal structures. Newer strategies employed locally included practices such as marketing what was considered domestic produce to generate female controlled income. The subtle innovative strategies opened up opportunities for younger generations of women, who contrary to their predecessors had the opportunity to receive formal education and gain entry into the formal economy. Using the income, women were able to do what they wanted, in addition to what 'the family' (men) dictated. Even then, there is evidence that women took implementation liberties with family (men's) income.

Still, both young and older women continue to play dual roles – as earners and nurturers

of their families. What's more, the majority of them do not embrace "women's liberation rhetoric" as propounded by leading feminist scholars. As the initial quotation of this section signaled, a liberation agenda tends to be viewed as rebellious and as contradicting to the actual goals – to free women so that they can happily enjoy the fruits of their labor and relationships. Another focus group member summed up this outlook with the following oratory:

> *My daughter, if liberation means losing your family (divorce/separation), or losing peace of mind (quarrels) or spoiling your children's future, wouldn't you rather appear submissive…? That is exactly what Kichagga women have been doing for generations – winning does not always come from standing on the pulpit, it is from being able to achieve what you want with as little detriment to yourself and your loved ones…*

From these discussions, it was clear that those who vehemently spoke against feminism, particularly what was widely referred to locally as the "Beijing agenda", did not necessarily oppose the feminist standpoint. For, in their own narratives, not only did Kichagga women uphold feminist ideals where they highlight gendered injustices and inequalities imbedded in the social structures within which they have lived and continue to live their lives, but also spoke of the need for bringing about change. Essentially, women who renounced the *"ubeijing"* were actually opposed to a specific strand of feminism: the western based feminist school that is completely divorced from lived experiences and broader local realities of African women. For example, despite the obvious "burdens" associated with tackling the second shift (among women who have joined the formal economies), none of the women in my sample bemoaned capitalism as a barbaric system. Instead, they tended to focus on the opportunities it affords them to gain more control of their lives and voices.

As Crowley aptly highlighted, certain focal points of western feminism are a reaction to "specific types of female subjugation" experienced by women in industrialized nations (1991). In their own way, Kichagga women are actively bargaining with patriarchy within what Toure and others call "popular African feminist strand" . Therefore, what Kichagga women rally for include gender equality based on local women's historically important and influential kin-keeping roles such as leadership in food production, day to day running of their 'society' as well as the freedom to participate in movements for change – within African cultural dictates.

5.6   Issues of Domestic Care Work

Informal (honorary) care work is a topic of personal and intellectual interest. From a young age, growing up in a family with working parents, my family relied heavily on the help of others to ensure needs were met. Over the years, I witnessed my parents, grandparents, and extended family members and friends fostering[21] numerous housegirls, who have since successfully established themselves (with families and children of their own) yet continue to participate in "our" family. The kinship relationships that ensue, reveal processes that challenge conventional understandings of family, gender roles allocation and performance as well as socio-economic and political processes above and

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[21] Used broadly to refer to employer-employee relationships where a hired helper receives academic and social nurturing as an added bonus for helping the hiring family. In this research, fostering was indicated by prolonged family-like relationships between former employees and their employers.

beyond the individual. Intellectually, these relationships complicate widespread knowledge of domestic labor, as exploitative and oppressive spaces for young women.

Domestic labor in Tanzania sharply contrasts forms of domestic workers reported elsewhere in Africa (Nigeria) and beyond, where household helpers are essentially "sold[22]" as slaves in order to benefit their parents. Domestic help in Tanzania is characteristically familial, meaning there is a preference for hiring extended family members to hiring strangers or "other women", which also sets it apart from other forms of household help. This is an especially important finding as evidence shows that at least in Moshi rural, it is more costly to employ 'ndugu' than it does to employ someone from a far off place. Consequently, unlike urban centers whose privileged families reportedly bring in domestic help from rural regions, the domestic labor force in most rural areas in Tanzania relies more heavily on local supplies and Moshi rural was no different .

Hiring *ndugu* also carries an implied desire to foster them, an expectation that needs to be met in order to maintain cohesion with extended family members. Hiring the other woman on the other hand, makes fostering optional. This differs from previous capitalistic observations of rural life, which reduce labor costs to the monetary costs of the labor arrangement with little regard of "other" costs associated with hiring *ndugu* (Hedström & Udehn, 2009; Merton, 1968). Thus, housegirls (both kith and kin) were

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[22] Granted, this is the crudest way of referring to slavery for the definition of slavery is itself problematic and beyond the scope of this study.

likely to receive familial benefits in addition to monetary benefits, which in most cases comprised of clothes, fare, holiday gifts and vocational education, all of which outfits them with capital to establish themselves in society. Evidence from Moshi rural indicates that enslavement and abuse towards housegirls would be the exception, not the rule. This study failed to collect any narratives of abuse and/or enslavement[23] on the part of housegirls.

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[23] Current and former housegirls were asked if they have experienced abuse while working in the domestic arena and whether or not they felt enslaved. Granted, reliance on self-reporting is problematic, given that domestic labor evokes power dynamics at play.

The main goal of this study was to explore patterns of intergenerational relationships and support in the form of eldercare in Tanzania. I chose to focus on the period following Tanzania's independence, which has been characterized by widespread poverty and fast modernizing attempts. From the outset, I wanted to draw attention to the implications of key social developments (as identified by study participants), and endeavored to offer recommendations for future research and policy considerations. Specifically, I examined the status of parent-child relationships in a rural setting. I then examined how elder care by adult children is achieved, maintained and influenced in the current context of fast changing local, national and global relationships. Empirical evidence from this study revealed that adult children have taken liberties with ways of relating and doing family due to competing demands in their own lives. As a result, intergenerational relationships have been reconstructed and eldercare structures modified to include "modern ways of doing family" such as extensive inclusion of fictive kin in traditionally restricted family bounds.

With recent developmental trends, including introduction of *user fees* for education and health as well as emphasis on individual responsibility, today's adults are in a bind. For many, achieving any semblance of success necessitates relocating to urban centers where there are more opportunities for formal employment and business ventures. This, in turn, results in splitting of the traditional extended family into two – immediate family (typically comprised of the nuclear family members and others who reside with the adult) and extended family (comprised of family members living elsewhere). Essentially, adult children of the current elderly cohort have rearranged their lives from a communal focus

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to more individualized focus. Consequently, the needs of the immediate family take precedence over those of the extended family - owing partly to geographical proximity. Unfortunately, large majorities of elderly people end up in the sphere of the extended family, because they tend to remain in the village when their children move away.

Nevertheless, adults have not altogether abandoned traditional wisdom and the implicit intergenerational contracts that bind different generations together. Actually, many adults embrace romanticized ideals of family and the role of family during ones life course. In lieu of demanding lives, adults are innovatively and selectively recreating old wisdom into new strategies by effectively adapting cultural strategies to fit current modernizing contexts. For example, the diminishing co-residence of elderly people with their biological children and grandchildren is indicative of strategies to risk diversification, whereby the able bodied (adult children) are sent out to hunt for opportunities for the betterment of the whole family. Under the newly emerging split family structures, gender hierarchies are contested but remain visible to a keen observer. For instance, although roughly equal numbers of women and men migrate to urban areas, the former continue the traditional domestic roles as direct caregiving and nurturing of their families.

Also noteworthy, is the extension of traditional caregiving pools to include traditional caregivers (daughters and in-laws) and market-based caregivers (housegirls *aka* surrogates). This finding mirrors what researchers have found elsewhere in the world; that despite increased involvement in formal economies, women continue to dominate domestic spheres. Also, where women face demands to their time such that their family involvement is restricted, they tend to turn to the *other woman* to fill the traditional role

for them. As such, for all intents and purposes, the social organization of gender within families remains unchanged, with the exception of increasing numbers of women now working two shifts.

My sample included matched pairs of elderly persons and their adult children (randomly selected). Each cohort represents life courses shaped by a distinctive and complex interplay of social-historical dynamics, which made it possible to examine how the two generations make sense of and maintain relationships, organize care and support as well as how they differ qualitatively. As expected, the two cohorts differed considerably in key areas such as education levels, number of children ever born and literacy rates. The differences were especially sharp between elderly women and their daughters, with the later appearing to have pursued activities that women in earlier generations in their families did not. Interestingly, salient differences between generations were illuminated by the dyadic analysis. For example, adult children did not share their parent's viewpoint on familism in the sense that, for the young, it was critical that obedience to values and norms not interfere with individual pursuit of social mobility. As an extension of adult children's innovative propensities, this approach to doing family is evidence of an altered neo-liberal socio-political context that valorizes individual mobility, which creates opportunity structures for personal enrichment alongside the persistence of traditional norms and values.

Methodologically, pairing of a number of multidisciplinary methodologies instead of relying on a single disciplinary method sought to offset partialities of the individual methods. For example, observed instances that were not elucidated by interview data

were included as topics for focus group discussions, which either validated my interpretation or highlighted their local meaning and significance. *Life history interviews* facilitated examination of both the 'inner' and the 'outer' worlds of 'historically-evolving-persons in historically-evolving situations'; particularly the *interactivity* of the inner and outer spheres of daily life dynamics. *Key informants*' knowledge of the culture provided as a way of confirming my interpretations of what I was noticing. On the other hand, *in-depth interviews* were useful for collecting rich details surrounding social issues and processes such as decision-making processes at individual, family and community levels. Strategically, in-depth interviews enabled me to disperse anxieties associated with draining positivistic approaches, making it an effective tool for establishing rapport, as much as it was a tool for data collection. Also, as part of my methodology, I was a *participant as observer*, using my own positionality and everyday activities as ways of gathering nuanced information about local practices. Towards the end of the study, *focus group discussions* were held to facilitate in-depth understanding of salient norms and beliefs, especially those that appeared to be highly contested.

The salient changes in intergenerational relationships, such as decreased face-to-face interaction in favor of technologically assisted interactions by way of short messages (sms) and phone calls, as well as the widespread shift towards extended fictive kin roles serves to illustrate the impacts of modernizing efforts and the interconnectedness of individual lives. While the elderly continue to be revered within their families, their social control has also diminished in certain ways. For example, a change from a focus on agriculture to the formal marketized economy has given younger generations an advantage, which they use to solidify their place in the family. This, in turn means

younger generations hold the core currency and thus the power to influence decision. This is a major change from the past when the main currency (land) and therefore decision-making powers were in the hands of the elderly. Yet, the elderly and their adult children still share fundamental values of familism evidenced by sustained values and dedication to family wellbeing and mutual responsibility.

I have discussed in the opening section the ways in which postcolonial development processes in Tanzania have influenced how individuals live and experience their lives. The country's postcolonial political ideologies were largely shaped by dependency and modernization theoretical underpinnings, and have altered social structures in very distinct ways, while at the same time perpetuating patriarchal roots. These broad development theories, however, fail to capture the intersectionality between societal level (macro) processes and (micro) lived experiences in families. Thus, my research takes a life course approach, which emphasizes the centrality of social contexts, history, time and timing of lives. This approach enabled me to consider not only the historical factors, but also the social and cultural contexts in which individual lives unfold. In so doing, I was able to examine three social processes that I considered to be fundamental to answering my main research question. *First*, the process through which micro (individual and family) and macro (national and global) factors interact to produce positive and negative transformations in family based care work. *Secondly*, the process through which development trajectories impact intergenerational relations (such as when the process

necessitate changes in the timing and sequence of life course events and transitions), and *thirdly*, the process whereby the elderly, their caregivers and families achieve resiliency[24].

Macro and Micro Level Effects

Protection of older persons remains a domain of high tension involving individuals and society at large. One area of concern in my research was the lack of public protection for the aged in Tanzania. This is despite the country's official commitment to Article 18 of the African Charter on Human and People's Rights of 1981, which includes among other things, a commitment to upholding the rights of older persons in keeping with their physical and moral needs. My findings indicate continued decoupling of policies at the local level as one of key factors for the continued intervention lag on public protection and care of older persons . Locally, however, the protection of older persons has largely been treated as being synonymous to provision of minimum acceptable care, which remains a realm of individual families.

Decoupling of policies begins at high levels of government and continues to local levels where it constrains implementation. For example, following the first and second World Assemblies on Aging, Tanzania formulated a National Ageing Policy (September 2003). While this policy recognizes challenges facing elderly people such as inadequate care,

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[24] Throughout the discussion, qualitative differences are highlighted and historical contexts utilized to best reveal individuals' experiences. More importantly, this research has considered factors other than economic problems, to address this area of study, which has received minimal attention in the literature.

poverty, poor health and lack of laws to protect them, less than desirable effort was made to solve these problems. Issues including "direct" use of cutoff points devised for western society such as use of chronological age in a society with high illiteracy rates among its older population has been a major source of tension. Instead, transition to achievement age as it is broadly defined locally would have eased implementation challenges. Elsewhere in the policy, eldercare – the primary source of protection for the aged – still received little emphasis as a public issue.

> *The ability of the oldest old to manage themselves is either minimal or not existing. Due to this fact the society has the responsibility of providing them with care and support. However <u>the family will remain the basic institution of care and support for older people</u>. Institutional care of older people will be the last resort .*[25]

The local level decoupling discussed by Sociologist Songora-Makene remained apparent when fieldwork for this study was conducted in 2010-11. The National Aging Policy remained widely unknown among professionals serving old people in rural areas. Again, officials and local residents alike knew something about exemptions and user fee waivers, although almost all expressed disappointment in the way it is translated at the local levels. For example, the elderly received exemption from paying consultation fees but remained liable for the costs of diagnostics and prescription medications that are rarely available in government hospitals. These discrepancies remain a source of tension in rural areas.

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[25]Emphasis is mine.

Impacts of National Development Trajectory

My findings suggest that the decoupling of policies is a continuation imbedded in the country's development trajectory, dating back to its 1961 independence. Early Ujamaa (socialist) policy initiatives generated a set of expectations on governance and shaped what it means to be citizens, a standpoint that local leaders shy away from confronting despite the shift to neo-liberal mechanism. These conceptions of citizenship influenced the realization of later socio-political agendas, sustaining the two juxtaposed cultures alongside each other. State sponsorship of social services for instance, translated into a substantial reduction of the burden of care among family members who provided eldercare. Today, even with old age exemptions in place, healthcare demands in later life are beyond the reach of most families. Since the introduction of Structural Adjustments Programs, the early markers of entry to neo-liberalism, several momentous shifts have occurred in families, and which have negatively influenced the way families organize and provide for vulnerable members.

On the one hand, residuals of socialist era approaches ensue particularly among the older cohorts whose defining years were lived during the socialist era. Accordingly, this cohort continues to embrace and expected socialistic conduct from later generations and the government, which acts as a precursor to dissatisfaction with life. On the other hand, neo-liberalist ideologies that transpires in Tanzania today, has elevated individualism particularly among the younger generations. Pursuit of individual upward mobility was blamed for the weakening of what is believed to have been the long-standing traditional life whereby individuals conducted their lives for the betterment of everyone.

Development trajectories have necessitated substantial shifts in ways of doing family, which respondents associated with challenges in eldercare provision. Following adoption of neo-liberal strategies, urban areas gained prominence over rural areas. This development acted as a magnet, pulling youth and young adults to urban areas where conditions appeared more suitable for "development". The result was destabilization of traditional extended families indicated by extensive shift from traditional ways of dong to more modern approaches. For instance, while in the past men migrated cyclically between rural and nearby urban areas, practices after entry into the neoliberal era brought about substantial changes. These days, men not only move away in larger numbers than before, they also move further away and stay away longer than ever before. Additionally, increasingly larger proportions of women also leave rural homesteads to pursue education and other ventures to benefit themselves and their families. This has also resulted in diminished traditional eldercare structures such as coresidence, replacing them with market based eldercare provision such as subcontracting of hired helpers (outsiders) to provide eldercare, a new phenomena that aged parents have a hard time reconciling with their established expectations.

The country's modernizing efforts have also paved way to effective mechanisms for insulating families from its more detrimental effects. Technological advancement for example, have compressed space and created new opportunity structures for improving solidarity within families and beyond. Mobile technology was widely cited for its usefulness in mobilization of all forms of support. Nearly all families with adult children in urban areas relied heavily on mobile money transfers (m-pesa) as a means for mobilizing resources necessary for the care and support of the elderly residing in rural

areas. Most respondents presumed that the situation (eldercare) would have been worse were it not for locally relevant technological advancement.

Adaptive Strategies and Resiliency

Distinctive adaptive strategies played the role of fostering resilience. Resilience is a quality that can be learned and achieved at any of the different stages across the life course. As a dynamic process, resilience develops as individuals respond to varying challenges during the life course (Kinsel 2005). Frequently, it was suggested that Kichagga womenfolk are more resilient than men, owing to lifetime of living as "non-members" in their birth families. It was often argued that as *outsiders* in their families, women have had to innovatively forge ways of approaching life within their families. When faced with challenges later in life, women were reported to have less traumatic experiences adjusting to the changes than men, because of having exercised ingenuity that sharpened their resilience.

Several methodical and time-tested adaptive strategies were widely used by the elderly in Moshi rural as a mechanism for resiliency. These include strategies such as silence, complaining, exaggeration, and *undugu*nization, which were all used to either gently coerce support or seek immediate relief when other (more acceptable) means fail or are deemed inadequate. Ultimately, intergenerational relationships were the most relied upon adaptive strategy. All the strategies identified above, such as complaining, exaggeration

and even undugunaizesheni work to prolong intergenerational relationships and enhance solidarity between different generations. As highlighted earlier in my discussion, the elderly in Moshi rural rarely lived alone[26], and they cited the social connectedness with the younger generations as a "source of energy" that keeps them going.

In conjunction with social connectedness, the elderly also cited their esteemed roles as kin-keepers and advisors as among the factors that make them strive to do better, knowing that their contribution to their communities is highly valued. More recently, informal and formal organizing has been instrumental in facilitating resiliency. Participation in community endeavors such as Jumuiya (religious groups) and village community associations such as VICOBA are popular ways of guaranteeing support when unforeseeable challenges befalls. Through initiatives such as these, the elderly can oblige support from kith and kin, which enables them to persist in light of adversities.

Gender as an Organizing Principle

A sociological view of gender underscores gender as a socially constructed phenomenon susceptible to structural opportunities and constraints. In Chaggaland, most avenues of power remain (at least officially) in male hands although structures of patriarchy have changed with time. Earlier family structures, such as those experienced by the elderly women in my sample, situated women at the fringe of their families – making them

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[26] Co-residence with hired helpers

equivalent to outsiders. Social power such as power to make decisions and own property is masculinized while caring and nurturing roles are feminized. In their positions therefore, women were largely invisible and dedicated to the domestic spheres of family life and spent their time nurturing families. Yet, women used their presumed subservient status to camouflage their defiance and their relative power to men. For example, as executors in their families, women reported having done as they saw fit, regardless of "family decisions" handed down by the male council. Men on the other hand, pursued public ventures such as participating in market economies and decision-making within and beyond their families.

By and large, women remain keepers of their families. As my earlier discussion has indicated, social changes have necessitated shifts in the way families are organized and eldercare (and other forms of care) is achieved. In Chaggaland, marketized care work still follows patriarchal gender lines. Males are by and large hired to help with gardening, livestock care and security while women are hired to provide direct support such as companionship, home care and personal care duties. Where women have taken off to pursue formal ventures, fellow women are hired to fulfill the gendered roles on their behalf. Today, anchor-wives (wives left behind) and surrogates (fostered housegirls) have replaced daughters and wives as caregivers of rural elderly persons. Interestingly, even where the care recipient is male, they typically rely on women to help them with personal cares.

Despite their continued heavy involvement in the feminized spheres as kin keepers and caregivers, women continue to successfully bargain with patriarchy (Baker, 1990;

Conquergood, 1991). Today, it is rare to find illiterate women. In the study area, women were just as likely to receive education as men . Women have also taken more control of their lives, making important decisions such as number children and how to space them. Evidence shows dramatic increases in use of contraceptives with women's education. Women with some education are also more likely to disapprove of incompatible cultural practices such as female genital cutting and early/arranged marriages, which are among key manifestations of patriarchal doctrines at women in families.

Ultimately, the impact of social change in intergenerational relations established in this study may be abridged into one core process, namely the restructuring of the traditional family and the innovative negotiation of traditional gendered roles and ways of doing.

Restructuring and Innovative Negotiations of the traditional family

This study established that familism is the basis for perpetual gendered caregiver ideologies and role performances in both immediate (nuclear) families as well as extended family-like relationships. Familism, similarly to how the Kihamba way of life works, operates on the basis of mutual responsibility whereby adult members support the young and the elderly and expect to be supported by them upon transitioning to a higher phase in the life course. These responsibilities are highly gendered, in that female kin are motivated to provide care for their aged generations. And, as well, female kin choose to perform the actual day-to-day activities because of preference for family-based care as the best form of care. The transfer of caregiver roles between elderly women and adult women in the family is especially strong and telling of imitative socialization, an interesting characteristic of mother-daughter relationship among Wachagga.

Both the elderly and their adult children in my sample expressed a desire to maintain strong familial bonds, but they all also agree that family life is not "what it used to be" or "ought to be". Previous extended family structures characterized by a co-residing elderly person with a last-born male and his family, which participants identified as the archetypical traditional family, is now a rare sight in Moshi rural. Nowadays, coresidence is more likely to involve an elderly person and a housegirl (aka surrogate) and surrogate grandchildren as a result of the new reliance on market based strategies. The traditional and career trajectories of this generation of surrogate caregivers started as an informal (domestic) labor market. These caregivers initially hope to produce incomes to support their birth families as well as prepare for an independent future, but end up instead playing those same roles for their employers. Many of today's surrogates are not related to their fosters by blood (heritage), which makes them distinct from previous surrogates who were characteristically extended kin with the presumed responsibility to care for their fosters beyond what their income entails.

Still characterized by two generations, lineage notwithstanding, the elderly deemed these modified-extended families "less desirable" because of the motives behind caregiving under such structures. Contextually, it is understandable when elderly persons emerge as the group exceedingly concerned about household and family structuring and its impact on role assignment and performance. Their concern is closely linked to the way such transformations influence the organization of families and its impact on aging experiences of those who have already transitioned into old age. Essentially, having constructed their prime years to maximize their social capital for later life, by way of investing in the younger generations, the elderly feel cheated when their successors fail to

reciprocate *as expected*. Essentially, adult children are forced, by situations in their own lives, to take liberties with their extended families.

More and more, adults embrace traditionally undesirable practices such as splitting families and relying on others' to fulfill their filial obligations. Still, as hypothesized, parents and their children's lives are interconnected in mutually influential trajectories . The Moshi case, for example, underscores this proposition with evidence suggesting that deviation from expected trajectories and *social timing* of events in one generation produces far-reaching implications for all generations in the family. In the event a last-born male chooses to marry late or take his bride and *new* family with him when he emigrates, the elderly (who are more often than not left behind) loose their preferred intimate caregivers. The same applies to more macro social changes in other social institutions such as education, particularly female education. As more girls and young women attain higher education, they too seek greener pastures elsewhere (cities). In addition, impacts of formal occupations and their restrictive annual vacations are very noticeable, particularly in light of the restriction they pose on the frequency of visits between adults and their aged parents. This has resulted in higher rates of migration among both male and female youths and adults. This has left a gap in the unpaid caregivers pool, which as discussed earlier, has traditionally relied solely on free-family-

female labor.[27]

On the other hand, despite new and improved strategies, and a desire by adult children to maintain strong ties with their parents, the level of closeness between elderly parents and their adult children (as measured by frequency of face-to-face interactions and communication) is oftentimes exaggerated. Evidence shows that fewer than half of households with elderly persons co-reside with their adult children. This is a momentous shift from previous family arrangements. Still, a little over half the elderly in my sample reported daily phone contact with their adult children, while the rest rely on sporadic contact. Still, the elderly continue to have a strong presence in their communities and on the whole, continue to maintain frequent interactions with younger generations in their multiple roles as kin-keepers, storytellers and disciplinarians.

Levels of associations between elderly parents and their adult children seem to differ by gender. Female children are in more frequent contact with their mothers than male children are with either parent. Still, elderly parents expressly preferred to marry off their daughters and co-reside with their *mziwanda* (last born male, designated caregiver). Furthermore, on the whole, parents continue to exude preference for male children indicated by substantially more downward support flows to adult sons than adult

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[27] Equally important in parent-child relationships is the influence of technological advancements in facilitating contact between parents and their adult children. For instance, 92% of the elderly participants had access to a cellphone in their household and reportedly spoke to at their children several times a week.

daughters. And yet, there is clear evidence that adult daughter's support for their parents far surpass that of adult sons, indicating that sentimental values rather than reciprocity (tit for tat) form the basis for old age support in Tanzania.

It is apparent that families and intergenerational relationships have changed with time and continue to change. This is to be expected considering family's quality as dynamic institutions that are characteristically fully capable of adapting to emerging demands. My analysis has shown that Tanzania is among countries where quickness and enormity of social changes lends a unique quality to livelihoods. In a 60-year span, since independence, Tanzanian families have operated under three distinct developmental epochs, each generating varying demands on families. With regard to elder care work, this has meant transitioning from a predominantly surrogate occupation to reliance on extended familial networks and eventually to dependence on unstable market-based alternatives.

While it would be naïve, even irresponsible, to suggest that policymakers steer African families back to traditional ways of doing, there is still a need to seek wisdom in traditional practices. After all, the utility of the family as a unit lies in its spontaneity: the innate ability to transform and to reinvent itself as times change. For a successful reinvention to be achieved, effective elements from the past must be unveiled and constructively used to shape a sustainable future.

Recommendations for Future Research

Findings of this study provide some interesting implications for future research. First, the

current knowledge gap in elder care practices and intergenerational relationships over time is evident, which emphasizes the vital need for generating trend data. Longitudinal studies of aging, capturing different aspects of wellbeing beyond financial wellbeing will be especially instrumental in future decision-making endeavors. To this end, there is a need for longitudinal studies on aging to keep policy makers and practitioners abreast of developments. Also, there is a need for more research to examine differences in late-life situations of different ethnic groups in order to tease out regional variations. A broader collection of understandings would aid policy development that could greatly enhance the suitability of future programs for different locales.

Evidenced by my findings, large-scale events such as immediately rolled out policies act as precursors to adverse shifts in intergenerational dynamics within families, which produced unfavorable effects in the past. There is therefore a need for further research to establish what specific events in the relationship between aged parents and their adult children trigger non-compliance to the intergenerational contract on the part of adult children and propose ways to mitigate their impacts in the future. Also, there is an even greater need to tease out strategies used by families that have successfully avoided noncompliance, in order to draw lessons for enhancing mediations.

Findings of this study also signaled differences in the timing of onset of support needs between elderly persons living in rural areas and their urban dwelling counterparts. Research to learn more about this phenomenon would be vital for effective policy development and modification.

Policy Recommendations

The utmost priority of Aging Policy in Tanzania should be improving the quality of life of the elderly and their families. In addition to old age pensions being considered, there is a need to consider subsidizing care work. The benefits of this strategy are twofold. *First,* subsidizing care work will raise its value thus aligning the care sector with the rest of the economy. Recognition would likely raise demand for quality care thus allowing market forces to standardize and assess best practices thus improving quality of care by kith and kin alike. Secondly, subsidizing care work would go a long way towards eliminating some of the gendered effects of care work. For example, given a subsidy, female caregivers may unite to form community adult daycare groups of local relevance. This would not only give due credit to women's work but would also be a source of local revenue.

Public policy should continue to seek out ways to fulfill the wishes of the elderly and their families, to continue providing care for the elderly within their families, if the goal is to provide the best possible quality of life in old age. The study indicates that elderly people, their caregivers and communities perceive family-based care as the best form of care for the elderly. However, adult women are reluctant to forgo opportunities for advancement in order to provide the care needed by their aged family members, regardless of how accepting they are of familism. However, adult women in this study indicated great discomfort in relying on non-kin to care for the aged. Negative views of non-kin eldercare are largely because of damaging public perceptions towards it, which may be fueled by the hands-off approaches adopted by public policy since independence.

Policies should therefore explicitly address areas of tension such as this to pave way for indoctrination of said strategies.

It is crucial to make desirable alternative eldercare options, such as adult day programs, feasible for ordinary families in both urban and rural areas. Such programs have the potential for generating meaningful relationships among the elderly (companionship and fellowship) while permitting employed adult children to pursue primary careers while caring for their aged parents. The need for partnering with faith groups in future initiatives cannot be overemphasized, given that even now, the welfare of most elderly persons in rural Tanzania is monitored by faith groups (such as Jumuiya) and religious leaders.[28] As such, there is an apparent need for an elder care initiative in Tanzania to address both the needs of the aging/aged and the welfare of those who care for them.

According to a recent clinical review, "female sex, low educational attainment, residence with the care recipient, higher number of hours spent caregiving, depression, social isolation, financial stress, and lack of choice in being a caregiver" are the key risk factors for caregiver burden . Sadly, all notable risk factors may be used to characterize the rural elder caregiver in Tanzania as this research has shown: rural unpaid/family based caregivers are almost always women of low educational attainment. What's more, caregivers tend to work alone in this laborious and time-consuming care, missing any

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[28] Needs to be re-written with a set of recommendations i.e. suggest some plausible activities that could be done… eg care with love model from Egypt as an example of a community based initiative

emotional support, a precursor for depression.

Moreover, aging also deserves its own independent department that would work to enhance the quality of life by empowering individuals, families and communities as a whole. The current model of operation, which lumps the aged with people with disabilities and youth, fails to acknowledge the characteristic differences of these different populations.

Promising avenues for interventions:

1. A community based elder care initiative

   Several models of community based elder care exist, wherefrom countries like Tanzania can learn. The Care With Love model in Egypt is especially attractive, as it incorporates all the different dimensions – is operated locally, utilizing local professionals as trainers and overseers, thus maximizing local potential while enriching the lives of everyone in the communities.

   However, two critical standards should be considered: first, success of any community model would depend heavily on its effectiveness as part and parcel of an integrated system of care that guides and tracks individuals over time through a comprehensive array of health services spanning all levels of intensity of care i.e. continuum of care (Mwami, 2001; URT, 2003).

2. Training and support for caregivers: This is one avenue with very high potential for both overall wellness and happiness as well as for its impact on the healthcare system.

It has been found for example, that providing family caregivers reduces hospitalization of elderly people. A study examining integrated community teams with care coordination models found equivocal evidence of reducing hospitalization rates . There is also evidence that such interventions have overall benefits of helping older people to live in their homes . This is critical for the Tanzanian public, who by and large prefer aging in place and regard institutional models of care undignified.

3. Utilizing technological advancements to reduce healthcare spending by families with elderly people. A regional tele-health center with GIS indicators for regional terrain and health facility locator may aid in assuring prompt and effective care. As few as five round the clock nurses could run the center and provide timely counsel to individuals in the region. The helpline could be paired with mobile clinic services that would benefit not only the elderly, but also the rest of the region's citizenry especially those at risk for hospitalization and mortality such as infants and young children and pregnant women.

   • A tele-health and/or mobile clinic have the potential of reducing not only health disparities, but also hospital admission rates.

   • Cellphone companies may be used to promote the portal to all cellphone holders

4. Government could subsidize the centers/ helpline and make it a free call and/or sms service. TAYOA has operated a similar model in Tanzania with its National AIDS helpline with great success (UNAIDS 2011). The helpline, which started with a single staffer working 2 hours a day, has grown – on demand, to a center with approximately 68 counselors – most of them medical student volunteers. After seven years of operations, it is estimated that more than a million calls had been processed.

FHI 360 also operates a mobile reproductive health project in Tanzania.

Externalities

The suggested interventions would benefit the whole society, not just the elderly and those who take care of them. A community-based initiative would benefit from using local operators for obvious reasons such as fast legitimacy and smooth operation. This will undoubtedly create jobs for local youths and also open up avenues for pulling back the young who have moved away. Additionally, it would stimulate the economy by producing new jobs and possibly opening up avenues for young entrepreneurs.

Significance and Limitations of the Study

This study is among a few early empirical studies on eldercare in Tanzania that considers both economic and non-economic factors and their role in livelihoods. It underlies the importance of listening to the voices of grass root stakeholders, namely the elderly, their caregivers and nearby communities, in order to truly understand aging experiences and eldercare practices. Paying attention to different stakeholders and analyzing their ideas side by side provides a more complete imagery of what is actually happening. Relationships between generations, caregivers and recipients, are crucial aspects of family based eldercare. This life course approach to social support in later life study assesses an array of factors and interactions influencing aging experiences and eldercare, and will therefore benefit both researchers and policymakers.

It is important also to comment on the limitations of this study. The most significant limitation of the current study is its small sample. Even though efforts were made to

pursue questions until no new findings were reported, it would have been beneficial to have more cases from characteristically different rural areas with which to conduct comparative analysis . This would have potentially expanded our knowledge on care work practices in diverse rural communities in Tanzania. Consequently, the findings of this study need be understood within this limitation – that given historical contextual differences, some of the findings presented here may be unique to Wachagga of Moshi rural.

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Appendix 1: Consent Form

A Life-Course Perspective on the Impacts of Development on Family Relations: Intergenerational Support for the Elderly in Rural Tanzania

You are invited to be in a research study of elderly care and intergenerational relations. You were selected as a possible participant because you are either an elderly person or an adult related to an elderly person who lives in the study area. I ask that you read this form and ask any questions you may have before agreeing to be in the study.

This study is being conducted by June Msechu, who is a PhD student at the Department of Sociology, University of Minnesota, USA, currently conducting my dissertation research titled: A Life-Course Perspective on the Impacts of Development on Family Relations: Intergenerational Support for the Elderly in Rural Tanzania. My research will be conducted in two districts of Kilimanjaro region, with elderly community members and their families as well as community leaders.

Background Information:

The purpose of this study is: to unveil and understand how families and individual family members negotiate, organize and reorganize life in light of social changes. I focus on economic, cultural, political and other factors influencing ordinary people as they go about their activities of daily life.

Procedures: If you agree to be in this study, I would ask you to do the following things: to complete a demographic questionnaire and to participate in answering in-depth life history interviewing questions, which may be audio recorded, which may last for not more than 2 hours, but with re-visits where there may be a need of clarifications.

Risks and Benefits of being in the Study: The study posses minimum to no risk to you, your family and community. The benefits to participation are: having a voice in how your community is understood and also contributing to knowledge about how old age and care during old age are organized. The information your provide will be included in my final report, which will be available to community and national leaders, who may use it to improve communities.

Compensation: You will not receive any payment for taking part in the study. However, in appreciation for your time and contribution, a token of appreciation in the form of bar soap will be given to you at the end of the interview. The token will be given to you even if we are forced to cut the interview short.

Confidentiality: The information you provide will be used for writing my dissertation. In any sort of report we might publish, we will not include any information that will make it possible to identify a subject. Research records will be stored securely and only researchers will have access to the records. Your name, address and other identifying

characteristics will remain anonymous and will not be used for any purpose. Your participation in this study is entirely confidential and you may choose not to answer any questions during an interview or at anytime for any reason. Only myself will have access to tape recordings and they will be only be used for education purposes, and will be erased upon completion of the project analysis and write up.

Voluntary Nature of the Study: Participation in this study is voluntary. Your decision whether or not to participate will not affect your current or future relations with the University of Minnesota or any other. If you decide to participate, you are free to not answer any question or withdraw at any time with out affecting those relationships.

Contacts and Questions: The researcher conducting this study is: June Msechu. You may ask any questions you have now. If you have questions later, **you are encouraged** to contact her, in Tanzania, at (255) 715 653066 or via email at msech002@gmail.com. After September 2011, you may contact the researcher in the United States using the above email. This study is conducted under the supervision of Professors Ronald Aminzade and Cawo Abdi of the Sociology Department at the University of Minnesota, Twin Cities. You may contact Dr. Aminzade by email at aminzade@umn.edu and Dr. Cawo Abdi at cabdi@umn.edu.

If you have any questions or concerns regarding this study and would like to talk to someone other than the researcher(s), **you are encouraged** to contact the Research Subjects' Advocate Line, D528 Mayo, 420 Delaware St. Southeast, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455; (612) 625-1650.

You will be given a copy of this information to keep for your records.

Statement of Consent: I have read the above information. I have asked questions and have received answers. I consent to participate in the study.

Signature: _____   Date: _____

Signature of Investigator: _____   Date: _____

Athari za Mabadiliko ya Kijamii na Maendeleo katika Matunzo ya Wazee na Mahusiano ya Wanafamilia wa Vizazi tofauti Moshi Vijijini.

Jina langu ni June Msechu, Mwanafunzi wa Shahada ya Juu ya Udaktari wa Falsafa katika idara ya soiologia ya chuo kikuu cha Minnesota. Ninafanya utafiti unaohusu: Matunzo ya Wazee na Mahusiano ya Wanafamilia wa Vizazi tofauti. Utafiti wangu unahusisha majadiliano na dodoso kwa wanajamii wa rika mbalimbali wakiwemo wazee na vijana wanaoishi katika maeneo ya Wilaya za Moshi Vijijini na Mwanga mkoani Kilimanjaro.

Unakaribishwa kushiriki katika utafiti unaohusu Matunzo ya Wazee na Mahusiano ya Wanafamilia wa Vizazi tofauti.

Utafiti huu unaangalia jinsi ambavyo mahusiano ya wanafamilia wa vizazi tofauti pamoja na jamii kwa ujumla inavyostahimili mabadiliko ya kijamii pamoja na maendeleo ya kitaifa na dunia kwa ujumla. Maswali yatahusisha kwa mfano masuala desturi za mwamume na mwanamke na nafasi zao katika matunzo ya familia, nafasi ya wazee katika familia na jamii kwa ujumla na pia mila na desturi kuhusu matunzo ya wazee na jinsi tangu kuwepo kwa ugonjwa wa UKIMWI. Na kama mahusiano hayo yamebadilika yamebadilikaje. Unaombwa kushiriki katika utafiti huu, kutokana na kwamba wewe ni mkazi wa eneo husika. Tafadhali soma fomu hii na uliza swali lolote ulilo nalo kabla ya kukubali kushiriki katika utafiti huu.

Kama ukikubali kushiriki utafiti huu, utaombwa kushiriki katika usaili. Wakati wa usaili, utaulizwa maswali juu ya mahusiano ya kijinsia katika maisha yako na yale uyafahamuyo ya desturi katika jamii. Usaili utachukua kati ya saa moja hadi mawili. Unaweza kuchagua kutokujibu swali lolote katika usaili bila athari zozote.

Faida za utafiti huu ni pamoja na kukushirikisha wewe kuchangia uzoefu wako kwa masuala yanayohusu sera za maisha , afya na jinsia Tanzania. Takwimu zinazokusanywa katika utafiti huu zitatumika katika kumalizia kuandika tasnifu (dissertation) pamoja kuchangia mjadala juu ya sera za jinsia na afya katika serikali, mashirika yasiyo ya kiserikali pamoja na kuwashirikisha wananchi katika maamuzi ya masuala yanayowahusu. Matokeo ya utafiti huu yanaweza yakawa na mchango ambao unaweza kuwa wa maana katika jamii yako. Uzoefu wako utakuwa sehemu ya historia ya jamii yako, ambayo inaweza kuwa chanzo cha habari kwa ajili ya mipango na utekelezaji wa mipango ambayo ni muhimu katika kuangalia mahitaji ya watanzania kuhusiana na masuala ya jinsia na afya. Kama unakubali, nitakuwa tayari kutoa matokeo au ripoti ya utafiti huu kwako na ningeshukuru sana na kukaribisha mawazo yako zaidi katika utafiti huu.

Habari utakazotoa katika utafiti huu zitatumika katika kuandika tasnifu (dissertation) yangu. Katika hali yoyote ninaweza kuchapisha, katika kufanya hivyo, sitahusisha habari yoyote ambayo itafanya iwe rahisi kukujua. Jina lako, anwani na habari zingine za kukutambulisha zitabaki kuwa siri na hazitatumika kwa makusudi mengine yoyote. Ushiriki wako katika utafiti huu ni siri kubwa na unaweza kuamua kutojibu swali lolote

wakati wowote. Unaweza pia kujitoa katika utafiti huu wakati wowote. Kujitoa kwako au kutojibu kwako maswali hakuingiliani kabisa na uhusiano wako na mtafiti au na taasisi au jumuiya yoyote ambayo wewe au mtafiti mnahusiana nazo.

Kama ungependa kuwasiliana na mtafiti, unaweza kuwasiliana na June Msechu, Hapa Tanzania kwa simu (255-22 745 377169) au kwa barua pepe msech002@gmail.com Baada ya mwezi Septemba 2008 unaweza tu kuwasiliana na mtafiti kwa barua pepe hiyo hapo juu. Utafiti huu unafanywa chini ya uangalizi na usimamizi wa Prof. Ronald Aminzade na Prof. Cawo Abdi, Wahadhiri wa juu katika Idara ya Soshologia ya chuo kikuu cha Minnesota, Marekani. Unaweza kuwasiliana na Prof. Aminzade kwa barua pepe aminzade@umn.edu au Prof. Abdi kwa barua pepe cabdi@umn.edu

Kama una maswali or hoja kuhusu utafiti huu na ungependa kuwasiliana na mtu mbali na mtafiti au msimamizi (mwangalizi) wake, unaweza kuwasiliana na Research Subject's Advocate line D528 Mayo, 420 Delaware Street S.E., Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455; Simu 612-625-1650 au kwa barua pepe irb@umn.edu.

Utapewa nakala ya taarifa hii kwa kumbukumbu zako.

Ridhaa:

Nimesoma na kuelewa habari iliyoelezwa hapo juu. Nimeuliza maswali na kupata majibu sahihi. Ninakubali kushiriki katika utafiti huu.

Sahihi: _____   Tarehe:_____

Sahihi ya Mtafiti: _____   Tarehe: _____

Appendix 2: Interview Guide

A Life-Course Perspective on the Impacts of Development on Family Relations: Intergenerational Support for the Elderly in Rural Tanzania

The purpose of this study is to collect information on the different experiences that Tanzanian elderly people and their families from two generational cohorts have in relation to elderly care and support in general and personally. Specifically I want to understand how social forces and developmental shifts at national and international levels have influenced how people behave and give meaning to 'how care for the elderly should be provided' have become modified, changed or remain the same over time in Tanzania. The focus is on cultural beliefs and practices revolving around old age and aging, gender as a social structure within the Tanzania family structures before and after the onset of AIDS epidemic (a sexually transmitted disease whose spread is fueled by gender inequalities) and how these get reconfigured if at all during the AIDS epidemic era. The interview is expected to last approximately one to two hours. All the information collected in this interview will be confidential and your identity will remain anonymous. I will be the only person who will have access to it.

"Life History - Life story- biographic narrative interview*" mode*

This is a type of interviewing that supports research into the lived experience of individuals and collectives. It facilitates understanding both the 'inner' and the 'outer' worlds of 'historically-evolving persons-in-historically-evolving situations', and particularly the *interactivity* of inner and outer world dynamics. Exploring the particularity of individual experiencing and changing subjectivity in unique historical and societal locations and processes through biography-*based* research lays the basis for systematic later 'whole case' comparisons. It also lays a basis for comparisons of situated practices and processes of different interest to the researcher, thus enabling grounded description and theorization about a frequently *different* object of study.

This narrative-conversation-guide consists of TWO interviews. May take 1-2 hours.

Opening question: *"Please tell me your family story and your personal life story; I am interested in your whole life. Anything that occurred to you. You have as much time as you like to tell it. I won't ask you any questions for now. I just will make some notes on the things that I would like to ask you more about later; if we haven't got enough time today, perhaps in a second interview".*

PHASE I: MAIN Narration

The interviewer must be attentive and supportive – no interruptions, no questions except supportive questions when stuck ("and then what happened"?) [using the 'active listener guide <*"that must have felt terrible*?">] help the informant continue their life story telling for as long as they wish, but aiming for a typical minimum of 30-45 minutes. Leave it to

them to tell you when they think they have finished: don't rush to help them conclude. When they do tell you they've finished, still leave a decent amount of silence so that they have space to revise their decision to conclude.

PHASE II: INTERNAL Narrative Follow–Up Questions

 "*Could you tell me more about time X*"? or "*Could you recall a situation when your family expressed support expectations on you*"? You ask further questions about the topics you have selected from phase I.

PHASE III: EXTERNAL Checklist of topics:

- Childhood
- Work
- Dating/ Courtship
- Marriage/partners
- Adolescence/coming to age
- Socialization
- Social forces and their discourses
- Gender relations and roles (Morals/ethics
- Family memories
- Family history
- Grandparents
- Family activities
- Cultural consumption
- Education
- Religion
- Power relations
- Reproduction/contraceptives

Social forces and experiences of e.g.(war, military/army, HIV/AIDS, moving away from home, relationships with opposite sex –mother/father, sister/brother, friends, male/females, etc.