

Forschungsbericht

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Evaluation des Social Cash Transfer Plus Programmes der Nichtregierungsorganisation KwaWazee in Tansania anhand des Capability-Approach von Amartya Sen

Jana Borchard (Matrikel-Nr. 2136546)

Lara Kirch (Matrikel-Nr. 2357259)

Lisa Ronneburger (Matrikel-Nr. 2358506)

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Abkürzungsverzeichnis

BIG	Basic Income Grant
HIV	Humane Immundefizienz-Virus
ILO	International Labour Organization
MKUKUTA	National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PSS	Psychosocial Support
REPSSI	Regional Psychological Support Initiative
SCT	Social Cash Transfer
TSH	Tanzanian shilling

1. Einleitung

Laut der Internationalen Arbeitsorganisation (ILO) büßen rund 31 Staaten in Subsahara-Afrika pro Jahr 0,7% ihres wirtschaftlichen Wachstums durch die Folgen der HIV/AIDS- Problematik ein. Subsahara-Afrika ist damit bekanntermaßen die am stärksten von dieser Krankheit betroffene Region (Javad 2011). Aufgrund mangelnder ärztlicher und medikamentöser Versorgung liegt dort zudem die weltweit höchste, durch die Krankheit bedingte Sterberate vor (WHO 2012).

Dieser Umstand hat dramatische Auswirkungen auf die Bevölkerungszusammensetzung, da insbesondere die mittlere, produktive Generation überproportional stark von der Krankheit betroffen ist. Die traditionelle Generationen-Fürsorge bricht durch den vorzeitigen Tod großer Teile dieser Generation auseinander. Hinzu kommt die Abwanderung junger Bevölkerungsgruppen aus den ländlichen Gebieten in die Städte. Diese Urbanisierung, gekoppelt mit einer Alterung der Bevölkerung, welche auch in Afrika sehr dramatische Auswirkungen hat, bedroht zunehmend existentiell wichtige soziale Netzwerke (Araba 2000). Verstärkt wird diese Problematik dadurch, dass in diesen Staaten nur unzureichende oder an formelle Beschäftigungsverhältnisse gebundene staatliche, soziale Sicherungssysteme existieren. Besonders Kinder, die als Aidsweisen zurückbleiben und alte Menschen, die für ihre Enkelkinder sorgen müssen, jedoch keiner Arbeit mehr nachgehen können, sowie behinderte Menschen zählen zu den ärmsten und sozialer Hilfe bedürftigsten Teilen der Bevölkerung, den so genannten 'vulnerable groups'. Sie sind besonders von den Folgen der extremen Armut, wie Mangelernährung, unzureichender Gesundheitsversorgung, unzureichenden Bildungsmöglichkeiten, sowie zunehmend auch den Folgen des Klimawandels, wie beispielsweise Ernteausfällen durch Dürren, betroffen (Schubert 2005).

Trotz respektabler ökonomischer Wachstumsraten in einigen Staaten Subsahara-Afrikas konnten bis heute keine positiven Veränderungen auf diese langfristige, über mehrere Generationen reichende Armut weiter Bevölkerungsteile erzielt werden (Help Age International 2006). Auch die zahlreichen Programme der nördlichen Geberländer zur Armutsreduktion und einer Vielzahl an Nichtregierungsorganisationen (NGOs), konnten keine ausreichende Verbesserung erzielen. Schätzungen zur Folge wird die Zahl jener Afrikaner, die von weniger als einem US Dollar pro Tag leben bis 2015 sogar auf bis zu 366 Millionen ansteigen (ebd.).

Eine Alternative zu den bislang wesentlich auf Strukturanpassung und Wirtschaftsförderung basierenden entwicklungspolitischen Ansätzen zur Armutsreduktion, bietet das in den letzten Jahren zunehmend beliebtere und inzwischen anerkannte Konzept der Social Cash Transfers (SCT) (Schubert 2011). Diese direkten Zahlungen sollen die Grundbedürfnisse der 'vulnerable groups' sicherstellen und ihnen ein Minimum an sozialer Sicherheit gewähren.

Ein derartiges SCT-Programm initiierte im Jahr 2003 die Nichtregierungsorganisation KwaWazee in der Kagera Region im Nordwesten Tansanias. Das Programm KwaWazee, was übersetzt „Für die Alten“ bedeutet unterstützt 1060 Großmütter und -väter und rund 630 ihrer Enkelkinder mit einer monatlichen sozialen Grundsicherung (KwaWazee 2012). Die Auswirkungen der SCTs durch Kwa Wazee wurden mit Hinblick auf die Grundbedürfnisse der Empfänger im Jahr 2008 in einer Evaluation in Kooperation von Help Age International, Regional Psychological Support Initiative (REPSI), der Swiss Agency für Development und World Vision International unter dem Titel „Salt, soap and shoes for School“ veröffentlicht. Dabei wurden die SCTs durch Kwa Wazee als sehr kosteneffizient bewertet und darüber hinaus festgestellt, dass bereits die Zahlung der kleinen Rente, eine Verbesserung der Lebenssituation der RentnerInnen und ihrer Enkel in Bezug auf die Ernährung, die Gesundheit, die Hygiene und die Häufigkeit der Schulbesuche der Enkelkinder hervorruft (Hoffmann/Heslop 2008).

Das Ziel dieser Forschungsarbeit ist es, auf der Grundlage des Capability-Ansatzes, welcher in den 1980ern von Amartya Sen zur Analyse des individuellen Wohlergehens entwickelt wurde, die Auswirkung von KwaWazee auf die Verwirklichungschancen, die so genannten „Capabilities“ der RentenempfängerInnen zu evaluieren. Es sollen somit wichtige Erkenntnisse und bedeutsames Wissen über das Social Cash Transfer-Programm, über die Abdeckung der materiellen Grundbedürfnisse der EmpfängerInnen hinausgehend, identifiziert und bereitgestellt werden. Dieses Wissen kann konzeptionell genutzt und weiterentwickelt werden und somit einen bedeutenden Beitrag zur weiteren Gestaltung und Entwicklung des Programmes leisten.

Das Forschungsprojekt, welches im Rahmen einer Wissen-generierenden Evaluation aufgebaut ist, umfasst die Durchführung qualitativer Interviews von drei Explorationsgruppen mit jeweils 10 bis 15 Teilnehmern, von Kleingruppen mit insgesamt 33 RentenempfängerInnen und der Dokumentenanalyse in Nshamba, dem Standort der Organisation.

Das einleitende Kapitel dieses Forschungsberichtes wird eine Einführung in den Kontext von SCT-Programmen im Zusammenhang mit einem Aufbrechen traditioneller Generationenfürsorge und einer alternden Bevölkerung in weiten Teilen Afrikas geben. Dadurch soll die Bedeutung und die Einordnung des zu evaluierenden Programmes aufgezeigt und veranschaulicht werden (Kapitel 2.1 und 2.2). Daraufhin wird der Capability-Ansatz, auf dessen Grundlage die Evaluation erfolgt, erläutert (Kapitel 2.3) Im dritten Teil wird eine umfassende Erläuterung der zu evaluierenden Organisation KwaWaze und ihrer Tätigkeiten gegeben (Kapitel 3.1) und die genaue Forschungsfrage sowie das dazugehörige theoretischen Modell dargelegt (Kapitel 3.2). Die genaue Vorgehensweise der Forschungsgruppe bei der Evaluation wird im Kapitel „Methodik“ aufgezeigt (Kapitel 4). Der fünfte Teil umfasst die Darlegung der Analyse-Ergebnisse der Evaluation (Kapitel 5), gefolgt von einer Zusammenfassung der daraus resultierenden Erkenntnisse im Bezug auf die Forschungshypothese

(Kapitel 6). Im Fazit werden die gesamten Ergebnisse noch einmal abschließend zusammengefasst (Kapitel 7).

2. Forschungsstand

2. 1. Care of elderly People

Wie in der Einleitung bereits angeklungen, stellt die alternde Weltbevölkerung politische Entscheidungsträger in fast allen Teilen der Welt vor enorme Herausforderungen. Auch in Afrika wird eine damit einhergehende Problematik dieser Entwicklung zunehmend ersichtlich: *„Africa, like the rest of the world, is growing old“* (Araba 2000). Bis in das Jahr 2050 wird die afrikanische Bevölkerung über 60 Jahre von 10% auf 21% ansteigen (Helpage 2012).

Ein schnelles Wachstum der alten Bevölkerung und der strukturelle Wandel der Gesellschaft lässt die Anzahl der Fürsorge-Bedürftigen stetig ansteigen: *„The increase in numbers of those who require care in order to achieve an acceptable quality of life has occurred at the same time as the traditional social welfare system, the extended family, has begun to break down.“* (Araba 2000)

Die Fürsorge der Alten in Afrika ist traditionell an die Familiennetzwerke und -strukturen gebunden. Diese traditionelle Rollenverteilung innerhalb einer afrikanischen Familie lässt sich in verschiedene Ebenen unterteilen. Araba und Gricco (2007) unterscheiden eine ökonomische, eine soziale und eine Ebene, in der die Erneuerung und Transmission soziokultureller Normen erfolgt. Die Familie bildet aufgrund unzureichender staatlicher sozialer Sicherungssysteme, auch trotz zahlreicher Veränderungen, die wichtigste Stütze und Quelle bei der Fürsorge.

Im Zuge des Strukturwandels brechen diese traditionellen Fürsorge-Netzwerke jedoch zu großen Teilen auseinander. Dies ist durch die zunehmende Urbanisierung zu erklären. Durch eine Modernisierung der Ökonomien, der Industrialisierung und einem zunehmenden technischen Fortschritt, findet weniger Beschäftigung im ländlichen Raum statt. Die junge Bevölkerung wandert aufgrund eines zunehmend urbanen und individualisierten Lebensstils im Zuge der Arbeitsmigration in die Städte. Die Alten bleiben in den ländlichen Gebieten zurück und unterlaufen der Gefahr der Segregation und Altersarmut (Araba 2000). Der damit einhergehende Bedeutungsverlust dieser Generation innerhalb der Gesellschaft beschert neben ökonomischen daher auch negative soziale und psychologische Konsequenzen. Loyalitätskonflikte können dadurch entstehen, dass die Alten, die zuvor ihre Eltern nach dem traditionellen System im Alter noch unterstützt haben, nicht mehr von einem generationsübergreifenden 'Pay-Off' profitieren. Zwar ist ein positives Altersbild in afrikanischen Kulturen relativ fest verankert, da dem Alter über Generationen hinweg ein

bedeutender Status zugesprochen wurde, doch dieses Bild schwindet vermehrt im Zuge der Modernisierung.

Hinzu kommt die hohe Sterberate der mittleren, produktiven Bevölkerungsgruppe durch die HIV/AIDS-Problematik, die das Problem der unzureichenden Altenversorgung zusätzlich verschärft. Durch eine hohe Anzahl von Aidsweisen wird die alte Generation mit der Fürsorge der Enkelkinder noch stärker belastet.

Staatliche Rentensysteme in den Entwicklungsländern existieren kaum oder sind an formale Beschäftigungsverhältnisse gebunden, die, insbesondere im ländlichen Raum, eine Ausnahme bilden. Dadurch leben rund 80% der alten Menschen in Entwicklungsländern ohne eine soziale Absicherung (Helpage 2012). Das Aufbrechen der traditionellen Familienstrukturen und die mangelnde Schutzfunktion der Familie für die Alten haben daher ernst zu nehmende Folgen. Sowohl auf internationaler, als auch auf den nationalen Ebenen, ist dem Fürsorge-Bedarf der Alten bislang nur unzureichende Aufmerksamkeit gewidmet worden. Für die Alten gibt es, im Gegensatz zu den anderen als ‚most vulnerable‘ eingestuften Gruppen wie Kindern, Frauen und Behinderten, bislang keine international bindenden Vereinbarungen, die ihnen Schutz zusprechen und ihrem hohen Armutsrisiko entgegenwirken (Helpage 2007).

Nur langsam werden die Schutzbedürftigkeit und der Bedarf an sozialen Sicherungssystemen für die alten Personen in Entwicklungsländern aufgrund der demografischen Veränderungen anerkannt und erste Initiativen zur Verbesserung ihrer Situation eingeleitet. So wurde im Jahr 1991 von den Vereinten Nationen der 1. Oktober als „International Day of Older Persons“ eingeführt. Der Tag soll die Bedeutung der älteren Generationen, deren Leistung und Wert innerhalb einer Gesellschaft hervorheben, anerkennen und auf die zukünftigen Herausforderungen dieser Generationen bezüglich ihrer sozialen Sicherung aufmerksam machen (UN 2012). Im Jahr 2002 wurde der zweite „Weltaltenplan“ im Laufe einer UN-Versammlung in Madrid auf den Weg gebracht und von 159 Staaten verbindlich anerkannt. Dieser Plan sieht eine solidarische Anstrengung zur Verbesserung der Lebenssituation von alten Menschen, die Förderung der Partizipation dieser Bevölkerungsgruppe an der Gesellschaft, sowie das Ziel, das Altern der Menschen in Sicherheit und Würde zu ermöglichen, vor (Helpage 2007). Innerhalb der Vereinten Nationen wird zudem seit einiger Zeit die Notwendigkeit einer Konvention zum Schutz der Rechte älterer Menschen diskutiert.

In Tansania sind nach der Definition der „National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty“ (MKUKUTA)¹ rund 40% der älteren Bevölkerung schutzbedürftig und auf eine staatliche soziale Sicherung angewiesen. Gleichzeitig zahlen jedoch nur etwa fünf Prozent der gesamten Bevölkerung

¹ MKUKUTA (Mkakati wa Kukuza Uckumi na Kupunguza Umaskini Tanzania) bedeutet in der Übersetzung etwa 'National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty'

in soziale Sicherungssysteme ein, was durch den geringen Anteil formaler Beschäftigung im Land bedingt ist. So erhalten nur die formal beschäftigten Personen im Alter Zahlungen aus dem so genannten „National Social Security Fund“. Ein staatliches Sicherungssystem, welches die Gefahr extremer Armut reduziert und eine Grundsicherung an Nahrungsmitteln und Grundbedürfnissen für die gesamte Bevölkerung sicherstellt, ist zwar im MKUKUTA als nationales Ziel festgeschrieben, doch die Umsetzung ist bislang unzureichend und problematisch (Hoffmann/Heslop 2008).

2.2 Social Cash Transfers

Als Antwort auf die im vorherigen Kapitel dargelegte Problematik eines erhöhten Armutsrisikos alter Menschen in Afrika, bildet das Konzept von Sozialgeldtransfers ein hoffnungsvolles Instrument der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit. Sie werden nach der Definition der OECD als *„regular non contributory payments of money provided by government or non-governmental organisations to individuals or households with the objective of decreasing chronic or shock-induced poverty, addressing social risk and reducing economic vulnerability“* bezeichnet (Samson 2009:43).

Die Sozialgeldtransfers haben sich in den letzten Jahren aufgrund einer Vielzahl von erfolgsversprechenden Pilotstudien, wie beispielsweise in Sambia oder Mosambik, als ein anerkannter Bestandteil der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit etabliert (Schubert 2011). Sie gelten als effektives Mittel zur sozialen Grundsicherung der ärmsten Haushalte, welche oftmals keine arbeitsfähigen Familienmitglieder haben. Durch die Leistung einer direkt gezahlten Sozialhilfe, einer Rente oder eines Grundeinkommens, was im Falle von konditionalen SCTs beispielsweise an den Schulbesuch der Kinder gekoppelt ist, wird ein Minimum an sozialer Sicherheit für die ärmsten Teile der Bevölkerung, wie zum Beispiel Aidsweisen, alte oder behinderte Menschen zur Verfügung gestellt. Dadurch soll die „Hilfe zur Selbsthilfe“ gewährleistet werden und ein Ausweg aus der, über Generationen reichenden, chronischen Armut ermöglicht werden. Die verletzlichen Gruppen der Gesellschaft sind durch eine derartige soziale Grundsicherung in Krisen und bei Schocks besser aufgestellt und können durch Investitionen in Gesundheit, Ernährung und Bildung, längerfristig eine Verbesserung ihrer Lebensumstände bewirken.

Bedeutende Akteure wie die Weltbank, UNICEF und die ILO haben bereits positive Erfahrung mit der Grundsicherung der ärmsten Bevölkerungsteile gesammelt. Diese Erfahrungen zeigen, dass durch die soziale Sicherung Armut effektiver als bislang bekämpft werden kann und ökonomisches Wachstum stimuliert wird. Außerdem sind die SCT-Programme kosten-effizient, da sie nur etwa ein bis zwei Prozent des Bruttosozialproduktes eines Staates ausmachen und daher auch von einkommensschwachen Staaten gestemmt werden können (Samson 2009).

Ein positives Beispiel ist das „Basic Income Grant“- Programm (BIG) in Namibia aus dem Jahr 2008. Dieses SCT- Programm entstand aus der Initiative und Kooperation einiger nicht-staatlicher Akteure, aufgrund mangelnder Handlungsbereitschaft der namibischen Regierung zur sozialen Sicherheit. Dabei wurden jedem Bürger über 60 Jahre, im so genannten Otjivero-Omitara-Distrikt, etwa 11 Euro pro Monat gezahlt. Im Zuge dessen konnte die Armut in Bezug auf die Lebensmittel-Sicherheit innerhalb eines Jahres von 76% auf 36% gesenkt werden (Javad 2011).

Aufgrund derartiger positiver Erfahrungen mit den SCT-Programmen insbesondere in Sambia, rief die Afrikanische Union im März 2006 eine Konferenz aus 13 afrikanischen Ländern, UN-Vertretern und NGOs zusammen, um die positiven Aspekte der SCT- Programme zu diskutieren. Laut den Initiatoren sollten Handlungsanweisungen festgelegt werden, welche das Grundrecht eines jeden Menschen auf soziale Sicherung, was im Artikel 22 der Menschenrechtsdeklaration völkerrechtlich verankert ist, wahrt. Die Teilnehmer verfassten abschließend im so genannten „Livingstone Call for Action“ die Forderung, Sozialgeldtransferprogramme in allen afrikanischen Ländern zu initiieren, um durch diese sozialen Sicherungssysteme die Armut effektiv zu bekämpfen, Wirtschaftswachstum zu stimulieren und somit die lokalen Märkte zu stärken (African Union 2006).

Neben den durchaus positiven Aspekten zu den SCT-Programmen sind jedoch in der Literatur durchaus auch kritische Stimmen zu vernehmen, die auf Probleme und Gefahren des neuen Ansatzes verweisen. Kritische Aspekte in der Diskussion stellen zumeist jedoch nicht die Effektivität der SCT an sich in Frage, sondern drehen sich zumeist um die richtige Umsetzung der SCT- Programme, d.h. um operationale Fragen. So kam es in einigen Programmen durch die SCT, beispielsweise aufgrund einer erhöhten Nachfrage nach Lebensmitteln, zu enormen Preissteigerungen auf den lokalen Märkten. Dies hatte sehr negative Folgen für die betroffene Bevölkerung. Zudem sei das Targeting, also die Zielgruppenbestimmung, der SCT-Programme, oftmals noch kritisch und sehr teuer sowohl für die Empfänger, beispielsweise durch Transportkosten, aber auch durch hohen bürokratischen Aufwand. Gleichzeitig schwebt bei der Finanzierung durch Spendengelder oder nicht-staatliche Akteure stets die Gefahr mit, dass die finanziellen Mittel nicht dauerhaft gewährleistet werden könnten und es an verantwortungsvollen Exit-Strategien mangle. Seien die nationalen Regierungen nicht bereit erfolgreiche Projekte weiterzutragen, würden mit den Spendengeldern auch die SCTs wegfallen. Langfristige Planungssicherheit sei daher ein entscheidender und grundlegender Faktor der SCT-Programme. Zudem sei der Erfolg der SCTs stets an die Infrastruktur vor Ort gebunden. Ist durch die Grundsicherung zum Beispiel der Konsum von Nahrungsmitteln der Empfänger ermöglicht worden, geben die Märkte vor Ort aber aufgrund von Dürren keine Nahrungsmittel her, so sind die SCT wenig hilfreich und so genannte in-kind Transfers durch die Bereitstellung von Lebensmitteln in diesen Fällen sinnvoller (Samson 2009).

Um der Altersarmut in der Kagera Region Tansanias, hervorgerufen durch die Auswirkungen der aufbrechenden traditionellen Familienstrukturen sowie einer hohen Sterberate durch HIV/AIDS, entgegen zu wirken, wurde von der Organisation KwaWazee ein SCT-Programm ins Leben gerufen. Im Rahmen dieser Forschungsarbeit erfolgt die Evaluation dieses Projektes auf der Grundlage des Capability-Ansatzes nach Amartya Sen, welcher im folgenden Abschnitt dargelegt wird.

2.3 Capability Approach

Im Zusammenhang mit seinen Studien zur Wohlfahrtstheorie entwickelte Amartya Sen in den 1980er Jahren den Capability-Ansatz zur Analyse des individuellen Wohlergehens als einen Gegenentwurf zu den auf Wachstum oder auf Wohlfahrt basierenden Entwicklungstheorien der vorangegangenen Jahre und reformierte damit ein Stück weit die ökonomische Entwicklungstheorie. Der Ansatz wurde in den darauffolgenden Jahren maßgeblich von der Philosophin Martha Nussbaum weiterentwickelt und ergänzt. Der Capability-Ansatz misst das individuelle Wohlergehen und die Armut anhand der Befähigung und Freiheit von Menschen, etwas zu sein oder zu tun, also nach seinen Verwirklichungschancen, den Capabilities. Wohlfahrt („well-being“) wird hier als Befähigung, ein gutes Leben zu führen, verstanden, was neben Zugang zu Ressourcen auch Komponenten wie Bildung und Freiheit vor Diskriminierung mit einschließt. Der Capability-Approach hebt sich damit von anderen Auffassungen von Wohlfahrt, die auf Wohlstand und Nutzen basieren, ab.

Sen unterstützt zwar die Wichtigkeit der Verfügbarkeit über Ressourcen für menschliche Wohlfahrt, allerdings sieht er materielle Güter als Mittel zum Zweck und nicht als Selbstzweck (Clark 2005). So kann die Verfügbarkeit über Ressourcen die Verwirklichung eines guten Lebens zwar maßgeblich erleichtern, ist aber keine allgemeine Garantie für ein erfülltes Leben. In seinem Buch „Development as Freedom“ erwähnt Sen in diesem Zusammenhang, dass Einkommen und Lebenserwartung nicht eindeutig positiv korrelieren (Sen 1999). Ökonomische Daten wie Einkommen sind demnach keine ausreichenden Maßstäbe für die Einschätzung von menschlicher Wohlfahrt.

Auch der Nutzen-Ansatz reicht nach Sen für eine vollständige Darstellung von Entwicklung nicht aus. Hier wird Wohlstand als Nutzenbringung angesehen, wobei Nutzen als mentaler Zustand der Freude, des Glücks oder der Wunscherfüllung verstanden wird. Doch auch Dinge, die keinen direkten Nutzen haben, können einen intrinsischen Wert für menschliche Wohlfahrt darstellen. Im Capability-Ansatz wird der mentale Zustand der Freude nicht als Selbstzweck, sondern als eine von vielen Voraussetzungen für menschliches Wohlergehen angesehen (Clark 2005).

Das sehr offene Verständnis von Wohlfahrt im Capability-Ansatz bietet eine mehrdimensionale Sicht auf Entwicklung, die die Bedeutung materieller Faktoren und Nutzenbringung mit einschließt. Gerade

die Breite des Ansatzes macht ihn aber auch schwer operationalisierbar. Denn was unter einem guten Leben verstanden wird, ist relativ. Menschen in Industrie- und Entwicklungsländern werden sehr unterschiedlich beurteilen, was sie benötigen, um ein gutes Leben zu führen. Es ist deshalb schwierig zu verallgemeinern, welche Befähigungen und Freiheiten die Voraussetzung für menschliches Wohlergehen schaffen. Martha Nussbaum hat als Ergebnis jahrelanger interkultureller Diskussion eine als universell geltende Capability-Liste erstellt, die die gemeinsamen Werte und Erfahrungen aller Menschen widerspiegeln soll. Während Sen die Spezifizierung von allgemeingültigen Capabilities sehr offen lässt, bietet Nussbaums Liste zumindest eine Grundlage für weitere Diskussionen. Von Clark (2010:178) wurden die bereits vorhandenen Erkenntnisse von Sen, Nussbaum und ergänzenden Autoren bezüglich universell gültiger Capabilities systematisiert und unter vier Überschriften zusammengefasst: *„(a) physical capabilities; (b) mental well-being and intellectual development; (c) relating and interacting; and (d) personal autonomy and freedom.“*

Da Capabilities die Möglichkeiten darstellen, etwas zu sein oder zu tun, ist der Capability-Ansatz stark mit dem Begriff der Agency verknüpft. Sen definiert Agency als das von eigenen Werten und Zielen geleitete Handeln, sowie das Herbeiführen von Veränderung. Es bedeutet also, die Rolle einer Person *„as a member of the public and as a participant in economic, social and political actions“* (Sen 1999:19). Für Sen ist die Freiheit, etwas zu tun, also die Capability eines Menschen, die Voraussetzung für Agency: *„[...] freedom is [...] a principal determinant of individual initiative and social effectiveness. Greater freedom enhances the ability of people to help themselves and also to influence the world“* (Sen 1999:19). Um politisch und sozial aktiv zu werden und so das eigene Lebensumfeld mitzubestimmen und zu verbessern, werden bestimmte Befähigungen und Freiheiten benötigt. Dieser Zusammenhang zwischen Capability und Agency stellt die theoretische Basis des vorliegenden Forschungsprojekts dar.

3. Fragestellung und Zielsetzung

3.1 KwaWazee

Der Verein KwaWazee geht auf eine Initiative von Kurt Madörin zurück, der sich seit seiner Pensionierung in 2003 in Nshamba, Tansania, niedergelassen hat. Nshamba befindet sich im Muleba Distrikt, einer der ärmsten Region Tansanias mit einem durchschnittlichen Einkommen von 250 US-Dollar pro Jahr und einem mit HIV/Aids-infizierten Bevölkerungsanteil von sieben Prozent. Die Auswirkungen auf die Gesellschaft sind gravierend, denn alte Menschen verlieren durch HIV/Aids nicht nur ihre Kinder, sondern auch ihre Altersvorsorge. Dazu kommt, dass die Verantwortung für die Enkelkinder nun auf ihnen ruht. Die Not der alten Menschen hat Kurt Madörin dazu bewegt, alte,

besonders bedürftige Menschen aus eigenen Mitteln zu unterstützen. Daraus entstand 2003 das Projekt KwaWazee, welches übersetzt „Für die Alten“ bedeutet und seitdem durch Spendengelder finanziert wird.

Zu Beginn des Pilotprojekts legte ein lokales Komitee fest, welche bedürftigen alten Menschen Unterstützung bekommen. Ende 2005 erhielten 330 alte Menschen eine monatliche Rente von umgerechnet rund drei Euro und für jedes unter ihrer Fürsorge lebende Enkelkind, das verwaist ist, eine Kinderzulage von einem Euro. In 2007 entschied der Verein KwaWazee, dass das lokale Komitee keine effiziente Verteilung der Renten garantiert. Grund dafür war, dass es Fälle von Korruption und Unterschlagung innerhalb des Komitees gab. Seitdem entscheidet ein professionelles Mitarbeiterteam von KwaWazee anhand des Alters, des Gesundheitszustandes, der Anzahl der im betroffenen Haushalt lebenden Menschen, insbesondere der Anzahl an Enkelkindern, und der allgemeinen Lebenssituation darüber, wer unterstützt wird.

Im April 2012 erhielten rund 1.060 alte Menschen in Kagera eine soziale Grundsicherung in Höhe von 10.500 Tansanischen Schillingen (TSH) durch die Rentenzahlungen von KwaWazee. Dies entspricht etwa 5,30 Euro. In diesem Rahmen unterstützte KwaWazee auch knapp 630 Enkelkinder durch die Kinderzulagen von 6.000 TSH pro Kind (drei Euro). Außerdem bekommen die Enkelkinder Schulgeld, Schuluniform und Schulmaterial bezahlt.

Wie bereits in der Einleitung dargelegt, wurden die Auswirkungen der Social Cash Transfers durch Kwa Wazee in einer im Jahr 2008 durchgeführten Evaluation unter dem Titel „Salt, soap and shoes for School“ veröffentlicht. Der Bericht erörtert, dass bereits die Zahlung kleiner Rentenbeiträge eine Verbesserung der Lebensbedingungen der RentnerInnen und ihrer Enkel in Bezug auf die Ernährung, die Gesundheit, die Hygiene und die Bildungschancen hervorruft (Hoffmann/Heslop 2008).

Seit August 2008 liegt ein Schwerpunkt von KwaWazee auf dem Programm Psychosocial Support (PSS) Light und damit auf der Bildung von sogenannten ‚mutual support groups‘, Gruppen von etwa fünf bis 20 RentenempfängerInnen aus derselben Nachbarschaft, die sowohl gegenseitige Unterstützung bei Krankheiten oder Problemen bieten, als auch einen kleinen Anteil ihrer Rente gemeinsam sparen. Diese Projekterweiterung entspricht dem ‚Plus‘ in ‚Social Cash Transfer Plus‘, da zu den Rentenzahlungen ein zusätzlicher psychosozialer Support durch die Gruppen verwirklicht werden kann. Im weiteren Verlauf der Arbeit werden diese Gruppen als PSS-Gruppen bezeichnet. In regelmäßigen Gruppentreffen können Sorgen besprochen und Hilfestellungen gegeben werden, denn häufig haben die Gruppenmitglieder ähnliche Probleme. Die gegenseitige Unterstützung im Krankheitsfall ist der größte Bestandteil der Arbeit der Gruppen, da gesundheitliche Probleme aufgrund der Lebensverhältnisse relativ häufig auftreten und mit dem steigenden Alter die

Menschen noch anfälliger für Krankheiten sind. Die Gruppenmitglieder helfen beim Holen von Wasser und Feuerholz, kochen für das kranke Gruppenmitglied und geben Unterstützung bei der Betreuung der Enkelkinder. Jedes erkrankte Gruppenmitglied bekommt eine kleine Summe aus den Ersparnissen für Medikamente und Arzt- oder Krankenhauskosten.

Darüber hinaus können die RentenempfängerInnen sich mit den gemeinsamen Ersparnissen vor Unsicherheiten schützen, kleine Investitionen tätigen oder Kredite für einzelne Gruppenmitglieder vergeben. Die Regeln darüber, welcher Betrag monatlich innerhalb der Gruppe gespart wird und wofür das gesparte Geld ausgegeben wird, werden individuell von den einzelnen Gruppen festgelegt. Viele Gruppen führen auch einkommensgenerierende Maßnahmen gemeinsam durch, wie beispielsweise die Viehzucht, den Anbau von Gemüse, das Schneiden von Gras für die Viehzucht oder den Verkauf, sowie das Sammeln von Feuerholz. KwaWazee unterstützt die PSS-Gruppen mit verschiedenen Trainings zu Themen wie Gruppenführung, Buchführung, HIV/AIDS, und bietet darüber hinaus Gesundheits- und Selbstverteidigungskurse an, wobei letztere sich nur an weibliche Teilnehmer richten. Bis heute wurden 71 dieser PSS-Gruppen gegründet (Stand: April 2012). Mitarbeiter von KwaWazee besuchen die Gruppen in unregelmäßigen Abständen, um Hilfestellungen zu einkommensgenerierenden Aktivitäten oder zur Ersparnisbildung zu geben. Oft werden die Mitarbeiter auch direkt bei konkreten Problemen zur Hilfe gezogen.

Die Enkelkinder der Großmütter und Großväter haben in 2008 ebenfalls begonnen Gruppen zur gegenseitigen Unterstützung zu bilden, die sich ‚Tatutano‘, was übersetzt so viel wie „kleine Gruppe“ heißt, nennen. KwaWazee unterstützt die Gruppen mit verschiedenen Trainingskursen, darunter Selbstverteidigungskurse für Mädchen. Es gibt mittlerweile insgesamt 130 Tatutano Gruppen (Stand: April 2012).

Die Nichtregierungsorganisation führt noch weitere kleinere Projekte durch, z.B. vergibt KwaWazee auch selbst kleine Kredite an die RentenempfängerInnen. Darüber hinaus gibt es ein Fahrrad-Projekt, welches durch Fahrrad-Spenden aus der Schweiz gefördert wird, und einigen Jugendlichen die Chance auf einen Arbeitsplatz sichert. Sie erlernen die Wartung und Reparatur der Fahrräder. Diese werden anschließend weiterverkauft.

3.2 Theoretisches Modell und Fragestellung

KwaWazee definiert in ihrem Narrative Report 2011 drei Ebenen der Fürsorge: Grundbedürfnisse, Capabilities und Agency. Die KwaWazee Evaluation aus dem Jahr 2008 untersuchte die Auswirkungen der Rentenzahlungen auf das Leben der alten Menschen und ihrer Enkel, wobei sich die Ergebnisse

hier hauptsächlich auf die Verbesserung des ersten Levels, der Grundbedürfnisse, bezogen. Die vorliegende Arbeit evaluiert nun ergänzend nicht nur die SCTs, sondern auch das neue Projekt PSS Light und hat dabei den expliziten Fokus auf deren Auswirkungen auf das zweite und dritte Level, sprich die Capabilities und Agency der alten Menschen, gesetzt.

Lloyd-Sherlocks (2002) Erkenntnisse im Zusammenhang mit dem Capability Ansatz und alten Menschen dienen als theoretische Grundlage der Forschungsfrage. Das von ihm entwickelte ‚Combining capabilities and life course framework‘ wurde im Rahmen dieses Forschungsvorhaben aufgegriffen und ergänzt, um die Zusammenhänge zwischen Capabilities und Agency in verschiedenen Lebenszyklus sowie zwischen den Generationen darzustellen (siehe Abbildung 1).

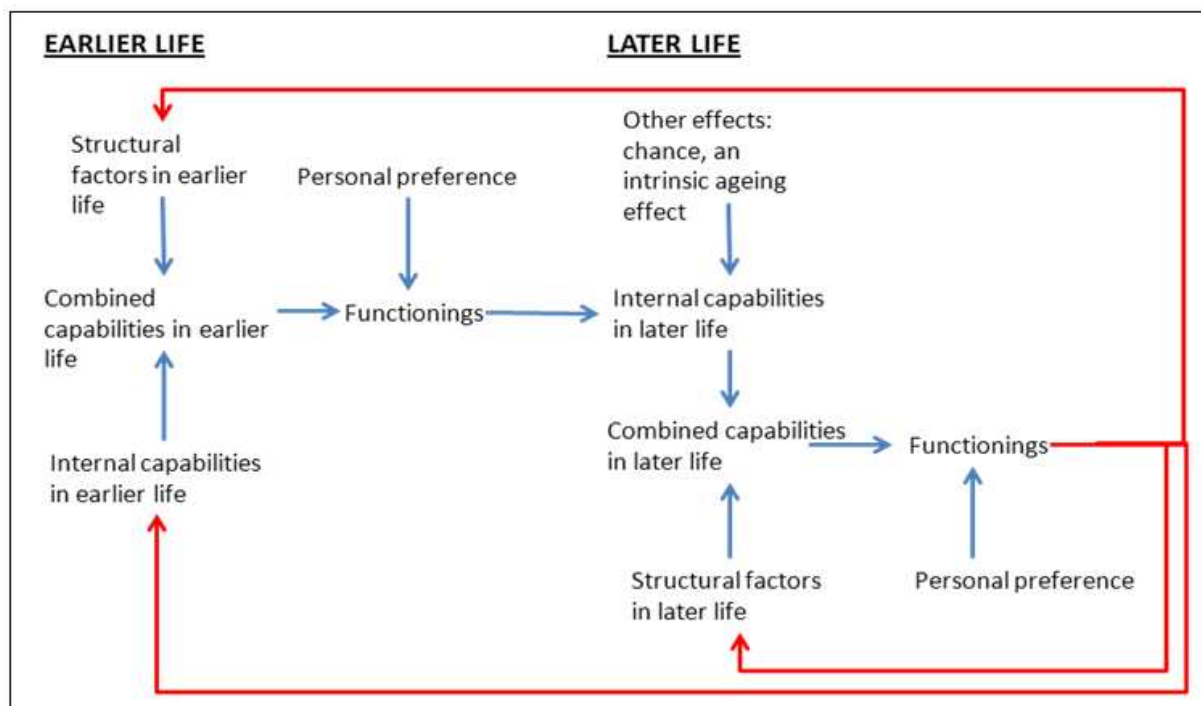


Abbildung 1: Combining capabilities and life course framework (eigene Darstellung basierend auf Lloyd-Sherlock (2002))

In dem Modell wird in Anlehnung an Nussbaum zwischen zwei Arten von Capabilities unterschieden: ‚Internal Capabilities‘ sind angeborene, im Laufe des Lebens entwickelte Fähigkeiten. ‚Combined Capabilities‘ ergeben sich aus den Internal Capabilities eines Menschen und seinen externen Lebensumständen, die die Internal Capabilities entweder fördern oder hemmen können. Ein Mensch kann beispielsweise mit der kognitiven Fähigkeit zu lernen ausgestattet sein, welche jedoch durch den externen Faktor, dass er keinen Zugang zu Bildung hat, nicht ausgeschöpft werden kann. Das Fehlen von Bildung schränkt die Person dann wiederum in der weiterführenden Entwicklung ihrer Combined Capabilities ein, wie beispielsweise Selbstvertrauen zu erlangen.

Die Combined Capabilities beschreiben, was ein Mensch frei oder fähig ist, zu tun. Ob dies allerdings tatsächlich in die Tat umgesetzt wird, hängt von den persönlichen Präferenzen dieser Person ab. Es

wird deswegen zwischen Capabilities und ‚Functionings‘ unterschieden, wobei ersteres die Möglichkeiten darstellt, die ein Mensch hat, und letzteres, ob er diese tatsächlich realisiert:

„A person’s ‚capability‘ refers to the alternative combinations of functionings that are feasible for her to achieve. Capability is thus a kind of freedom: the substantive freedom to achieve alternative functioning combinations (or, less formally put, the freedom to achieve various lifestyles). For example, an affluent person who fasts may have the same functioning achievement in terms of eating and nourishment as a destitute person who is forced to starve, but the first person does have a different ‚capability set‘ than the second (the first can choose to eat well and be well nourished in a way the second cannot.)” (Sen 1999: 75)

Die Combined Capabilities führen also, wie im Modell aufgezeigt, unter Einfluss der persönlichen Präferenzen zu Functionings.

Das, was im ersten Lebenszyklus an vorhandenen Möglichkeiten realisiert wird, beeinflusst die Internal Capabilities, über die ein Mensch im Alter verfügt. Allerdings werden sie zusätzlich von anderen Faktoren, wie einem zufälligen Sturz mit Gesundheitsfolgen oder einem intrinsischen Alterungseffekt, bestimmt. Die Combined Capabilities der alten Menschen werden genau wie im ersten Zyklus von den strukturellen Faktoren, die die Person in diesem Lebensabschnitt vorfindet, beeinflusst. Ob eine Person Zugang zu einer adäquaten Gesundheitsversorgung hat, kann ihre Combined Capabilities im Alter beispielsweise stark beeinflussen. Welche der Combined Capabilities in Functionings umgesetzt werden, hängt auch im zweiten Lebenszyklus von den persönlichen Präferenzen einer Person ab.

Die roten Pfeile des Modells zeigen den Zusammenhang zwischen den aus vorhandenen Capabilities resultierenden Functionings und dem politischen und sozialen Handeln einer Person, der Agency, auf. Die Handlungen wirken sich auf das Leben der alten als auch der jungen Menschen aus. Wenn die alten Menschen aktiv werden, um sich für Veränderung ihrer Lebensumstände einzusetzen, können sie die strukturellen Faktoren in ihrem Leben und im Leben der jüngeren Generation mitgestalten. So können sie beispielsweise Gesundheitsversorgung für die alten und Schulbildung für die jungen Menschen ermöglichen. Die verbesserten strukturellen Faktoren haben eine fördernde Wirkung auf die weitere Entwicklung der Combined Capabilities der alten und jungen Menschen. Sogar die Internal Capabilities der jüngeren Generation können beeinflusst werden, indem die alten Menschen beispielsweise besser fähig sind, ihre Kinder oder Enkelkinder mit adäquater Ernährung zu versorgen.

Die vorliegende Arbeit unterliegt der Hypothese, dass Kwa Wazee mit seinem Programm Social Cash Transfer Plus (Rentenzahlungen und Kinderzulagen plus PSS Light) ein Lebensumfeld erschafft, welches die Combined Capabilities der alten Menschen stärkt, aufbaut und fördert. Der Theorie

zufolge resultieren diese verbesserten Capabilities wiederum in Agency. Dies hat einerseits Auswirkungen auf die strukturellen Faktoren im Leben der alten Menschen selbst, was sich erneut verstärkend auf ihr Capability Level auswirkt. Andererseits hat es einen verstärkenden Effekt auf die Capabilities der Enkel-Generation und dementsprechend auch auf die Capabilities in deren späterem Leben. Dieser durch die gestärkten Capabilities der alten Menschen entstandene Kreislauf zeigt eine nachhaltige Wirkung für die alte als auch die junge Generation auf. Auf diesem theoretischen Modell basierend wurden zwei zu überprüfende Forschungshypothesen aufgestellt:

- Die SCTs und PSS Light beeinflussen bzw. verstärken das Capability und damit das Agency Level der RentenempfängerInnen.
- Die SCTs und PSS Light beeinflussen bzw. verstärken indirekt das Capability Level der Enkelkinder der RentenempfängerInnen.

Die Annahmen führen entsprechend zu folgenden Forschungsfragen:

- Wie haben die SCTs und PSS Light das Capability und Agency Level der RentenempfängerInnen beeinflusst bzw. verstärkt?
- Wie haben die Rentenzahlungen und PSS Light indirekt das Capability Level der Enkelkinder der RentenempfängerInnen beeinflusst bzw. verstärkt?

Konkret bestand das Ziel der Wissen-generierenden Evaluation darin, bereits vorhandene Capabilities greifbar zu machen und weitere bisher unerreichte Capabilities zu identifizieren. Außerdem sollten nicht nur die direkten Auswirkungen der Projekte auf das Capability und Agency Level der alten Leute aufgezeigt werden, sondern mit deren Auswirkungen auf die Capabilities der Enkel und die strukturellen Faktoren im Leben der alten Menschen auch die langfristigen Effekte und damit die Nachhaltigkeit der Kwa Wazee-Projekte analysiert und nachgewiesen werden. In der Analyse sollte darüber hinaus geprüft werden, welche Wirkung auf welches Projekt (SCT oder PSS Light) zurückzuführen ist, um zurückverfolgen zu können, was den Mehrwert des Plus im Programm des Social Cash Transfer Plus ausmacht.

4. Methodik

Die wissensgenerierende Evaluation nach Patton wurde für dieses Forschungsvorhaben als die am besten geeignete Methode ausgewählt. Diese Art der Evaluation dient dazu Wissen, welches über den eigentlichen Kontext der Evaluation hinausgeht, zu generieren (Friedrich 2008: 20). Sie ist eher formativ, d.h. nach innen gerichtet. Die Organisation selbst ist hierbei Haupt-Adressat der Ergebnisse. Durch die Evaluation sollen mögliche Verbesserungspotentiale oder so genannte 'Lessons Learned'

der Organisation identifiziert werden und wertvolle Inhalte über die Auswirkungen der KwaWazee-Tätigkeiten bereitgestellt werden. Es liegt eine Nutzenorientierung der Ergebnisse vor, die bei der Durchführung und Konzeption der Evaluation berücksichtigt werden sollten und wurden (Friedrich 2008). Dieses Wissen kann daraufhin konzeptionell genutzt werden und der Weiterentwicklung von KwaWazee oder ähnlichen Programmen und Projekten nützlich sein: *„Being knowledgeable about patterns of program effectiveness allows evaluators to provide guidance about development of new initiatives, policies and strategies for implementation. Such contributions constitute the conceptual use of evaluation findings.“* (Patton 2002:134).

Um die Auswirkung von KwaWazee, genauer der Rentenzahlungen und der PSS-Gruppen auf die Capabilities der RentenempfängerInnen zu untersuchen und im Sinne von Patton zu evaluieren, musste daher zunächst eine thematische Ein- und Abgrenzung dieser zu untersuchenden Capabilities durchgeführt werden. Im ersten Schritt erfolgte die Erstellung einer vorläufigen Capability-Liste und die Durchführung von Explorationsgruppeninterviews. Die vorläufige Liste wurde in Anlehnung an die bereits erwähnte Liste von Clark (2010) erstellt. Sie diente als erster Ausgangspunkt für die weitere Analyse. Zu jeder dieser Capabilities wurde eine für die Forschungsarbeit gültige Definition erstellt (siehe Anhang S. 80 f). Erst durch eine klare Ab- und Eingrenzung des Untersuchungsgegenstandes konnte eine zielgerichtete Erfragung ermöglicht werden.

Um sicherzustellen, dass diese aus der Literatur in die Liste aufgenommenen Capabilities auch die Lebensumstände und –bereiche der RentenempfängerInnen in Nshamba erfassen und widerspiegeln und keiner eurozentrischen Sicht entspringen, wurde diese Liste daraufhin in drei Explorationsgruppeninterviews getestet und auf ihre Tauglichkeit bezüglich der Forschungsfrage geprüft. Dazu wurde zunächst ein grober Interview-Leitfaden erstellt (siehe Anhang S. 82). In den Explorationsgruppeninterviews sollte sichtbar gemacht werden, welche Capabilities für das Leben der Befragten eine bedeutende Rolle spielen und was die RentenempfängerInnen unter einem guten Leben verstehen. Zu eurozentrische oder unpassende Capabilities sollten daraufhin von der Liste entfernt und zuvor fehlende Capabilities, um die aus den Interviews gewonnenen Erkenntnisse, ergänzt werden. Die übergeordnete Leitfrage der Explorationsgruppeninterviews lautete:

„What is the grannies conception of a good life? “

Die Teilnehmer der Explorationsgruppeninterviews wurden unter Absprache mit der Forschungsgruppe von KwaWazee ausgewählt und über die Durchführung der Interviews informiert. Um eine unkomplizierte Durchführung und Umsetzung zu gewährleisten, wurden drei der PSS-Gruppen zur Durchführung der Explorations-Interviews ausgewählt, da diese Personen bereits geübt sind innerhalb ihrer Gruppe miteinander zu kommunizieren, d.h. keine fremden Personen während

des Interviews aufeinandertrafen. Der Treffpunkt der PSS-Gruppe in der Umgebung ihres Wohnortes konnte auch als Treffpunkt für die Explorationsgruppen-Interviews genutzt werden. Auf drei aufeinander folgenden Tagen wurden die Interviews der drei PSS-Gruppen durchgeführt. Es waren jeweils 10 bis 15 Personen anwesend. Der Vorteil dieser Form der Interviewführung lag in der gegenseitigen Stimulierung bei den Erzählungen der Gruppenmitglieder und in der Möglichkeit einen Eindruck der Interaktion innerhalb der Gruppe zu bekommen. Die Interviews, die jeweils maximal zwei Stunden in Anspruch nahmen, wurden offen und unstrukturiert, in einem teil-narrativen Stil geführt, um so ein möglichst breites Spektrum der verschiedenen Lebensbereiche erfragen zu können, die Lebenssituationen der RentenempfängerInnen kennenzulernen und einen ersten Eindruck über die zu untersuchenden Capabilities der befragten Personen zu erhalten. Die Interviews wurden zwecks der exakten Dokumentation und der wissenschaftlichen Belegbarkeit, nach Einverständnis mit den Interviewgruppen, mittels eines Diktiergerätes aufgezeichnet. Durch das Verfassen und die anschließende Analyse von Verlaufsprotokollen dieser Interviews (siehe Anhang S. 83 ff.), wurde die Capability-Liste daraufhin überarbeitet und es wurde geprüft, ob sie die genannten Probleme und Lebensbereiche der RentenempfängerInnen in Nashamba beinhaltet. Die finale, an die Lebensvorstellungen vor Ort angepasste Capability-Liste, die 14 Capabilities beinhaltet und in die Themenblöcke 'Physisches Wohlbefinden' (A), 'Psychisches Wohlbefinden und Geistige Entwicklung' (B), 'Beziehungen und Interaktionen' (C) und 'Persönliche Autonomie und Freiheit' (D) gegliedert ist, konnte somit vervollständigt werden. (siehe Abbildung 2)

<p>A. Physisches Wohlbefinden</p> <p>1. Gesundheit</p> <p>2. Ernährung</p> <p>3. Angemessene Unterkunft</p> <p>4. Angemessene Kleidung</p> <p>5. Mobilität</p>
<p>B. Psychisches Wohlbefinden und geistige Entwicklung</p> <p>6. Vergnügen</p> <p>7. Lernen und Bildung</p>
<p>C. Beziehungen und Interaktionen</p> <p>8. Soziale Netzwerke, Zugehörigkeit</p> <p>9. Soziale Kompetenz</p> <p>10. Kultur</p>
<p>D. Persönliche Autonomie und Freiheit</p> <p>11. Selbstwert, Selbstachtung</p> <p>12. Physische Sicherheit</p> <p>13. Risikomanagement</p> <p>14. Zukunftsbestreben</p>

Abbildung 2: Angepasste, endgültige Capability Liste

Neben der Erstellung des Konzepts eines guten Lebens der RentenempfängerInnen und der dafür relevanten Capabilities, konnte durch die Interviews zudem ein Eindruck über einen geeigneten Fragestil und die Art der Fragestellung gewonnen und ausfindig gemacht werden, welche Fragemethode eher bspw. weniger ergiebige Antworten erzielt oder möglicherweise Verständnisprobleme bei den Befragten, zu den mitunter auch abstrakten Fragen, auftreten. Diese in den Fokusgruppeninterviews gesammelten Erfahrungen bezüglich der Interviewführung, waren insofern hilfreich, als dass sie bei den weiteren Schritten berücksichtigt werden konnten, um so deren Qualität und Ergiebigkeit positiv zu beeinflussen.

Im zweiten Schritt wurde zunächst eine Dokumentenanalyse von einer Stichprobe von 15 PSS-Protokollen durchgeführt (siehe Anhang S. 100 ff.). Diese Protokolle werden von KwaWazee-Mitarbeitern während der Gruppen-Besuche geführt und geben Aufschluss über die Inhalte, Probleme und Diskussionen innerhalb der Unterstützungs-Gruppen. Sie enthalten vor allem Informationen über die durchgeführten Einkommen-generierenden Tätigkeiten, die Ersparnis-Bildung, sowie über die zukünftige Zielsetzung und Planung der Gruppen. Durch die Auswertung dieser PSS-Dokumente konnten die Hauptthemengebiete, sowie die Probleme innerhalb der Gruppen identifiziert werden, um in den späteren Interviews explizit auf bestimmte Themen- und Problembereiche eingehen zu können. Es konnten zusätzlich Entwicklungen im Zeitverlauf betrachtet werden und wichtige Anhaltspunkte mit Hinblick auf das Agency-Level gewonnen werden, da die Protokolle Informationen über die tatsächliche Umsetzung und Durchführung von Projekten beinhalten. Die Auswertung hatte somit auch eine Kontrollfunktion zu den Interviewaussagen, da bestimmte Themen möglicherweise in den Interviews konträr zu den Protokollen geschildert werden und umgekehrt. Sie konnten somit die Interpretation der Interviewaussagen unterstützen. Zusätzlich zu diesen PSS-Protokollen wurden die so genannten 'Health Reports', die ausgiebige Information über den Gesundheitszustand der RentenempfängerInnen enthalten, ausgewertet und in der Analyse zur Capability 'Gesundheit' berücksichtigt. Diese Daten werden seit 2011 monatlich von 20 Gruppen gesammelt. So konnten detaillierte Hintergrundinformationen gewonnen werden, die zusätzlich zu den Interviewaussagen der Evaluation von KwaWazee bedeutsam sind.

Nach der Dokumentenanalyse erfolgte in diesem Schritt der qualitativen Evaluation, das Kernstück der Forschungsarbeit: die Interviews von insgesamt 33 Personen, die in kleinen Gruppen von drei bis vier Personen befragt wurden. Dazu wurde ebenfalls auf Grundlage der Capability-Liste, der Explorationsgruppeninterviews und der Dokumentenanalyse zunächst ein Interview-Leitfaden erstellt (siehe Anhang S. 106 ff.). Dieser Interviewleitfaden diente als grobe Struktur und inhaltliche Stütze. Bis auf den einleitenden kurzen Abschnitt des Interviewleitfadens, der Informationen zum Alter, zum Geschlecht, zu Anzahl der im Haushalt lebenden Personen und über die Beteiligung am

Gesundheits- oder Selbstverteidigungs-Trainings enthält, wurde kein standardisierter Fragebogen angewendet. Es wurde stattdessen ein Leitfaden erstellt, der eine sehr individuelle und flexible Interviewführung- und Gestaltung ermöglichte. Die Einteilung der Capability- Liste in die vier Blöcke A bis D wurde für diesen Leitfaden übernommen. Um nicht jede Person zu jeder der 14 Capabilities zu befragen, was zeitlich kaum möglich gewesen wäre, wurde die Entscheidung getroffen bei jeder Gruppe den Schwerpunkt auf einen anderen Block zu legen, d.h. es wurde beispielsweise die erste Kleingruppe zu Block A befragt, die zweite Gruppe zu Block B und bei zehn Interviewgruppen im Wechsel mit allen vier Blöcken fortgefahren. Somit konnte gewährleistet werden, dass nicht nur oberflächlich auf jede der 14 Capabilities eingegangen, sondern in der Tiefe nachgefragt werden konnte. Auch sollte so vermieden werden, dass eine eingangs gesetzte zeitliche Obergrenze von zwei Stunden für jede Interviewgruppe überschritten wurde. In den Interviews wurde zunächst eine offene Frage zu einer bestimmten Capability gestellt, im zweiten Schritt wurde gefragt:

„Has it always been like this?“

und im dritten Schritt, falls eine veränderte Situation bei einer Capability angegeben wurde:

„Who has contributed how much to the change?“

Dieses Muster war nützlich, um den Einfluss von KwaWazee aber auch denkbarer anderer Akteure auf die Capabilities der EmpfängerInnen differenziert analysieren zu können. Um diese Differenzierung noch zu verstärken wurden von der Forschungsgruppe Bilder erstellt, auf denen die im Regelfall wichtigsten Bezugspersonen der Befragten darunter 'KwaWazee', die 'PSS-Gruppe', 'die Familie', die 'Nachbarn und Freunde', die 'befragte Person selbst' oder 'Andere' abgebildet waren. Die RentenempfängerInnen wurden gebeten mit Hilfe von 20 Bohnen den Einfluss der jeweiligen „Unterstützungsgruppe“ auf eine bestimmte Capability unterschiedlich stark zu gewichten. Je mehr Bohnen einem Bild zugeordnet wurden, umso bedeutender der Einfluss der Unterstützung. Diese Methode wurde nicht zwingend, jedoch in geeigneten Situationen angewendet und erwies sich als sinnvolles und nützliches Hilfsmittel der Interviewführung, insbesondere da ein Großteil der RentenempfängerInnen analphabetisch ist.

Innerhalb der Stichprobe von 33 RentenempfängerInnen wurden 25 Frauen mit einem durchschnittlichen Alter von 65,5 Jahren und acht Männern mit einem Durchschnittsalter von 77 Jahren interviewt. Die Personen für die Interviews wurden ebenfalls im Voraus von KwaWazee ausgewählt und eingeladen. Die Kriterien, die bei der Auswahl von der Organisation unter Absprache mit der Forschungsgruppe, angewendet wurden, sind erstens, die Distanz zum Wohnort beziehungsweise die Mobilität der RentenempfängerInnen. So wurden jene Personen eingeladen, die mobil genug sind ohne erhöhten Aufwand der Einladung zum Interview nachkommen zu können.

Dies waren dementsprechend Personen, die in der näheren Umgebung zu den KwaWazee-Gebäuden leben. Zweitens, wurde die Kommunikationskompetenz der Personen als Auswahlkriterium angewendet, d.h. es wurden Personen, die innerhalb der PSS-Gruppen ausreichend Erfahrungen und Übung bei der Fähigkeit sich selbst auszudrücken gesammelt haben, ausgewählt. Damit sollte die Qualität und Ergiebigkeit der Aussagen positiv beeinflusst werden und die Anzahl der verwertbaren Aussagen erhöht werden. Die Interviews wurden auch hier, nach Einverständnis der Befragten, mit einem Diktiergerät aufgezeichnet und anschließend nach den zuvor aufgestellten Regeln (siehe Anhang S. 115) transkribiert.

Insgesamt wurden die Teil-narrativen Interviews zwar durch den Leitfaden durchaus vorstrukturiert und der Gesprächsfluss weitestgehend durch den Interviewer geleitet, doch während der Interviews wurde ausreichend Spielraum und Flexibilität für individuelle Nachfragen der Interviewer und ausführliche Erzählpassagen der Interviewten eingeräumt. Bei der Art der Fragestellung wurde sowohl bei den Explorationsgruppeninterviews, als auch bei den Kleingruppeninterviews streng darauf geachtet, dass offene Fragen gestellt wurden. Die Fragen wurden demnach erzählgenerierend und hörerorientiert aufgebaut. Zudem wurde auf die Anpassung der Wortwahl an das soziolinguistische Niveau der RentenempfängerInnen großen Wert gelegt, was in diesem Fall bedeutete, dass eine sehr vereinfachte Wortwahl getroffen wurde. Fachsprache und wertende oder geschlossene Fragen, sowie suggestive Vorgaben und Interpretationen der Aussagen wurden vermieden. Wie zuvor bereits dargelegt, sollte mit dem Einsatz von Bildern, die von der Forschungsgruppe zur Veranschaulichung erstellt wurden, das Verständnis der befragten Personen erleichtert und verbessert werden. Zu Beginn eines jeden Interviews wurde zwecks der Herstellung einer vertrauensvollen und freundlichen Interviewatmosphäre, eine kurze Einleitung mit groben Angaben über das Forschungsinteresse, einer Würdigung der Teilnahme an den Interviews, sowie einer persönlichen Vorstellung der Forschungsgruppe gegeben.

Die Übersetzung der Explorationsgruppeninterviews und der Kleingruppeninterviews erfolgte durch drei Mitarbeiter der Organisation KwaWazee. Sie übersetzten von Kihaya, der Sprache der RentenempfängerInnen ins Englische. Den Übersetzern wurden anfänglich das Anliegen der Forschungsarbeit, sowie die Bedeutung einer sehr genauen und sorgfältigen Übersetzungsleistung für die Bedeutung der Qualität der Evaluation, im Rahmen eines Meetings, vermittelt.

Im dritten und letzten Schritt der Evaluation erfolgte die qualitative Auswertung und Interpretation der Interviews. Dazu wurde zunächst jeder der 14 Capabilities eine Farbe zugeordnet. Die transkribierten Interviews wurden dann abschnittsweise, je nach vorliegender Capability, farbig

markiert. Es werden dadurch Zusammenhänge und Wechselwirkungen der verschiedenen Capabilities leicht ersichtlich.

Die hier angewandte Methode weist, so muss seitens der Forschungsgruppe eingeräumt werden, Grenzen auf. Diese liegen zum einen in der Übersetzung durch die Organisation selbst und zum anderen in der Tatsache, dass keine Kontrollgruppe in die Analyse eingebunden werden konnte. Die Übersetzung durch die Mitarbeiter der Organisation ist durchaus als kritisch oder risikoreich einzuschätzen. Dieser Umstand wurde dadurch bedingt, dass es sich für die Forschungsgruppe als Problem herausstellte, geeignete, unabhängige Übersetzer, die sowohl über ausreichend Englisch- als auch über Kihaya-Kenntnisse verfügen, ausfindig zu machen. So wurde die Möglichkeit der Übersetzung durch KwaWazee-Mitarbeiter aus praktischen Gründen in Anspruch genommen. Trotz umfangreicher „Belehrung“ dieser Mitarbeiter über die Bedeutung der genauen Übersetzung, kann daher nicht völlig ausgeschlossen werden, dass Aussagen möglicherweise in Teilen verfälscht wurden. Dennoch ist der Forschungsgruppe während der Interviews nie der Eindruck entstanden, dass die Übersetzung mit Verfälschungen einherging oder gar absichtlich ungenau erfolgte. Als positiver Aspekt der Übersetzung durch KwaWazee-Mitarbeiter, ist hingegen das starke Vertrauen der RentenempfängerInnen zu den Übersetzern anzuführen. Es ist anzunehmen, dass ohne die vorhandene Vertrauensbasis zwischen den Mitarbeitern und den interviewten Personen, die Aussagen weniger Qualität gehabt hätten und sehr persönliche Themen gar nicht erwähnt worden wären.

Die Befragung einer Kontrollgruppe konnte aus zeitlichen Gründen durch die Forschungsgruppe nicht gewährleistet werden, da der Forschungszeitraum auf insgesamt drei Wochen beschränkt war. Zudem konnte bei der ersten Evaluation 2008 seitens der Organisation gewährleistet werden, dass die Kontrollgruppe nach Abschluss der Interviews in das Rentenprogramm aufgenommen werden konnte, was unter moralischen Gesichtspunkten sehr sinnvoll erscheint. Da eine derartige Umsetzung große finanzielle Ausgaben für KwaWazee bedeutet hätte, konnte ein derartiger Schritt von der Forschungsgruppe nicht vorausgesetzt werden. Die Interviewaussagen der RentenempfängerInnen und die Dokumentenanalyse dienen daher als alleinige Evaluationsbasis.

5. Ergebnisse

Im Folgenden erfolgt die Analyse und Interpretation der Interviewaussagen und KwaWazee Dokumente. Es sollen dabei die Einflüsse der KwaWazee Projekte auf die Capabilities und Agency der RentenempfängerInnen und die Wirkung auf die Enkelkinder der Befragten aufgezeigt und bewertet

werden. Nach einer kurzen Definition der jeweiligen Capability erfolgt die mit exemplarischen Zitaten aus den geführten Interviews, Informationen aus den PSS-Protokollen sowie Daten aus dem Health Report ausgestattete Analyse. Dabei wird die Reihenfolge der Capability-Liste eingehalten. Nach der Präsentation der Ergebnisse zu jeder einzelnen Capability, wird in Punkt 5.5 auf die Vernetzung der Capabilities untereinander eingegangen.

5.1 Teil A: Physisches Wohlbefinden

1. Gesundheit

Die Capability ‚Gesundheit‘ ist definiert als die Fähigkeit einer Person problemlosen Zugang zu medizinischer Versorgung (Doktor und Krankenhaus), Zugang zu bezahlbaren Medikamenten, Zugang zu sauberem (Trink-)Wasser zu haben und angemessene Pflege von anderen (z.B. Familie, Freunde) zu bekommen.

Auffällig bei dieser Capability ist, dass die Interviewpersonen das Thema ‚Gesundheit‘ nur auf sich bezogen haben. Die Gesundheit der Kinder wird in diesem Zusammenhang nicht genannt, obwohl diese ebenfalls, wie die älteren Menschen, besonders anfällig gegenüber Krankheiten sind und oftmals lebensbedrohlich erkranken. Ein Grund für das fehlende Eingehen auf die Gesundheit der Enkelkinder könnte sein, dass der Gesundheitszustand der Enkelkinder besser als angenommen ist und daher nicht im Fokus der Befragten steht. Zudem besteht die Möglichkeit, dass durch das Fehlen einer direkten Frage bezüglich der Gesundheit der Enkelkinder die Interviewpersonen dieses Themengebiet außer Acht gelassen haben.

Bei der Auswertung der Interviewaussagen zur Capability ‚Gesundheit‘ wird zusammenfassend deutlich, dass sich die Capability besonders im Hinblick auf den Zugang zu sauberem Trinkwasser und die Pflege von anderen Personen stark verbessert hat. Als Gründe für die Verbesserung der eigenen Gesundheit nennen die Interviewpersonen sowohl die PSS-Groups als auch die Trainings von KwaWazee. Im Folgenden sollen die beiden Faktoren hinsichtlich ihrer Wirkungen auf die Capability ‚Gesundheit‘ genauer betrachtet werden.

Die Trainings im Bereich Gesundheit vermitteln vor allem wie wichtig sauberes Trinkwasser ist: „[...] *she is drinking water. Before she was not drinking water. But for the moment she is drinking water and the water makes her body fit. Now she can move from here to the church without resting.*“ (EGP, 14/5/2012). Darüber hinaus werden den älteren Menschen von KwaWazee Übungen gezeigt, die

ihren Körper fit halten sollen: „Also, I follow the instructions which I got from different trainings about these body exercises.“ (2C). Die Übungen helfen den RentenempfängerInnen, ihren Körper fit zu halten: “Every morning when I woke up, I have to stretch myself and then this makes my body fit.“ (EGP, 14/5/2012). Oftmals nimmt nicht die ganze Gruppe am Training teil, sondern nur zwei oder drei der Gruppenmitglieder. Diese geben das gelernte Wissen anschließend an ihre Gruppe weiter. Die Trainings haben einen Multiplikatoren-Effekt, da das Wissen an andere weitergegeben wird z.B. Nachbarn, Freunde, Gemeindemitglieder, d.h. die Trainings beeinflussen indirekt auch das Leben dieser Menschen.

Die Rentenempfänger/innen haben aufgrund des Alters und der Lebensbedingungen in Nshamba mit vielen Krankheiten zu kämpfen. Die folgende Grafik zeigt die Ergebnisse der Auswertung der so genannten ‚health reports‘. Die Daten werden seit Februar 2011 monatlich von 20 Gruppen erhoben und erfragen die Anzahl der kranken Gruppenmitglieder, die Arten von Krankheiten als auch die Formen der Unterstützung, die die kranken Menschen bekommen haben.

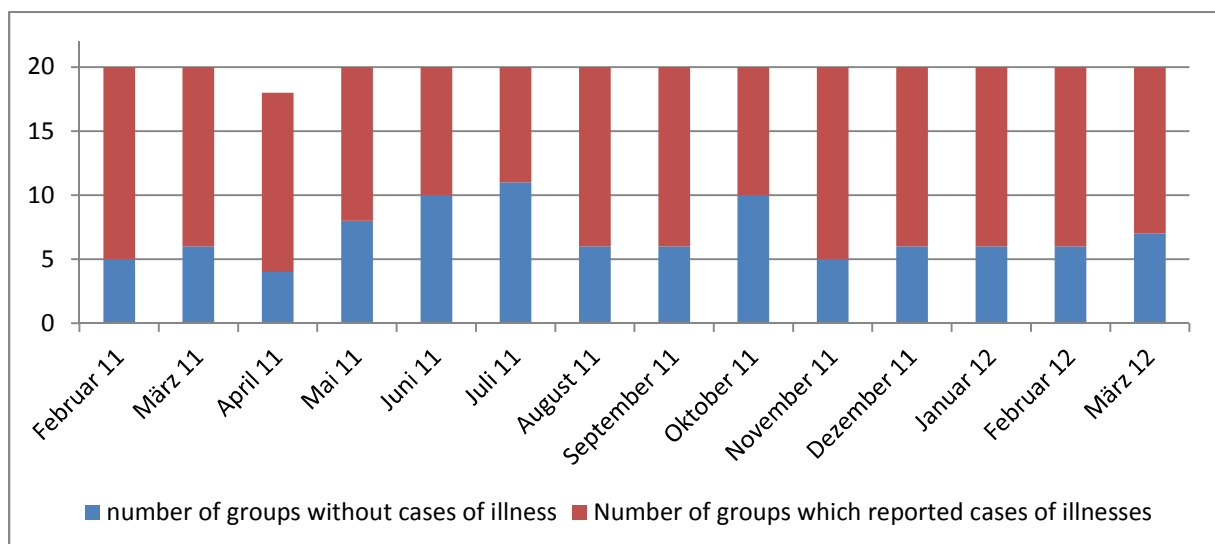


Abbildung 3: Anzahl der Gruppen, die Krankheitsfälle gemeldet haben (health reports KwaWazee, eigene Darstellung)

Die Grafik zeigt, dass mindestens die Hälfte der 20 befragten Gruppen jeden Monat Krankheitsfälle in ihrer Gruppe gemeldet haben, oftmals jedoch deutlich mehr. Im Durchschnitt mussten monatlich 21 von 256 Gruppenmitgliedern auf Grund von Krankheiten gepflegt werden. Dies entspricht einem Anteil von 8% kranken Gruppenmitgliedern. Allerdings schwankt die Zahl der kranken Gruppenmitglieder stark. So waren im Juni 2011 nur 16 Personen erkrankt, im Januar 2012 hingegen 29.

Die folgenden Abbildungen zeigen die Krankheiten, die im Rahmen der Erhebung der ‚health reports‘ genannt worden sind.

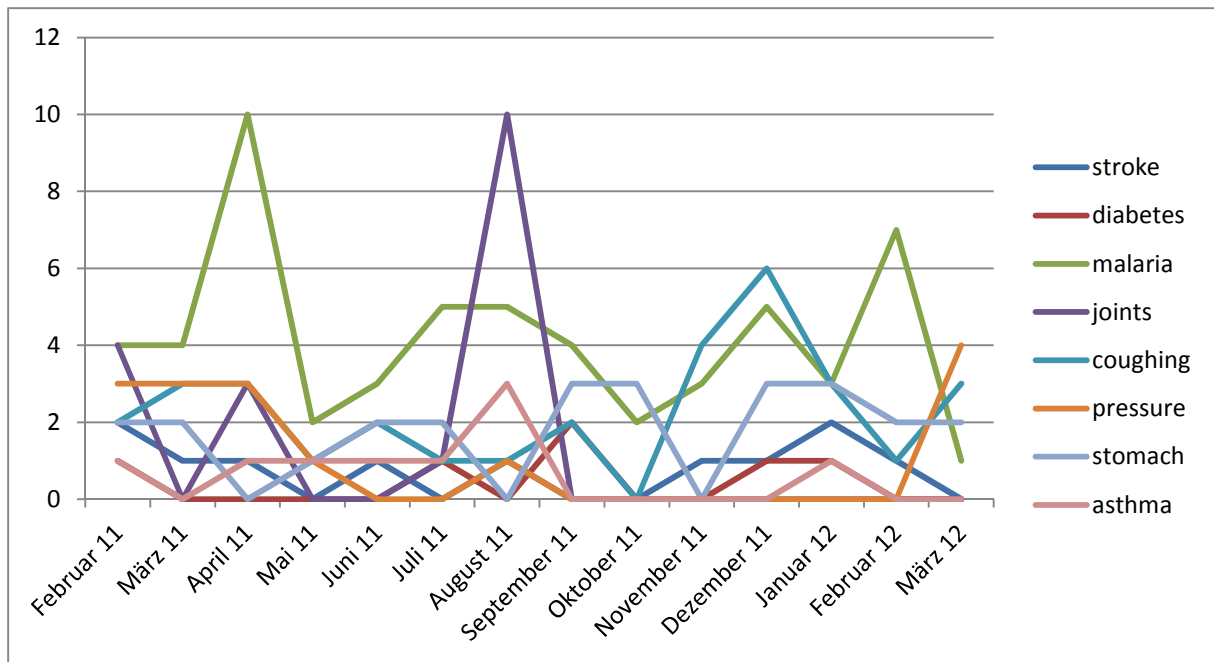


Abbildung 4: Anzahl der gemeldeten Krankheiten, Teil 1 (health reports KwaWazee, eigene Darstellung)

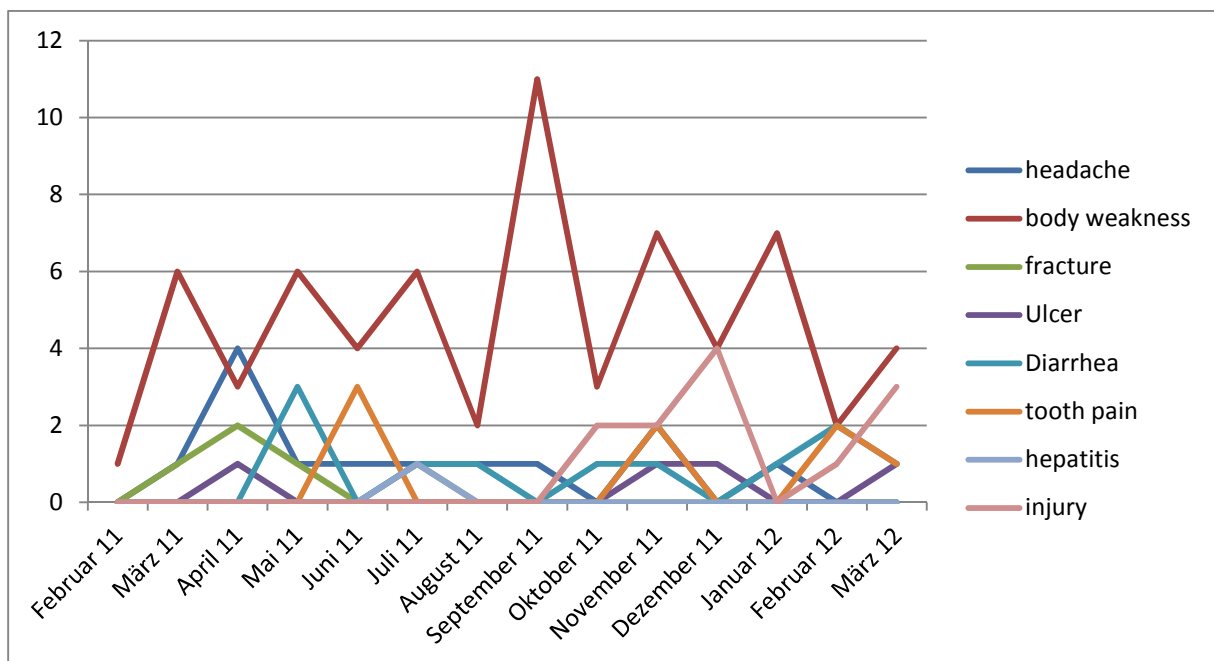


Abbildung 5: Anzahl der gemeldeten Krankheiten, Teil 2 (health reports KwaWazee, eigene Darstellung)

Nach den ‚health reports‘ haben die Rentenempfänger/innen unterschiedliche Gesundheitsprobleme. Die größten Probleme bereiten Malaria, Bauchschmerzen, Gelenkschmerzen, Husten und allgemeines Unwohlsein. Es gibt außerdem auch angeborene Krankheiten, deren Heilung nicht durch die Trainings verbessert werden kann. Somit kommt es bei Betrachtung der Capability ‚Gesundheit‘ zu keinen Verbesserungen. Als Beispiel ist eine Interviewperson zu nennen, die ein verkürztes Bein hat und daher keine langen Strecken ohne Hilfe bewältigen kann.

Bei Krankheiten unterstützen die Familienmitglieder die kranke Person, indem sie im Haushalt mithelfen oder Medizin besorgen: „Also my relatives are just washing my clothes, because I am sick. Also I can send them to go somewhere maybe for looking this local medicine so that I can get better. He is also explaining that also he can send them to go to the farmers where they can buy medicine.” (1A). Auch die Nachbarn und Freunde helfen bei der Pflege durch die Überreichung von materiellen Gütern wie Feuerholz, Lebensmitteln oder ähnlichem: „Starting with my neighbors and friends, from them when I’m sick I can get support like firewood, water, they also visit me to see how [I am] going on with my sickness.” (1A).

Die PSS-Gruppe ist die wichtigste Unterstützung bei Krankheit, da die traditionellen Familienstrukturen durch die HIV/Aids Problematik nicht mehr vorhanden sind. Traditionell ist es die Aufgabe der Kinder die kranken Eltern zu pflegen und zu unterstützen. Da viele RenteneempfängerInnen ihre eigenen Kinder durch AIDS verloren haben, fehlt ihnen eine gesicherte Versorgung im Alter. Die PSS-Gruppe ersetzt die Aufgabe der Kinder: “[...] also another point which changed my life was joining in these mutual supporting group where I can access support when I become sick.” (1A). Wenn ein Gruppenmitglied krank ist, hat die Gruppe zwei Hauptaufgaben.

Die erste Aufgabe ist die Unterstützung im Haushalt der kranken Person: „Sometimes it will be found that the food is already prepared by group member, everything is prepared, there is water, there is firewood, everything is there so they came and just preparing the food for me.” (1C). Die Gruppe übernimmt die Aufgaben, die die kranken Gruppenmitglieder im eigenen Haushalt nicht erledigen können, sie holen Wasser und Feuerholz, kochen Essen und waschen die Kleidung. Oftmals bringen die anderen Gruppenmitglieder auch Lebensmittel wie Zucker oder Salz mit. Die folgende Abbildung zeigt die Häufigkeiten, wie oft die Gruppen, die im ‚health report‘ erfasst werden, welche Arten von Unterstützung leisten.

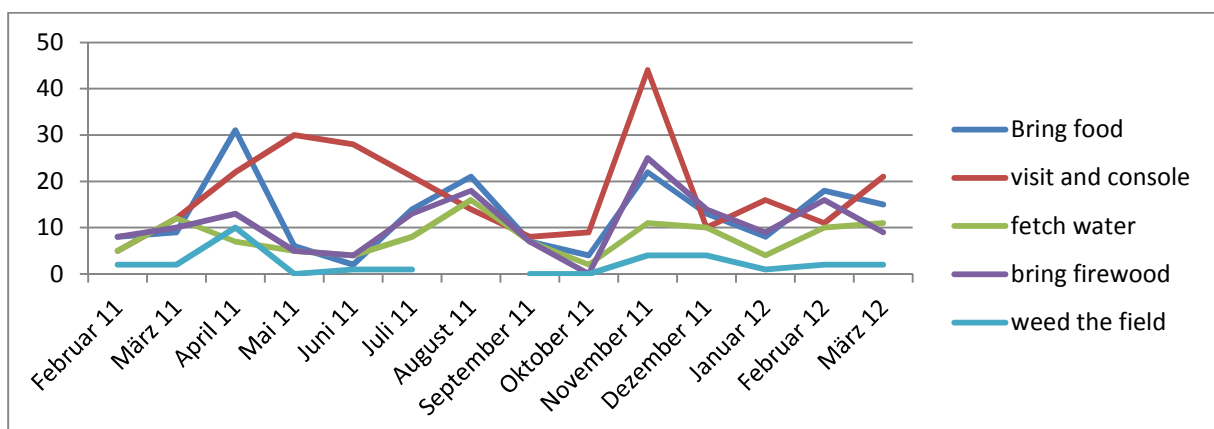


Abbildung 6: Anzahl an Aktivitäten für ein erkranktes Gruppenmitglied, Teil 1 (health reports KwaWazee, eigene Darstellung)

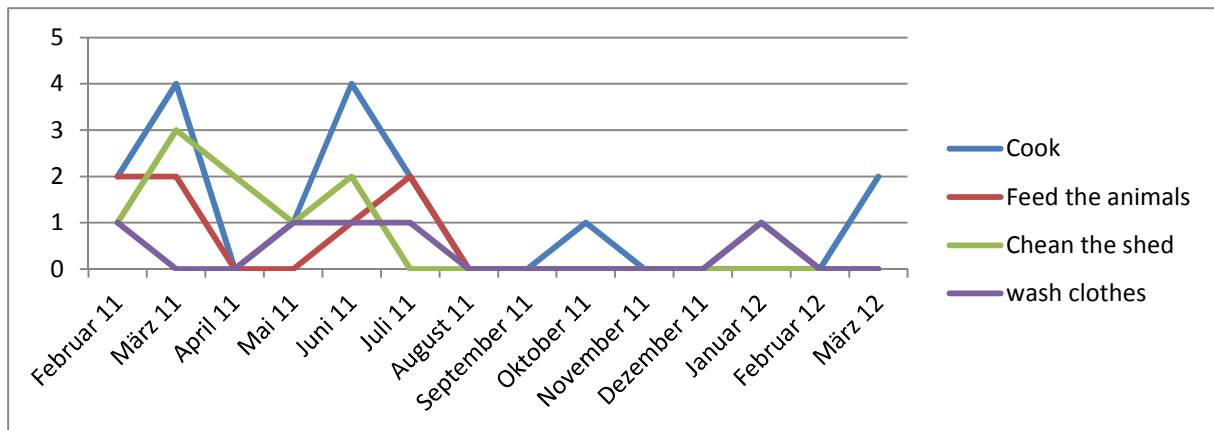


Abbildung 7: Anzahl an Aktivitäten für ein erkranktes Gruppenmitglied, Teil 1 (health reports KwaWazee, eigene Darstellung)

Die häufigste Unterstützung findet durch den Besuch und das Trösten der kranken Person statt. In vielen Fällen werden außerdem Feuerholz, Wasser und Essen gebracht. Die Art der Unterstützung bei einem kranken Gruppenmitglied ist stark individuell geprägt. Gibt es zu dem Zeitpunkt beispielsweise keine Kleidung zu waschen, übernimmt die Gruppe eine andere Aufgabe.

Die zweite Aufgabe der Gruppe ist es, das kranke Gruppenmitglied mit einem kleinen Beitrag aus den Ersparnissen der Gruppe zu unterstützen, um Medikamente zu kaufen oder die medizinische Versorgung im Krankenhaus bezahlen zu können: „Also the money, I get cash from the group where I can access different things which I need to use when I’m sick.“ (1B). Die Regeln, wie viel und wie oft ein Gruppenmitglied finanzielle Unterstützung erhält, werden individuell von den einzelnen Gruppen festgelegt. Dabei wird unterschieden zwischen einer Krankheit, die keinen Krankenhausbesuch erfordert, und Krankheiten, bei denen ein Krankenhausbesuch notwendig ist: „Also I got only three thousand Shillings when I have the normal disease, there is no need to go to the hospital but if there is a need to go to the hospital I got ten thousand Shillings from my group members then from there I can add something so that I can go to the hospital and get treatment.“ (1B). Der finanzielle Beitrag durch die Gruppe ermöglicht den RentenempfängerInnen, dass sie im Vergleich zu früher nicht nur einheimische Medizin kaufen können, deren Wirkung fragwürdig ist, sondern auch eine medizinische Versorgung im Krankenhaus bekommen können. Die Zahlungen reichen trotzdem häufig nicht aus, um die benötigte medizinische Pflege zu gewährleisten: „What is missing is though we get support but it is not enough. You can [get] 3.000 TSH from the group but you have to use maybe 10.000 or 12.000 Shillings. So there is some amount which is still missing to fulfill so that you can get helpful support.“ (1B). Die interviewten Personen berichten, dass sowohl die Höhe der Zahlung, als auch die eingeschränkte Häufigkeit der Zahlungen, ihnen das Leben erschweren, da sie in vielen Fällen mehr bezahlen müssen, als sie von der Gruppe bekommen: „When you are sick maybe this month they support you but next month they can’t support you because the constitution says that after three month you can get support [...] because else our money will be finished.“ (EGP, 13/5/2012). Da die

Ersparnisse der Gruppe oftmals nicht besonders groß sind, können die Gruppenmitglieder nicht bei jedem Krankheitsfall mit einem finanziellen Beitrag unterstützt werden. Das ist insofern problematisch, da aufgrund des Alters aber auch aufgrund der Lebensbedingungen Krankheiten sehr häufig vorkommen und die Rentenzahlungen von KwaWazee auch nicht alle Kosten decken können, die bei einer Krankheit auftreten. Dieser Zustand stellt für die Gruppenmitglieder eine große Belastung dar. Auch wenn das Gruppenmitglied bei wiederholter Krankheit innerhalb eines bestimmten Zeitraums nicht erneut mit einem finanziellen Beitrag unterstützt werden kann, helfen die Gruppenmitglieder ihm trotzdem im Haushalt und bei der Pflege.

Der finanzielle Beitrag ist nichtsdestotrotz eine starke Verbesserung für die Capability ‚Gesundheit‘, da die finanziellen Mittel den kranken Menschen einen Arzt oder ein Krankenhausbesuch ermöglichen: *“[...] because the more support which I get when I’m comparing the group and other neighbors – it is the money which I get from my group.”* (1A). Die nicht finanzielle Unterstützung der Gruppe ist nicht zu unterschätzen, denn ohne die PSS-Groups wären viele der älteren Menschen sich selbst überlassen und könnten auf keine sichere, regelmäßige Unterstützung von anderen Menschen hoffen: *„Before maybe if you have got two friends very close to you. One can come today and help you and the other day maybe he don’t come so you have to ask another neighbor but it was very difficult.”* (7A). Die Gruppe verpflichtet sich jedes Gruppenmitglied bei Krankheit zu unterstützen, sodass sich die Gruppenmitglieder sicher sein können, dass sie Hilfe bekommen, wenn sie krank sind: *“So even if I’m sick but I’m sure that there is my fellow who will come.”* (7C).

Die Capability ‚Gesundheit‘ hat sich aufgrund der Trainings sowie der Gründung der PSS-Groups stark verbessert. Vor allem der Zugang zu medizinischer Versorgung ist durch die finanzielle Unterstützung der Gruppe bei Krankheit stark verbessert worden. Allerdings stehen die RentempfängerInnen immer noch vor großen Herausforderungen, wenn sie öfter krank werden als sie finanzielle Unterstützung bekommen und für den Krankenhausbesuch selbst aufkommen müssen. Einige Krankheiten sind darüber hinaus nicht heilbar und bei diesen Personen verbessert sich die Capability auch nur in geringem Maße.

Die Capability ‚Gesundheit‘ ist eine bedeutende Voraussetzung für einige weitere Capabilities wie z.B. Mobilität oder Lernen und Bildung, da diese Capabilities mit einem kranken Körper nicht ausgeführt werden können. Eine genauere Erläuterung zu den Vernetzungen mit anderen Capabilities wird in Kapitel 5.5 erfolgen.

Die Interviews haben verschiedene Ebenen von Agency aufgezeigt. Agency ist in großem Maße bei der gegenseitigen Pflege in den Gruppen zu erkennen. Die Erstellung von Regeln innerhalb der Gruppen, welche Arten von Unterstützung bei Krankheiten erfolgen, und deren Umsetzung zeigt,

dass die Gruppenmitglieder Entscheidungen treffen und diese begreifen durchzuführen. Die Zitate weisen darauf hin, dass die RentenempfängerInnen häufiger zu verschriebenen Medikamenten als zu einheimischer Medizin greifen. Dieser Neuorientierung geht ein Entscheidungsprozess heraus, der ebenfalls auf Agency hinweist.

2. Ernährung

Die Capability ‚Ernährung‘ ist definiert als die Fähigkeit einer Person Zugang zu ausreichender und nährreicher Nahrung und keinen Hunger zu haben. Diese Thematik ist in den meisten Entwicklungsländern von großer Bedeutung, da viele Menschen hungern und sich und ihre Familien nicht ausreichend versorgen können.

Vor den Aktivitäten von KwaWazee konnten sich viele Menschen nicht mit ausreichend Nahrungsmitteln versorgen und mussten daher um Geld betteln: *„Before joining KwaWazee and starting getting the pension support we were just begging the money for salt [...], for soap from other people. But after getting the pension we are not the beggars again.”* (6C). Durch die Rentenzahlungen von KwaWazee müssen die älteren Menschen nicht mehr betteln gehen, sondern können von den Geldzahlungen Nahrungsmittel kaufen: *„Since 2004 she joined KwaWazee and now she can buy soap, oil, sugar, salt and fish.”* (EGP, 12/5/2012). Von den Geldzahlungen können sich die Rentenempfänger/innen Salz, Zucker, Mehl, Reis, Fisch, Fleisch und Tee leisten. Die Capability hat sich durch die Rentenzahlungen stark verbessert. Insgesamt können sich die Menschen mehr Nahrungsmittel kaufen: *„I can get more food comparing to the previous time.”* (1A). Der verbesserte Zugang zu ausreichenden Nahrungsmitteln verbesserte auch den Gesundheitszustand der RentenempfängerInnen: *„Though before joining KwaWazee she [had] the problem that she could not even take a tea in the morning [...]. But now she is feeling ok because she can take the tea in the morning and this makes her feel comfortable [...].”* (3A). Eine andere Befragte erklärt, dass eine bessere Ernährung es ihr ermöglicht länger zu arbeiten: *“I was not able to go and fetch water [...]. Before I was able to weed about to two hours but now I can weed for three hours.”* (7C). Die verbesserte Ernährung erhöht somit die Produktivität der Menschen und die Möglichkeit ihr Einkommen zu erhöhen.

Die Capability ‚Angemessene Ernährung‘ der zu versorgenden Enkelkinder wurde ebenfalls durch die Rentenzahlungen und die Zulagen für Enkelkinder positiv beeinflusst. Ihre Gesundheit hat sich durch das bessere Nahrungsangebot verbessert. Dadurch fühlen sich die Enkelkinder glücklicher: *“They’re happy because now they get tea and some bread, rice. So they happy.”* (5A). Das Gefühl mit genügend Nahrung versorgt werden zu können hat auch Auswirkungen auf die Schulleistungen der

Enkelkinder: *“The children, when they are at school they are not thinking about what they are coming back to eat but they can concentrate at school.”* (EGP, 14/5/2012). In der Vergangenheit konnten die Enkelkinder sich nicht in der Schule beim Lernen konzentrieren, weil sie mit Sorgen um ihre tägliche Mahlzeit belastet waren. Die Rentenzahlungen haben den Enkelkindern eine verlässliche Mahlzeit nach der Schule ermöglicht, da die Großmütter und Großväter von den Zahlungen Nahrungsmittel kaufen können. Die verbesserte Capability ‚Angemessene Nahrung‘ bei den Enkelkindern verstärkt daher die Capability ‚Lernen und Bildung‘.

Eine Interviewperson spricht in einem Explorationsgruppeninterview eine weitere Sorge der Enkelkinder an: *„They could not get enough food, they were just feeling weak and then they could not go outside to play. [...] And then there are the feelings of losing their father and mother. These feelings comes when they have no food, they think that if my father or my mother is present I could have get food, they’d offer me food. Now they are no longer here, I can’t get food. So these feelings stays. [...] They could think about this atmosphere that could make them grow and develop but they think about negative life.”* (EGP, 12/5/2012). Die fehlende Versorgung mit Nahrung seitens der Eltern bereitet den Kindern offenbar Sorge. In ihren Augen beschützen die eigenen Eltern sie vor Hungergefühlen. Da der verfrühte Tod der Eltern sie zu Waisen macht, sorgen sie sich um ihre Ernährung. Die Rente hilft ihnen und ihren Großmüttern und Großvätern sich ausreichend zu versorgen und diese Sorgen zu mildern oder gar abzulegen.

Eine Rentenempfängerin macht sich ebenfalls Sorgen zu der Capability ‚Angemessene Ernährung‘, da sie sich vor einer Inflation fürchtet. Wenn der Preis für Lebensmittel steigt, reicht die Rente nicht aus um sich selbst und die Familie zu ernähren: *„ [...] she is concerned about the price fluctuation of sugar, salt and food. She worries about the future because at the moment the pension is sufficient for the month but with the price fluctuation it could be different in the future.”* (EGP, 14/5/2012).

3. Angemessene Unterkunft

Die Capability ‚Angemessene Unterkunft‘ ist definiert als die Fähigkeit einer Person Schutz in Form einer Unterkunft zu haben, an dem die Person sich zuhause und wohl fühlen kann, und die die Person gegen alle Wetterbedingungen schützt. Diese Definition umfasst auch die Fähigkeit die Unterkunft so herzurichten, dass alltägliche Dinge wie schlafen oder kochen ohne größere Einschränkungen und Probleme möglich sind.

Die Capability ‚Angemessene Unterkunft‘ ist nicht eindeutig zu bewerten, da es bei einigen Interviewten eine Verbesserung hinsichtlich der Unterkunft gibt und bei Anderen die Situation gleich

geblieben ist. Die Interviews haben drei Arten von Unterkünften aufgezeigt, in denen die alten Menschen wohnen. Die erste Variante ist, dass die Rentenempfänger/innen in einem eigenen, selbst erbauten Haus wohnen. Ein interviewter Großvater erklärte uns, dass er mit der Hilfe der Rente so lange gespart hat bis er sich ein eigenes Haus bauen konnte: *„Before KwaWazee I was living in other, in the house of some people. I was renting. But after the pension I started to save small, small money. Then from there also my knowledge was, I expanded the knowledge. So I tried to construct my own house where I am living now.“* (9C). Für ihn hat die Capability sich stark verbessert. Eine andere Großmutter berichtete, dass es für sie nicht möglich ist mit der Rente ihr Haus so zu verbessern, dass es sie besser schützt: *„At home I am not really feeling safe because my house is not in a good condition and because my son was schooling. Now he has completed form six. So the money, I was used, the money from the pension to save my son. So I didn't manage to construct my house.“* (10B). Sie nutzt die Rente für ihren Sohn, der noch zur Schule geht, und kann es sich daher nicht leisten ihr eigenes Haus zu reparieren. Ein anderes Gruppenmitglied berichtet jedoch über die Möglichkeit, das zerstörte Haus mit Hilfe der finanziellen Unterstützung wieder aufzubauen: *„I remember one time my house was fall down but one of our neighbors decided to keep me and my family that I can stay in his house so that later I can construct my house.“* (1C).

Die zweite Möglichkeit ist, dass KwaWazee den alten Menschen ein Haus baut, dies ist allerdings eine Ausnahme und wurde nur in wenigen Fällen durchgeführt: *„My house was constructed by KwaWazee and when we are inside we feel safety because we are in a good house.“* (3B). Der Bau von Häusern durch KwaWazee wurde jedoch schnell wieder eingestellt, da keine finanziellen Mittel dafür vorhanden waren.

Die dritte Möglichkeit der Unterkunft ist, stellt die Miete dar: *„To my side I have different problems. When I'm going to my family, to other families, where I'm living, it's not my house. I'm just staying there for the support of someone. Everytime he can say that , go, go away from my house'. So that's a big challenge to my life. I'm not okay, I'm just thinking where can I live for the following days [...] I was just staying in the other houses paying the rent.“* (4C). Das ist insofern problematisch, da mitunter nur mündliche Absprachen getroffen werden und der Mietende jederzeit damit rechnen muss, dass er das Haus wieder verlassen muss. Die Miete zahlt er entweder mit der Rente oder mit seinem kleinen Einkommen. In diesem Falle gibt es keine Verbesserung der Capability. Bereits vor dem Erhalt der Rente, so gab er an, konnte er die Miete bezahlen.

Eine weitere Verbesserung innerhalb der Capability ‚Angemessene Unterkunft‘ ist, dass die RentenempfängerInnen mithilfe der Rente Gegenstände wie Moskitonetze, Matratzen und Bettbezüge kaufen können: *„For example in the ten past years we didn't know even the mosquito nets but now we use mosquito nets. Also we sleep in a nice and good bed and bed sheets. We use*

mattresses now. The past ten years we were just find the grasses somewhere and put as mattress.“
(7C).

Die Capability ‚Angemessene Unterkunft‘ hat kein Level of Agency, da keine erkennbaren Prozesse in Bezug zum Denken und Handeln der Menschen diesbezüglich deutlich geworden sind.

4. Angemessene Kleidung

Die Definition der Capability ‚Angemessene Kleidung‘ lautet die Fähigkeit einer Person angemessene Kleidung zu haben, die gegen alle Wetterbedingungen schützt, und die Person bedeckt, warm und sauber hält. Die Kleidung ist ein existenzielles Grundbedürfnis um für die Chance eines Menschen zu handeln und an einem Gesellschaftsleben teilzunehmen.

Die genannte Capability hat sich stark verbessert. Alle Aussagen der Befragten lassen darauf schließen, dass sich diese Capability ausschließlich durch die Rentenzahlungen von KwaWazee verbessert hat, da die RentenempfängerInnen sich von der Rente sowohl Kleidungsstücke, als auch Seife zum Waschen kaufen können, was zuvor nur selten möglich war. Vor den Rentenzahlungen waren die alten Menschen in vielen Fällen von der Gesellschaft ausgeschlossen. Aufgrund der Schamgefühle über die wenige Kleidung nahmen viele Menschen kaum an sozialen Interaktionen teil: *„I had no clothes, I was dirty and my situation, my life-situation was very bad. [...] So I was shameful for joining other people.“* (3A). Zusätzlich erschwerte eine respektlose Behandlung anderer Menschen aus der Gesellschaft ihren Zugang zu sozialen Netzwerken. In den Interviews wird deutlich, dass die alten Menschen für ihre Kleidung ausgelacht wurden: *„Also when she has the clothes she can move around and nobody can laugh at her.“* (3B). Die Situation der Enkelkinder ähnelt stark der der Großväter und Großmütter. Ohne Kleidung oder nur spärlich bekleidet ließen andere Kinder sie in der Vergangenheit nicht mitspielen. Stattdessen wurden sie von anderen Kindern ausgelacht: *„This is because they had no clothes, they could not go out to play with other children because the other children would laugh at them.“* (EGP, 12/5/2012). Die Rentenzahlungen ermöglichten den RentenempfängerInnen, dass sie für sich und ihre zu versorgenden Enkelkinder Kleidung kaufen können. Ein interviewter Großvater nutzt seine Rente um sein eigenes ‚Business‘ aufzubauen: *„Now I have my own business, I’m selling this grandnuts so the money which I get from my business I can manage to buy my clothes. [...]Then from there I can manage to have more clothes compared to the previous time.“* (4C). Von dem Einkommen, welches er durch den Erdnuss-Verkauf hat, kauft er sich mittlerweile seine Kleidung.

Nicht nur der Kauf von Kleidung ermöglicht ihnen die Teilnahme am Gesellschaftsleben, sondern insbesondere der Kauf von Seife. Da die Sauberkeit der Kleidung in der Gesellschaft sehr angesehen ist, hat die Seife einen hohen Stellenwert. Wer Seife hat und seine Kleidung waschen kann, wird respektiert. Wer sich diese Dinge nicht leisten kann, fürchtet sich auf die Straße zu gehen: „*They fear even to go with other people because their clothes are dirty sometimes.*“ (6B). Der Grund dafür ist, dass in der Region um Nshamba Personen, die unsauber oder ärmlich gekleidet sind, oftmals als Hexen betitelt werden: „*For example if they meet somebody with dirty clothes, she is not smart. They said that this one is a wizard. [...] They say that because of the way you look like.*“ (9C). Vor dem Hintergrund, dass der Glaube an die Hexerei auch heute noch in der afrikanischen Bevölkerung weit verbreitet ist, kann die Verdächtigung eine Hexe zu sein sogar lebensbedrohlich werden (Bruchhausen 2006). Mit der Versorgung von ausreichender und sauberer Kleidung verschwinden die Beschimpfungen und damit auch die Angst: „*Also I'm clean, my clothes are clean because I wash my clothes, I have soap. I'm not hungry because I get enough food, so I'm strong, I can go everywhere without any fear.*“ (8A). Stattdessen bekommen die alten Menschen das erste Mal Respekt von der Gesellschaft und können damit auch am gesellschaftlichen Leben teilnehmen: „*Yes she was afraid of getting to be [not] respected by other people. This is because I had no good clothes, I [was] dirty [...]. So [now] I am good. And when I go to the other people they are respecting me. They can greet me.*“ (3A). Sie werden offen in die Gemeinschaft aufgenommen und können sozialen Netzwerken beitreten: „*We are clean, we are smart. Even if we go to the church, if we are smart go to the church somebody can give me the space 'come and sit here'. Like this. So the support from KwaWazee increased the chance to be respected.*“ (6C). Die Rentenzahlungen haben somit einen positiven Einfluss auf die Capability ‚Angemessene Kleidung‘ und ermöglichen den RentenempfängerInnen respektvoll in der Gemeinschaft aufgenommen zu werden und soziale Interaktionen auszuführen.

Die verbesserte Capability ‚Angemessene Kleidung‘ hat Auswirkungen auf das Agency Level der Menschen in Nshamba. Die RentenempfängerInnen entscheiden sich für einen aktiven Austausch mit anderen Menschen um in der Gesellschaft aufgenommen und akzeptiert zu werden. Diesen Schritt, der zu Beginn auch Risiken, wie Verletzlichkeit oder Nicht-Akzeptieren birgt, gehen die älteren Menschen und zeigen damit Agency.

5. Mobilität

Die Capability ‚Mobilität‘ ist definiert als die Fähigkeit einer Person imstande zu sein, sich frei zu Orten ihrer Wahl zu bewegen.

Diese Capability haben die Interviewpersonen ausschließlich auf sich bezogen. Die Enkelkinder wurden in diesem Zusammenhang nicht erwähnt. Grund dafür ist wahrscheinlich, dass Einschränkungen in der Mobilität erst mit zunehmendem Alter auftreten und daher die Kinder keine Probleme diesbezüglich haben.

Diese Capability kann nur beschränkt betrachtet werden, da die Interviewpersonen anhand von zwei Faktoren ausgewählt worden sind, wobei ein Faktor das problemlose Erreichen des KwaWazee Büros war. Dementsprechend wurden nur Personen interviewt, die in der Nähe des Büro's wohnen und sich ohne Schwierigkeiten bewegen können. Die Aussagen zur Capability ‚Mobilität‘ wurden somit bereits durch die Stichprobenauswahl im Voraus beeinflusst. Ausnahme war eine interviewte Rentempfängerin, die mit ihrer Schwester gemeinsam zum Interview gekommen ist. Sie erzählte „*So I was born disabled with one leg. [...]I was able to move because I was still young. But because now I'm older and according to my problem it is not able. As I'm getting old then my leg are not fit again as you see*“ (7B). Da die Frau ein verkürztes Bein hat, treten mit zunehmendem Alter Probleme bezüglich ihrer Mobilität bei weiteren Strecken auf. Kürzere Strecken könne sie noch selbständig zurücklegen: „*I'm just putting my health foot to go to the church, to see neighbors and other places during the burial, during the ceremony.*“ (7B). Die Trainings zum Thema Gesundheit von KwaWazee hätten ihr geholfen, stärker und beweglicher zu werden: „*I was not able to come here and collect my pension or to move around but after practicing exercises and drinking tea, water and use vegetables, now I have improved.*“ (7B). Früher musste ihre Schwester ihre Rente am Tag der Auszahlung mitbringen. Jetzt fühle sich sie stark genug, mit einem Motorrad-Taxi selbst zu KwaWazee zu fahren, um ihre Rente entgegenzunehmen. Die Capability ‚Mobilität‘ hat sich für sie verbessert, allerdings kann ihr Problem eines verkürzten Beines und damit auch die Einschränkungen in der Bewegung nicht gelöst, sondern nur optimiert werden.

Eine weitere Befragte hebt ebenfalls das Problem von Einschränkungen in der Mobilität im Alter hervor: „*Even now, I started to feel some pains in my body so this is difficult when I'm moving around going to our neighbors, going to the market. This is difficult.*“ (4C). Altersbedingte Gelenk- und Gliederschmerzen, die mit dem Alter zunehmen, schränken die Mobilität der alten Menschen ein. Das zeigt auch die Auswertung der bereits genannten ‚Health Reports‘. In den 20 befragten Gruppen traten monatlich bei vier bis 10 Gruppenmitglieder so starke Gelenk- und Gliederschmerzen auf, dass sie die Pflege der Gruppen in Anspruch nehmen mussten.

Um auch weniger mobilen RentempfängerInnen die Teilnahme an den Explorationsgruppeninterviews zu ermöglichen, wurden diese bei einem der Gruppenmitglieder zu Hause durchgeführt. Da die Gruppenmitglieder nicht weit voneinander weg wohnen, konnten alle eingeladenen Personen daran teilnehmen. Eine Interviewperson berichtete, dass sie in der

Vergangenheit nicht das Haus verlassen hätte, weil sie morgens aus Schwäche zitterte und daher Angst gehabt hätte, draußen zu stürzen: „*In the morning hours she was just [...] shivering [...] She could not move from her home to other place because she [...] thought that when she could go to other people maybe she could fall down somewhere. So when she joined KwaWazee she managed to buy sugar and food and cooking oil and when she bought sugar she cooked a tea every morning. [...] After a few months she felt better and then this shivering went off.*” (EGP, 14/5/2012). Mit der Rentenzahlung von KwaWazee könne sie sich die Zutaten für einen Tee mit Zucker am Morgen leisten und damit ihren Kreislauf in Schwung bringen, sodass sie nicht mehr zittere. Jetzt, da sie sich besser fühle, könne sie sich draußen problemlos bewegen und das Gruppentreffen besuchen. Die Rente hat ihre Capability ‚Mobilität‘ stark verbessert. Die Trainings zum Thema sauberes Trinkwasser wirken sich ebenfalls positiv auf die Capability aus: “*And they are joining these groups because they are doing different exercises of stretching the body. This helps her. [...] She got a knowledge from the group, [...] she is drinking water. Before she was not drinking water. But for the moment she is drinking water and the water makes her body fit. Now she can move from here to the church without resting.*” (EGP, 14/5/2012). Sie hat jetzt die Möglichkeit mehr Aktivitäten auszuführen, da sie durch den verbesserten Gesundheitszustand sich besser bewegen kann und eine größere Anzahl an unterschiedlichen Orte aufsuchen kann. Bei den RentenempfängerInnen, deren Mobilität verbessert wurde, ist abschließend festzuhalten, dass sie einen hohen Grad an Agency aufweisen, da sie die verbesserte Capability nutzen um soziale Interaktionen durchzuführen. Die Vernetzung der Capability ‚Mobilität‘ und der Capability ‚Soziale Netzwerke‘ wird in Kapitel 5.5 genauer betrachtet.

5.2 Teil B: Psychisches Wohlbefinden und geistige Entwicklung

6. Vergnügen

Die Definition für die Capability ‚Vergnügen‘ ist definiert als die Fähigkeit einer Person an Aktivitäten, die Freude bringen und von Sorgen ablenken, teilzunehmen. Da Glück und Glücksgefühle einer sehr subjektiven Wahrnehmung unterliegen und sie stark von der Kultur und Lebensweise der Personen abhängen, war die Befragung zu diesem Thema sehr aufschlussreich. Zunächst soll die Capability auf die RentenempfängerInnen bezogen werden. Im Anschluss daran, werden die Zitate bezüglich der Enkelkinder analysiert.

Die Befragten empfinden Glück, wenn sie mit anderen Menschen Zeit verbringen, sich austauschen und gemeinsame Aktivitäten durchführen: “*I’m happy to see your friend and your family. When you*

see your friends [...] you feel more comfortable that okay, I'm not alone, I'm with other people." (2A). In der Vergangenheit konnten die älteren Menschen mit der Familie, Freunden und Nachbarn Zeit verbringen. Die Gründung der PSS-Gruppen hat die Möglichkeit andere Menschen zu treffen stark erhöht. Die hohe Bedeutung der PSS-Gruppe zum Thema ‚Vergnügen‘ lässt sich anhand der Vielzahl von Aussagen in Bezug auf die Gruppe festhalten. Andere Möglichkeiten, die ‚Vergnügen‘ bereiten, werden nur in wenigen Zitaten genannt. Es ist nicht davon auszugehen, dass die nicht erwähnten Personen, wie bspw. Nachbarn oder Freunde, keinen Einfluss auf die Capability haben, sondern dass durch die Befragung zur Rente der Fokus unbewusst, auf die Gruppen gelenkt wurde. Eine weitere Annahme ist, dass Personen, die in der Vergangenheit bei Problemen beratend zur Seite standen, aufgrund ihres Alters oder Krankheiten bereits gestorben sind: *"I was living with my siblings, my brother and my sister, so if I was in worries, I was able to change ideas with them. But after they died that is when the problem increased to me."* (10D).

Die Gruppe hat innerhalb der Capability ‚Vergnügen‘ verschiedene Funktionen. Die Gruppenmitglieder lenken sich gegenseitig von Sorgen und Problemen ab. In der Gruppe holen sich die Gruppenmitglieder Rat: *"If I have worries nowadays I go to my group where I can (discuss) my problem and from there I can get different advice on which I can come out from the problem which I face."* (4B). Dabei ist die Tatsache, dass viele die gleichen Probleme haben, besonders unterstützend, weil man gemeinsam an Lösungen arbeiten und Erfahrungen austauschen kann: *"[...] nowadays I am in groups then from the group I meet with different older people who have the same problem which I have. [...] I'm just meeting with older people who already lost their husband, the same to me, I don't have the husband but from there we discuss on how we can live with our grandchildren, on how we can treat our grandchildren in a good way. So not everything to disclose to someone but from the group I can access different advice because we have the same problem which is affecting us."* (1B). Die gemeinsamen Probleme schaffen ein Gemeinschaftsgefühl, in dem sich die einzelnen Gruppenmitglieder nicht alleine und einsam fühlen: *„So from KwaWazee she is getting pension and the pension contributes to her to reduce loneliness due to the fact that [she can] join the other members."* (3B).

Für die befragten RentenempfängerInnen ist Vergnügen, sich mit anderen Menschen treffen zu können und miteinander Zeit verbringen zu können. Als Beispiele für solche Momente werden die Trainings, Kirchenbesuche und Besuche von Gästen genannt: *"So for example when you come for the health training and meet with other people it is the time when I enjoy. [...] For example at the church, also when maybe I have the guests [...]. It is the time of celebrating."* (7B). Besonderes Vergnügen bereitet den RentenempfängerInnen das Feiern von Festen, wie Weihnachten, Ostern und Neujahr:

„I feel happy especially during Christmas because it reminds us the birth of Jesus Christ. So I feel more happy, spiritual I know that our glory Jesus was new born for our Jesus Christ.” (4B).

Ein besonderer Tag ist der sogenannte ‘Old People’s Day’ am 1. Oktober. Dieser Tag wird auch ‘International Day of Older Persons’ genannt und wurden von den Vereinten Nationen im Jahr 1991 ins Leben gerufen. An diesem Tag soll der Beitrag der älteren Menschen zum gesellschaftlichen Leben gewürdigt und gefeiert werden. Durch KwaWazee haben die RentenempfängerInnen von diesem Tag erfahren und feiern ihn seit zwei Jahren nun ebenfalls: *„[...] this we started to celebrate this from KwaWazee. It was not our culture that every first of October we have to celebrate.” (1A).* Die Feierlichkeiten erfolgen auf unterschiedliche Art und Weise: *„To my side I’m very proud with that day because it is my day first of all. And during this day normal our meal in my family it’s must be changed maybe we have to eat rice with meat. So we have changed the meal on that day. But also I meet with different older people where we celebrate, we dance together.” (1A).* Neben neuen Ritualen in der Familie an diesem Tag, feiern die älteren Menschen an diesem Tag auch zusammen. Es wird gemeinsam gegessen, gesungen und getanzt: *“The way I celebrate our day, first of all I have to attend the day. I sing with other older people, we are singing the local – we dance local music, also the day, there is a chat with different people from different areas.” (4B).* Da die älteren Menschen aus allen Dörfern zusammen kommen, tauschen sie sich auch mit Menschen aus, die sie sonst nicht treffen würden. Die befragten Interviewpersonen empfinden an diesem Tag besonderes Glück: *„You know these special days to my life. So when I reach [this] day I feel more happy, comfortable because there is other people who didn’t manage to reach these days maybe they passed away or they are in the hospital seriously sick but when I reach these days healthy I have to celebrate because they are special days to my life.” (1A).* Die Capability ‘Vergnügen’ der älteren Menschen hat sich stark verbessert. Grund dafür sind vor allem die PSS-Gruppen, durch die sich die Menschen nicht mehr einsam fühlen müssen und ihre Probleme austauschen können. Insbesondere die Umsetzung des ‘Old People’s Day’ ist ein Zeichen für das Level of Agency der Rentenempfänger/innen, da sie den Tag aktiv gestalten und umsetzen.

Die Capability ‘Vergnügen’ wurde hinsichtlich der Enkelkinder weniger thematisiert. Die befragten Personen gaben unterschiedliche Situationen an, in denen ihre Enkelkinder Glück empfinden. In den Tatutano Gruppen bereitet es den Enkelkindern Spaß, dass sie sich untereinander austauschen können sowie miteinander spielen und singen können: *“And then when they go to their groups they discuss, they can play, sing. When they come back they tell me what they have been taught in their at the groups. [...] Now they are happy, even me I am happy.” (6D).* Das bestätigt auch ein weitere Rentenempfängerin: *“Yes my grandchildren are like this because I can see that if they are together with other children they are feeling very ok and they can play together with the other children.” (3A).*

Die Definition für 'Vergnügen' umfasst auch die Ablenkung von Sorgen und Problemen. Diesbezüglich erzählte eine Interviewperson: *"But they go to school, they have food, they eat, they play, so I can't say that there is time when they are sad for thinking about their mother and father."* (9B). Es ist zu vermuten, dass sich die Capability 'Vergnügen' hinsichtlich der Enkelkinder verbessert hat, da sich auch die Capability „Angemessene Kleidung“ positiv entwickelte. Die Befragten haben angegeben, dass ihre Enkelkinder sehr viel Freude beim Spielen mit anderen Kindern hätten, jedoch nur mit angemessener Kleidung von diesen akzeptiert würden (siehe Kapitel 5.1). Daher ist davon auszugehen, dass sich die Capability ‚Angemessene Kleidung‘ positiv auf die Capability ‚Vergnügen‘ der Enkelkinder auswirkt.

7. Lernen und Bildung

Die Definition der Capability ‚Lernen und Bildung‘ lautet: Die Fähigkeit einer Person, ihr Wissen zu erweitern und Zugang zu Bildung zu haben.

Diese Capability wurde sowohl von den RentenempfängerInnen auf sich, als auch auf ihre Enkelkinder bezogen. In der Art und Weise wie die interviewten Personen mit dem Thema Lernen und Bildung umgegangen sind, hat sich herausgestellt, dass sie das Thema in Bezug auf ihre Enkelkinder häufiger nannten, ohne dass die Interviewerin explizit nachfragte. Die Frage, ob sie selbst noch willens zu lernen sind, fiel ihnen sichtlich schwerer zu beantworten. Die Auswertung hat ergeben, dass sowohl bei den RentenempfängerInnen als auch bei den Enkelkindern eine starke Verbesserung der Capability eingetreten ist.

Zunächst sollen die Verbesserungen im Leben der Großmütter und Großväter genauer betrachtet werden. Die Befragten haben drei Arten des Lernens genannt. Die erste Lernweise erfolgt durch die Trainings, die KwaWazee initiiert: *„From KwaWazee we get this money keeping, leadership training on how you can keep the money, the expenditures, something like that.“* (1B). Die Trainings werden zu ganz unterschiedlichen Themen durchgeführt, z.B. Selbstverteidigung, Ersparnisbildung, einkommensfördernde Maßnahmen, Gesundheit, etc. Zu einigen Trainings, wie z.B. Gesundheit, werden nur einige Gruppenmitglieder eingeladen. Sie bekommen daraufhin die Aufgabe, das gelernte Wissen an ihre Gruppenmitglieder weiterzugeben: *„What I always teach my group about what I learned from KwaWazee especially health training.[...] So the same I teach in my group it is the same I teach in my family.“* (4A). Dadurch wird ein sehr starker Multiplikatoren-Effekt geschaffen, da das Wissen nicht innerhalb der Gruppe verbleibt, sondern auch an weitere Personen, zum Beispiel die Familie, Nachbarn oder Freunde, weitergegeben wird. Obwohl diese Menschen nicht direkt von KwaWazee durch die Rentenzahlungen oder die Trainings unterstützt werden, erhalten sie indirekte

Hilfe, da sie Wissen aufnehmen und bei Anwendung des Wissens eine bessere Lebensqualität erreichen können. Die zweite Art Wissen zu generieren, erfolgt durch den Austausch mit den Enkelkindern: *“When we come to our [group] meeting, we try to use the knowledge we are getting from the grandchildren. This is because they are going at school.”* (EGP, 14/5/2012). Das Wissen, was die Enkelkinder in der Schule lernen, tauschen sie mit ihren Großeltern aus. Das bestimmende Thema dabei ist vor allem die Verbesserung der Gesundheit: *„For example my granddaughter she explained to me not to eat the fat food because I’m older also not [to] eat much salt that’s not good for my health.”* (1B). Diese zweite Art des Lernens existiert unabhängig von den Aktivitäten KwaWazee’s, d.h. es ist kein direkter Zusammenhang ersichtlich, dass sich die Projekte von KwaWazee auf diese Lernweise auswirken. Es ist allerdings anzunehmen, dass die Großeltern ihre Enkelkinder durch die Trainings von KwaWazee zum Thema Gesundheit sensibilisieren und die Kinder dadurch verstärkt auf gesundheitliche Hinweise, beispielsweise in der Schule, reagieren. Die dritte Art der RentenempfängerInnen zu lernen, ist durch den Austausch mit anderen Menschen. Dabei werden die PSS-Gruppen besonders stark betont. In der Gruppe tauschen sich die Menschen aus, diskutieren über Probleme und können aus den Erfahrungen von anderen Gruppenmitgliedern neue Erkenntnisse gewinnen und somit neues Wissen generieren: *“The knowledge they get from exchanging ideas.”* (EGP, 12/5/2012). Lernen erfolgt bei den älteren Menschen durch den Austausch mit anderen Menschen, da jeder Mensch über unterschiedliches Wissen verfügt und dieses an andere Gruppenmitglieder weitergeben kann: *„She was just adding to what she said about forming groups and then she learned from each [of] the member. It is like a training that she is trained by the other members how they can live together.”* (3A). Lernen können somit nur diejenigen, die nicht isoliert sind, sondern in der Gesellschaft integriert sind. Dessen sind sich auch die RentenempfängerInnen bewusst: *“If you decide to stay alone you can’t learn because you have to meet with other people, then from meeting, from the interaction of different people you can learn different things [...] Then it’s like education, you learn from other people. That’s why I’m very interested to meet with other people.”* (2C). Die älteren Menschen sehen sich vielen Problemen in ihrem Leben ausgesetzt und fühlen sich in der Gruppe unterstützt, sodass sie ihre Probleme verringern oder lösen können: *„Since I joined the PSS-Groups I have the knowledge to know where I can start if I have a problem.”* (10A). Durch den Erfahrungsaustausch bei der gegenseitigen Unterstützung bei Problemen lernen die RentenempfängerInnen auch voneinander: *„And problems of the group helped me a lot so I learn from my fellow that even if [you] are under problems you can go and solve them.”* (10D). Ein Problem wird nicht mehr als gegeben und unlösbar akzeptiert, sondern in der Gruppe wird gemeinsam an Lösungsvorschlägen gearbeitet.

Eine Verbesserung der Capability ‚Lernen und Bildung‘ heißt daher für viele auch mehr Selbstbewusstsein: *„Because she learned, she has confidence.”* (6B). Eine weitere Person wurde

gefragt, warum jemand Selbstbewusstsein habe und ihre Antwort lautete „*because somebody has a knowledge maybe she is educated*“ (6A). Dies bekräftigt die Aussage, dass eine starke Vernetzung zwischen der Capability ‚Lernen und Bildung‘ und der Capability ‚Selbstwert‘ besteht.

Besonders wichtig war herauszufinden, ob das gelernte Wissen auch angewandt wird. Dafür wurde das Agency Level der RentenempfängerInnen näher betrachtet. Das Wissen, das durch die drei Lernarten (Trainings, Kinder, andere Menschen, insbesondere die PSS-Gruppen) vermittelt wird, befähigt sie dazu ihr Leben in bestimmten Bereichen zu verbessern. Die zu diesem Thema befragten Personen setzten das vermittelte Wissen um. Das Ziel dabei ist, sich vor Unsicherheiten in der Zukunft zu schützen: „*So from there, [I] learned that I have to plan for my future. [...] About saving I learned from KwaWazee during different meeting and trainings. [...] if you maybe got 1000, you have to keep 500 and to use 500 because you don't know in the coming day maybe one day you can be sick or grandchildren can be sick so you have to keep the money for other needs.*“ (10A). Das Training zum Thema Sparen hat diese Befragte dazu angeregt, die Hälfte des Einkommens für die Zukunft zurückzulegen. Es gibt unterschiedliche Maßnahmen, die aufgrund des gesteigerten Wissens von den RentenempfängerInnen begonnen wurden: „*For example I learn how to prepare the future life for my family by preparing the weed, by maybe have some material, capital for future, maybe to have pieces of land, to plant coffee trees which will last for twelve years. Also to make my shamba, to put goats and the other things.*“ (5B). Allgemein lässt sich sagen, dass aus der verbesserten Capability ‚Lernen und Bildung‘ Agency entstanden ist, die langfristig eine Sicherung der Zukunft für die älteren Menschen in Nshamba bedeuten kann. Eine genauere Auswertung der Aktivitäten zur Absicherung vor Unsicherheiten in der Zukunft findet in Kapitel 5.4 unter ‚Risikomanagement‘ statt.

Im Folgenden sollen nun die Interviewaussagen in Bezug auf die Enkelkinder analysiert werden. Die Capability ‚Lernen und Bildung‘ bedeutet hierbei, dass sie regelmäßig zur Schule gehen können und sich dort ohne Sorge konzentrieren können. Diese Art von Lernumfeld war für viele Enkelkinder bislang nicht gegeben. Die Gründe dafür sind vielfältig. Oft ist die Ursache ein Zusammenspiel aus mehreren Faktoren. Sowohl die Rentenzahlungen und Kinderzulagen, als auch die PSS-Groups haben die Capability ‚Lernen und Bildung‘ stark verbessert: „*And has this been always like this that they could attend school regulary and that they could perform well? It was not always been like this. After they get support from KwaWazee they have now improved.*“ (10C).

Das Schulsystem in Tansania besteht aus Primär- und Sekundärschulen, wobei die staatlichen Primärschulen keine Schulgebühren haben. Für die weiterführenden Sekundarschulen fallen Schulgebühren an. In Tansania besuchen nur 20% der Kinder nach der Primärschule die weiterführende Schule. KwaWazee unterstützt die rund 300 der 630 Enkelkinder der RentenempfängerInnen, die noch zur Primärschule gehen, indem die Organisation die Kosten für das

Schulmaterial übernimmt. Außerdem übernimmt KwaWazee die Kosten für die Schulgebühren von etwa 220 Enkelkindern, die die Sekundärschule besuchen.² Mithilfe von KwaWazee können die Rentempfänger/innen ihren Enkelkinder einen regelmäßigen Schulbesuch ermöglichen: *„She manages to pay school fees, school material, school uniforms, pens and soap.”* (EGP, 14/5/2012). Vielen Kinder ist es durch diese Zahlungen erstmals möglich die Schule regelmäßig zu besuchen, da ihre Großeltern vorher oft nicht gewährleisten konnten das Schulmaterial fortlaufend zu bezahlen: *„For previous, yes, they were schooling but sometimes they didn’t attend to school. Maybe they didn’t have the school shoes, school uniform, maybe we have to look on the alternatives on how we can buy this exercise book or pen but after joining to KwaWazee they get everything.”* (1C). Die Zahlungen von KwaWazee geben den Kindern insbesondere die Chance, auch eine höhere Schulbildung zu erlangen, da die Kosten des Schulgeldes für den Besuch der weiterführenden Schule von KwaWazee übernommen werden. Eine Befragte erzählte stolz, dass ihr Sohn mithilfe KwaWazees die Sekundärschule abgeschlossen hätte und jetzt zur Universität gehen solle (vgl. EGP, 13/5/2012). Ein ebenfalls entscheidender Faktor, ob die Kinder in die Schule gehen können, war in der Vergangenheit der Gesundheitszustand der Großmutter oder des Großvaters. Wenn diese Menschen krank wurden, was häufig vorkam, mussten die Enkelkinder zu Hause bleiben und ihre Großeltern pflegen. Sie konnten in Folge dessen nicht zur Schule gehen: *„To the group, before I joined to the group sometimes when I became sick my grandchildren were supposed to stay at home and look for me. But after joining in the group, my group members are responsible to care for me so my grandchildren are free to go to school.”* (1C). Durch die Gründung der PSS-Gruppen, die sich zur Aufgabe genommen haben, kranke Gruppenmitglieder zu unterstützen, können die Enkelkinder der kranken Gruppenmitglieder nun die Schule besuchen. Die Gruppe hat die Aufgabe der Betreuung und Verantwortung währenddessen für die kranken Menschen übernommen: *“For example when I am sick or with other problems instead of stopping my grandchildren to go to school I say go to school because there is my group member will come and help me.”* (6D).

Eine weitere Problematik in der Vergangenheit bestand darin, dass die Großmütter und Großväter in jedem Falle Geld für den Lebensunterhalt verdienen mussten. Da sie in dieser Zeit aber nicht auf die noch sehr jungen Enkelkinder aufpassen konnten, mussten die älteren Geschwister von der Schule fern bleiben, um sich um ihre jüngeren Geschwister zu kümmern: *“The grown-ups could not go to school because they have to care for these young ones [...] But when they joined KwWazee it means that the time that [the grannies] had to go and work for money they get the money from KwaWazee so they could spend the money to get food and other things and [the children] could go to school.”* (EGP, 12/5/2012). Die Rentenzahlungen von KwaWazee hat es den älteren Enkelkindern ermöglicht

² Anmerkung: Die anderen 110 Kinder bekommen keine schulische Unterstützung von KwaWazee, da sie zu diesem Zeitpunkt noch nicht im schulpflichtigen Alter sind und noch keine Schule besuchen.

regelmäßig die Schule zu besuchen, da die RentenempfängerInnen sich um die jüngeren Kinder kümmern können. Die Rente unterstützt sie und ihre Familien und nimmt die Last der Alten, Einkommen generieren zu müssen.

Ein weiterer Faktor, der zur Verbesserung der Capability beiträgt, ist die Ernährung der Kinder. Viele Enkelkinder wurden in der Vergangenheit nicht ausreichend mit Flüssigkeit versorgt. Ohne Mahlzeit und Flüssigkeiten sind sie am Morgen in die Schule gegangen: *„For example, past years, they are just waking up and go to school without even taking tea or water, but now after realizing that the water is important, when I make SODIS water, I usually make sure that every morning before going to school they have to take one glass of water and when they are back they have to, they get tea.”* (8C). Die Ernährung beeinflusst die Schulleistung der Kinder. Mit der Rente können RentenempfängerInnen ihren Enkelkindern ein Frühstück ermöglichen, was sich positiv auf die Schulleistungen auswirkt.

Die unsichere Versorgung mit Mahlzeiten in der Vergangenheit bereitete den Kindern Sorgen: *„The children, when they are at school they are not thinking about what they are coming back to eat but they can concentrate at school.”* (EGP, 14/5/2012). Mit dem Eintritt der Großeltern in KwaWazee und den damit verbundenen Zahlungen für die Großeltern gibt es nach der Schule regelmäßige Mahlzeiten für die Kinder. Ohne diese Sorge können sie sich in der Schule besser konzentrieren.

Der Mangel an Lehrern in den Sekundärschulen bereitet den Großmüttern und Großvätern große Sorgen. Die wenigen Lehrer, die angestellt sind, decken nicht alle nötigen Fächer ab. Daher müssen viele Enkelkinder zusätzlichen, privaten Unterricht bei anderen Lehrern in diesen Fächern nehmen, was zusätzliche Kosten für die Großeltern bedeutet: *„We have the secondary school but there is no enough teachers. You can found the school, there is only three teachers and they are all teaching maybe English, Swahili, History, Civics, but for the biology, physic and mathematics we have to look other alternatives that's why we have supposed to pay more money for looking tuition for our grandchildren. So this is still a challenge for us. We pay the school fees but at the same time we have to pay money for the tuition.”* (1C).

Die RentenempfängerInnen vermitteln ihren Enkelkindern in der Rolle als ErzieherInnen ebenfalls Wissen. Sie bringen z.B. den Enkelkindern bei, wie sie im Haushalt Dinge erledigen sollen: *“I teach them how to live with their neighbors, respect the other people, to do homeworks like firewood, cooking and weed the shamba.”* (5A). Dabei spielt auch die Wissensvermittlung über die Bedeutung von Wasser und gesunder Nahrung eine große Rolle: *„When he's back at home he usually teaches them how important water is, how to eat vegetables and fruits and the other things. So KwaWazee taught him.”* (5A). Während diese Aussage belegt, dass die Capability ‚Lernen und Bildung‘ der

Enkelkinder auch durch die Großmütter und Großväter verbessert wird, konnte zuvor bereits aufgezeigt werden, dass die alten Menschen auch von den Enkelkindern Wissen zum Themen der Ernährung vermittelt bekommen. Eine Herzensangelegenheit für die RentenempfängerInnen ist es, den Enkelkindern Respekt beizubringen: „*So I educate them those things, how to live, how to respect other people. For example if some come to visit me when I'm not around, it has to take coffee, to respect her and to take coffee to give her or him.*” (8C). Die Aussage zeigt, dass der Respekt nicht nur gegenüber der Großeltern, sondern auch anderen Personen gegenüber, als wichtig erachtet wird.

5.3 Teil C: Beziehungen und Interaktionen

8. Soziale Netzwerke und Zugehörigkeit

Die Capability ‚Soziale Netzwerke und Zugehörigkeit‘ ist definiert als zwischenmenschliche Interaktion, die Trost, Rat und damit oft auch ein Zugehörigkeitsgefühl bietet. Zu dieser Interaktion gehört auch die gegenseitige Zuneigung, Liebe oder Sympathie zwischen Menschen, was meist gegenseitige Unterstützung und Fürsorge füreinander beinhaltet. Diese zwischenmenschlichen Gefühle und Aktionen sind sehr bedeutend für ein glückliches, erfülltes Leben. Ein soziales Netzwerk ist dazu da, einen Menschen in problematischen Lebenslagen aufzufangen und zu unterstützen, sei es materieller oder psychischer Natur. Inwieweit KwaWazee diese Capability der alten Menschen verstärkt hat, wird nun auf drei Ebenen betrachtet: der psychischen Unterstützung, der allgemeinen Unterstützung und der Unterstützung im Krankheitsfall.

Vor ihrer Mitgliedschaft in KwaWazee fand soziale Interaktion der alten Menschen vor allem in der Kirche, in Gemeindegruppen, auf dem Markt und zwischen Nachbarn und Familienmitgliedern statt. Durch PSS Light und die Rentenzahlungen wurden die Interaktionen der Befragten mit anderen Menschen, allen voran mit anderen alten Leuten, jedoch enorm verstärkt. Die Renten tragen zunächst zur erhöhten Interaktion der alten Menschen bei, indem sich diese am Auszahlungstag der Rente am Büro von KwaWazee aus vielen entlegenen Regionen treffen. Darüber hinaus erhöhen die Renten die materiellen Mittel und damit den gesellschaftlichen Status der Menschen, was sich wiederum auf die Anerkennung innerhalb der Gemeinde und damit auf die Häufigkeit ihrer Interaktionen und sozialen Kontakte auswirkt: “[T]he money he got as a pension [...] makes him to be proud because he is smart, he can have something, capital, like goat and pig. So people are proud of him. He can stand and talk with other people.” (9A). Auch das gestärkte Selbstbewusstsein und die verbesserte Mobilität durch die Rente haben eine positive Wirkung auf die sozialen Interaktionen:

„[KwaWazee] gave me the support of money, so I'm confiden[t] now. If I go everywhere I can stand up and talk about a certain issue because I'm confident. Also I'm clean, my clothes are clean because I wash my clothes, I have soap. I'm not hungry because I get enough food, so I'm strong, I can go everywhere without any fear.” (8A).

Für manche ist die Capability der sozialen Interaktion sogar erst durch KwaWazee kreiert worden, wie im Fall dieses Befragten: *„KwaWazee is like a door opener for me because now as I said before that I was living in dark but being in group and KwaWazee it is like a light for me. So now I saw that to stay inside myself it is not good, so I have to move around to talk to people, to share experience, to get different information about the country, about our community.”(8A).*

Für die Rentenempfänger und -empfängerinnen bedeutet die erhöhte Interaktion vor allem gegenseitige Beratschlagung, das Teilen ähnlicher Probleme und die Ablenkung von Sorgen:

“ [I]n the life you can't go as you [want], you have to ask your friend, to ask your neighbor, to ask your group member what can I do on this problem and not only problems even to share the good things so that you can go in a good way.”(1C)

“[Interaction] can make you to reduce the stress which you have because you can find [other] people [have] a big, big problem, more than which you have. So you can say okay, I'm not [the] only one who ha[s] this problem. I can also, because even the other people are coping and are still surviving.”(2C)

“I have a feeling of thoughtfulness. This is because when I'm with others speaking I don't have any thoughts and when I leave and stay alone I start thinking about my grandchildren and my son who died.” (EGP, 12/05/2012).

Viele der alten Leute haben Verwandte verloren. Das Treffen von Menschen mit ähnlichen Schicksalen gibt ihnen Trost, verringert ihre Einsamkeit und ihre Sorgen: *“We console each other when you are in the group. No one can feel lonely because almost all of them have lost their children. Through the group they can talk or they can share their experience.” (5C).* Durch Kommunikation und Diskussion finden die alten Menschen in den Gruppen gemeinsam Lösungen für ihre Probleme. Sie tauschen sich aus und erteilen sich gegenseitig Rat, vor allem über den Verlust von nahestehenden Menschen und über die Erziehung ihrer Enkelkinder. Bei manchen Treffen sind auch Angestellte von KwaWazee anwesend, die ergänzend Beratung geben. Außerdem werden die eigenen Sorgen durch die Probleme der anderen Gruppenmitglieder relativiert und sie selbst werden ermutigt, sich ihren Problemen zu stellen: *“And problems of the group helped me a lot, so I learn from my fellow that even if the[y] are under problems, you can go and solve them.” (10D).* Allein das Sprechen über den Kummer scheint bei einigen bereits eine befreiende Wirkung zu haben: *“She's explaining about [her]*

five children who died. [...] [S]he didn't have any more appetite to eat. [...] She was just thinking about those children. [...] In the night she sleeps and then after two hours she's just waking up. [...] But when she joined KwaWazee she managed to meet with other people having the same problem. [...] Now she can sleep because she knows that she is not the only one who has that problem.” (EGP, 12/05/2012).

Ein weiterer Zweck des sozialen Netzwerks der Gruppen ist der Informationsaustausch über Ereignisse und Aktivitäten: „*[W]hen we are in [the] group we usually give the information, receive the information from each other. Today there will be a meeting or the next week there will be a holiday or a wedding ceremony. So from the group I get different information and we decide[...] to go somewhere to help or to see each other.*”(8A).

Für viele der Befragten bestand die Capability der sozialen Interaktion für psychischen Beistand bereits vor KwaWazee und der Kontakt zu Nachbarn und Freunden wird nach wie vor parallel zu den PSS-Gruppen genutzt. Was jedoch den Mehrwert der PSS Light auszumachen scheint, ist der Kontakt zu anderen alten Menschen mit ähnlichen Problemen. So fühlen sich die Befragten nicht alleine mit ihren Sorgen und kommunizieren mit Menschen, die ihre Gefühle nachvollziehen können und ähnliche Erfahrungen gemacht haben. So können sie voneinander lernen, wie mit schweren Schicksalsschlägen umzugehen ist. Doch das Problem der Einsamkeit kann durch PSS vor allem für die Alleinwohnenden nicht komplett gelöst werden: “*And I'm living alone, also this makes me to not feel okay because when I'm in the house during the night I'm just keeping silent, no one who can discuss with [me].*” (4C).

Die PSS-Gruppen der befragten Teilnehmer tätigen allesamt durch die Verfassung ihrer Gruppe, geregelte gegenseitige Unterstützung, vor allem Hilfe im Krankheitsfall. Sie haben aber von Fall zu Fall unterschiedliche Dynamiken entwickelt, was den psychosozialen Beistand angeht. In einigen Gruppen geht PSS Light eindeutig über die klassische Unterstützung innerhalb der Gemeinde hinaus – sie bieten Zugehörigkeit, Liebe, Zuneigung und psychologischem Beistand und bilden damit quasi einem Familienersatz. So äußerten sich zwei der Befragten zu ihrer Gruppe folgendermaßen:

“After getting to KwaWazee we have now improved and we started different systems, for example we are now more close. During the group meeting we discuss, we share experience, we decided to visit somebody even if he's not sick, only if he's got any challenge. You can't stay two days without visiting your group member, without knowing the information, getting any information concerning him or her. So we are like siblings now.” (8C)

“[W]e love each other, we do everything together.” (5C).

Eine wichtige soziale Beziehung der Großeltern unter den Befragten sind neben den Gruppenmitgliedern ihre Enkel. Viele Großeltern erwähnten, dass die Beziehung zu ihren Enkeln durch KwaWazee verbessert wurde, da die Rentenzahlungen eine angemessenere Fürsorge der Enkel ermöglichten. Neben der Befriedigung von Grundbedürfnissen der Enkel durch die monetäre Unterstützung spielen aber auch Erziehungsratschläge, die sie in der Diskussion mit anderen Großeltern innerhalb der PSS-Gruppe erhalten, eine Rolle: *“[...] Kwa Wazee is also supporting the relationship [with my grandchildren]. Because the children are sure with their lives. When they come at school they are sure that they will get food, they know that we are getting pension and the pension we are getting makes me strong and my children have a good feeling to me because this makes me and the children to be more close. What they need they will ask me to support them.”* (3C). Dies wirkt sich natürlich auch auf das Leben der Enkel aus. Diese fühlen sich durch die bessere Unterstützung geliebt und willkommen. Wenn sie gut umsorgt sind, fällt ihnen das Fehlen der Eltern weniger auf: *“My grandchildren I think they don’t [miss their parents] because [...] they say that you are there, my grandfather, my grandmother is there. Maybe someday my mother will come and see us. But they go to school, they have food, they eat, they play, so I can’t say that there is time when they are sad for thinking about their mother and father.”* (9B).

Die Unterstützung, die die Großeltern durch KwaWazee erhalten, wirkt sich also indirekt auf das physische und psychische Wohlbefinden der Enkel aus und verstärkt deren Capabilities.

Traditionell baut das soziale Netzwerk in der Nshamba-Region auf gegenseitiger Unterstützung zwischen Nachbarn, Freunden und Familienmitgliedern auf. Dieser Reziprozitätsmechanismus wird von den Befragten wie folgt erklärt:

“The way [my neighbors] support me, it’s the way on how I support them. So I know that I can support them because I know that next time or the following days they can also support me.” (2B)

“Because I’m helping others, that’s why I get support if I need support from other people.” (2C)

“If you respect [other people], they will respect you. If you do things for them, also they will do for you. If you love them, they will love you. [...] I always do the same for [my loved ones] because maybe if my neighbor is sick I always go and clean banana for him, cook porridge or find local medicine for her. I do the same as they do for me.” (5D).

Doch aufgrund ihrer Armut wurden die alten Menschen aus dem vorherrschenden Reziprozitätsmechanismus ausgeschlossen, da sie zwar Unterstützung benötigten, sie aber nicht erwidern konnten. Seit dem Bezug des SCT durch KwaWazee erfahren die alten Menschen wieder vermehrt Unterstützung durch Gemeindemitglieder, da die monatliche Rentenzahlung sie befähigt,

die erhaltene Unterstützung entsprechend zu erwidern. So werden die Rentenempfänger wieder in den Kreislauf der Unterstützung aufgenommen. Eine Befragte erklärt dies wie folgt: *“KwaWazee [...] [has] connected me to other people because they know that I have something maybe one day I can support them that’s why they are supporting me. I’m more connected with different people because they know that I’m registered in KwaWazee.”* (1B).

Teil der traditionellen gegenseitigen Unterstützung sind auch innerhalb der Gemeinde gegründete Gruppen. Sie beinhalten ausschließlich Unterstützung bei Beerdigungen und Hochzeiten durch Besuche, Hilfe beim Kochen und die Bereitstellung von Geld, Feuerholz, Wasser etc. Die Rentenzahlungen verbessern die Teilnahme der alten Menschen an diesen Gemeindegruppen, da sie ermöglichen, den erforderlichen Gruppenbeiträgen oder anderen erforderlichen Leistungen nachzukommen, wie eine Befragte erklärt: *“From getting the pension I have now contribut[ed to] the other groups without any complaints. I managed to contribute all the needs to different support groups. [Before I received the pension i]t was difficult because I was to go to [...] do some work [...] [at] somebody’s shamba so that they can pay me and I go to sell this, yes. And when you are late to contribute the money they penal[ize] you, you have to pay twice. [...] One day my son died. But those two mutual support groups, they didn’t contribute something to me because there are some needs before the burial of my son which I didn’t complete, so they didn’t contribute.”* (10B).

Das PSS Light Projekt von KwaWazee kann als eine erweiterte Form der bereits existierenden Gemeindegruppen angesehen werden. Die PSS Gruppenmitglieder unterstützen nicht nur bei Beerdigungen und Hochzeiten, sondern helfen auch bei anfallenden Arbeiten wie der Ernte und bieten Unterstützung im Krankheitsfall: *“For the previous times they maybe assisted when you’re loved ones passed away but this group which we have we visit each other. If you have a certain problem they come and they can advise you. Also, if you have, maybe, you want to cultivate, you want to harvest your coffee, they come and assist you to harvest your products.”* (2B). Ebenfalls neu ist das gemeinsame Sparen und die damit zusammenhängende monetäre Unterstützung: *“Before we were in the group [...] if your loved one have passed away [...] they visit you, they support you with water, grasses, firewood, and they cook maybe for four days. [...] But for supporting you maybe in term of money they didn’t.”* (2A). Auch der oben genannte psychologische Beistand in den Gruppen geht über die traditionelle Unterstützung hinaus.

Viele der Befragten erachten die Gruppen von KwaWazee deshalb als stärker und hilfreicher als die Gemeindegruppen. Der gesamte Bedarf an Unterstützung, vor allem in materieller Hinsicht, kann von ihnen jedoch auch nicht abgedeckt werden: *“I decided to join in this group that in small problems I can get support from the group but I didn’t inform them about the problem which I have because I*

was thinking that they can't manage to construct a house for me. They don't have the ability to construct the house.” (4C).

Ein weiterer wichtiger Effekt der Renten und PSS Light ist, dass sie die fehlende Unterstützung durch Familienmitglieder ersetzen. In den meisten Fällen sind Kinder und Ehepartner, die traditionellerweise im Alter für die RentenempfängerInnen sorgen würden, bereits verstorben oder nicht fähig sie zu unterstützen. Während die Rentenzahlungen die materiellen Bedürfnisse der alten Menschen abdecken, ermöglicht das Sparen in den Gruppen teurere Investitionen und die Versorgung im Krankheitsfall: *“KwaWazee replaced her husband. The support which she had been getting from her husband is the support she is now getting from the organization. Instead of asking your husband ‘Can you assist me with the clothes? We don't have sugar, we don't have soap, we don't have this’; so instead of asking your husband you get the support from KwaWazee, then everything is there.” (EGP 13/05/2012).*

Nachbarn bleiben die wichtigsten Teile des sozialen Netzwerks der meisten Befragten neben PSS Light. Sie halten Hausaufsicht wenn die alten Leute abwesend sind und unterstützen im Todesfall eines Nahestehenden durch Besuche, bringen Wasser und Gras für die Hütte und assistieren im Haushalt.

Durch KwaWazee erhalten die alten Menschen nicht nur bessere Unterstützung, sondern sie sind dadurch auch selbst fähiger, geliebte Menschen zu unterstützen. Dies sind in den meisten Fällen die Enkelkinder, um die sich die Großeltern nach dem Tod der Eltern kümmern müssen. Wie bereits erwähnt, ermöglichen die Rentenzahlungen und PSS Light eine bessere Versorgung der Enkelkinder. Die Kinder sind in dem System der gegenseitigen Unterstützung aber nicht nur Empfänger sondern auch Geber. Durch den Kontakt zu Großeltern in ihrer PSS-Gruppe bekommen auch die alten Menschen, die keine Enkelkinder haben, Unterstützung der Jüngeren und Kräftigeren. Gleichzeitig werden die Enkelkinder von der Gruppe ihrer Großeltern umsorgt, wie die folgenden Zitate zweier Befragter deutlich machen:

“The older people around her and especially those who are in the group they are proud [of] her because she is living with the grandchildren and when the grandchildren collect firewood or fetch water and somebody from the group who has no support, who is living alone, she can come and ask her grandchildren to support her to fetch water or to collect firewood for her.” (3C)

“[I]f my grandchildren is sick or has a problem and maybe I have no money or other thing I go to the group and the group support[s] me. Even if I'm not around maybe somebody chase[d] them at school, maybe they want something, the child can come to the group member and [tell] her that we need something, then they can give [it to] her.” (8C).

Die Enkelkinder sind dementsprechend ein wichtiger Bestandteil des sozialen Unterstützungsnetzwerks ihrer Großeltern.

Was die Unterstützung im Krankheitsfall betrifft, so wurde diese durch PSS Light enorm verbessert. Üblicherweise werden die Befragten, wenn sie krank sind, vor allem durch direkte Nachbarn und Familienmitglieder unterstützt. Dies beinhaltet beispielsweise die Versorgung mit Wasser, Essen und Feuerholz, Krankenbesuchen und die Aufsicht von Haus und Familie bei anstehenden Krankenhausbesuchen. Die PSS-Gruppen bieten über diese Hilfe hinaus einen wichtigen Zusatz, nämlich die monetäre Unterstützung aus dem Gruppen-Ersparnen, was die Behandlung im Krankenhaus und den Kauf von Medikamenten ermöglicht. Weiterhin übernehmen die Gruppenmitglieder Arbeiten, die der oder die Kranke nicht mehr zu verrichten mag, wie Kochen, Waschen oder anfallende landwirtschaftliche Aufgaben, wie das Einpflanzen von Bohnen. Bei vielen Befragten ist seit dem Tod der eigenen Kinder die traditionelle Unterstützung durch Familienmitglieder weggefallen. PSS ersetzt die hier entstandene Lücke in der Unterstützung im Krankheitsfall: *“[B]y that time I was living my two sons, so it was very easy to maybe ask them ‘I need this, you have to do this and I have to go to the hospital, you have to take me to the hospital.’ But these days it is not easy because I’m just living with my grandchildren. [...] [A] point which changed my life was joining [this] mutual supporting group where I can access support when I become sick.”* (1A).

Nachbarn, Freunde und Familie spielen allerdings weiterhin eine wichtige Rolle, wenn die Befragten krank sind, denn sie benachrichtigen die Unterstützungsgruppen über die Krankheit eines Gruppenmitglieds. Dies ist vor allem der physischen Nähe von Nachbarn und Familie zu den Befragten zuzuschreiben, während die Gruppenmitglieder oft weiter voneinander entfernt wohnen: *“[My neighbors] can inform my group members that your member is seriously sick. So from there through my neighbors I can get support from my group members because I’m connected with my neighbors more than my group members. My group members are far comparing to the neighbors where I’m living with them.”* (2A).

Familienmitglieder, soweit sie vorhanden sind, aber vor allem der Kontakt und Informationsaustausch mit Nachbarn sind also eine wichtiger Bestandteil der erfolgreich funktionierenden Kranken-Unterstützung von PSS Light. Für viele Alleinlebende stellt der fehlende Kontakt zu anderen Menschen und damit die fehlende Benachrichtigung der Gruppe über Krankheiten nach wie vor eine Schwierigkeit dar.

Die Kranken-Unterstützung durch PSS Light hat auch indirekte positive Auswirkung auf die Enkel einer Befragten. Durch die Unterstützung der Gruppenmitglieder im Krankheitsfall ist die Großmutter nicht mehr auf die Hilfe ihrer Enkel angewiesen und sie können die freie Zeit für die Schule und das

Lernen nutzen. So wird durch die verbesserte Capability ‚Soziales Netzwerk‘ der Großmutter indirekt die Capability ‚Lernen und Bildung‘ der Enkelkinder gefördert.

Die Förderung der Capability ‚Soziales Netzwerk und Zugehörigkeit‘ hat ebenfalls positive Auswirkungen auf das Agency Level der Betroffenen. Die erhöhte Interaktion und die PSS-Gruppen bieten die Möglichkeit zum Handeln und Entscheiden und sobald die Menschen dies wahrnehmen, entsteht bereits Agency. Beispiele für entstandene Agency sind die Teilnahme an Gruppentreffen, die gegenseitigen Besuche, die Festlegung der gegenseitigen Unterstützung oder die Entscheidungsprozesse über einkommensgenerierende Aktivitäten. Während der größte Teil der Agency erst durch Impulse von KwaWazee entsteht, wie das Konzept der gegenseitigen Unterstützung sowie die Ideen für Sparmodelle und einkommensgenerierende Aktivitäten, entspringen einige Aktivitäten der Gruppen alleine den Überlegungen der Mitglieder. So haben viele Gruppen entschieden, dass sie sich nicht mehr nur im Krankheitsfall, sondern sich generell regelmäßig gegenseitig besuchen wollen. Außerdem haben einige Gruppen Nicht-KwaWazee-Mitglieder aufgenommen. So weitet sich die Wirkung der gegenseitigen Unterstützung und des psychosozialen Beistands auch auf andere alte Menschen in der Gemeinde aus.

9. Soziale Kompetenzen

Die Capability der ‚Sozialen Kompetenzen‘ ist erforderlich, um das Leben in der Gemeinschaft erfolgreich und friedlich zu meistern.

PSS Light hat enorm dazu beigetragen, die sozialen Kompetenzen der RentenermpfängerInnen zu verstärken: *“[T]hrough groups you can have group-sharing experience. When they are in the meeting they talk, they discuss, they exchange their experiences, their views. So through groups [...] one has many experiences and skills.”* (6A). In den Interviews als auch in der Dokumentenanalyse der PSS-Akten stellte sich heraus, dass zu den in den Gruppen geförderten sozialen Kompetenzen vor allem Einigung und Festlegung von Regeln, Planung und Organisation, sowie Problemlösung und Konfliktmanagement gehören.

Bei vielen der Befragten waren diese Kompetenzen auch schon vor der Mitgliedschaft in KwaWazee vorhanden, doch PSS Light bietet einen Raum, wo sie verstärkt angewandt, geübt und weiterentwickelt werden können. Zunächst einmal müssen sich die alten Menschen innerhalb der Gruppe über die Wahl eines Vorsitzenden und Schatzmeisters einigen. Dann müssen sie die Regeln und gemeinsamen Aktivitäten ihrer Gruppe festlegen und im Laufe der Zeit optimieren. Dies betrifft

vor allem die Festlegung von Sparbeiträgen, sowie der Art und dem Umfang der gegenseitigen Unterstützung, aber auch Überlegungen zu den Konsequenzen eines Regelbruchs.

Planungs- und Organisationsfähigkeiten werden vor allem für die Ausführung der einkommensgenerierenden Aktivitäten benötigt. Die Überlegung, Entscheidung und Planung der Aktivitäten findet durch Kommunikation zwischen den Gruppenmitgliedern statt: *“During the group meeting some, everyone come[s] with different ideas, so we discuss and choose the better ideas and what can we afford because we are grannies.”* (8B). Aus den Gruppenprotokollen geht hervor, dass die Gruppen in der Ausführung ihrer Aktivitäten nicht immer erfolgreich sind, teils ist dies externen Gründen, wie der Erkrankung der Kochbanane in der Region, zuzuschreiben, teils auch der misslungenen Durchführungsfähigkeit der Mitglieder. So wechseln viele Gruppen von einer Aktivität zur nächsten.

Bei der Organisation und Festlegung der Rahmenbedingungen von Gruppenaktivitäten entstehen in einigen Gruppen auch Probleme und Konflikte. Es wird deshalb viel diskutiert, um gemeinsam Lösungsansätze für die Probleme zu entwickeln. Erfolgreiches Konfliktmanagement erfordert Kompetenzen wie gegenseitige Aufmerksamkeit und Respekt unter den Gruppenmitgliedern und Moderationsfähigkeiten von Seiten der Vorsitzenden, wie eine Befragte erklärt: *“[W]e are all listen[ing] to each other, respect to each other. [...] If the chairperson call[s] the meeting we all respond, we listen to her and we discuss about our group.”* (8B).

Ein in den Protokollen oft genanntes Problem ist, dass einige Mitglieder mehr Unterstützung erhalten als andere. Obwohl viele Gruppen dieses Problem erkennen und für gleichberechtigte Behandlung aller Gruppenmitglieder sind, scheint dies de facto eine nicht so einfach lösbare Angelegenheit zu sein. Andere Konflikte können im Gegenzug erfolgreich gelöst werden. Eine Gruppe stand beispielsweise vor dem Problem, dass die Hälfte der Gruppenmitglieder zu schwach war, um den monatlichen Gruppentreffen beizusitzen. Sie kamen daraufhin zu der Lösung, die Treffen bei den schwachen Großmüttern zu Hause abzuhalten, so dass auch diese an den Treffen teilnehmen können. In einer anderen Gruppe verlangte der Halter eines Schweines aus Gruppenbesitz TSH 10.000 von jedem Mitglied für die Fütterung des Tieres. Der Rest der Gruppe war damit nicht einverstanden und so entwickelten sie einen Zeitplan für die abwechselnde Fütterung des Schweins durch alle Gruppenmitglieder, was auch erfolgreich umgesetzt wurde. Viele Gruppen sind bei der Konfliktlösung allerdings noch auf die Vermittlung und Beratung durch KwaWazee Angestellte angewiesen, die die Gruppen regelmäßig besuchen und ihren Fortschritt beobachten und begleiten.

Die alten Menschen begegnen Konflikten nicht nur in den Gruppen, sondern auch innerhalb der Gemeinde, wo es sich meist um Landrechte oder Beschädigungen durch Kinder handelt. Hier werden

Konflikte traditionell durch die Vermittlung des Dorfvorsitzenden geregelt. Falls der Streitpunkt seine Kompetenzen übersteigt, weist er die Konfliktparteien an Polizei oder Gericht weiter. Allerdings ist es für die alten Menschen durch ihre schwache Position in der Gesellschaft oft schwer sich in diesen Systemen durchzusetzen. Auch hier erhalten sie hilfreiche Unterstützung durch KwaWazee und ihre Angestellten, aber auch durch die Mitglieder ihrer PSS-Gruppe. Auf die Frage, ob es Unterschiede zwischen dem Konfliktmanagement innerhalb der Gemeinde und PSS Light gibt, antwortete eine Frau, dass die Konfliktlösungsbereitschaft innerhalb der Gruppe höher ist, zunächst, da man sich sehr nahe steht, aber auch durch die unterstützende Rolle von KwaWazee: *“For those who are in groups maybe some call the staff from KwaWazee and [they] come to listen to them and try to help them to resolve their conflict. [...] Because when you are in one group you are like a sibling, so you have to sit together and resolve the conflict among you. So even those one who have maybe caused a conflict have to listen and change [themselves].”* (10A).

Die Ausübung der durch KwaWazee verstärkten oder neu angeeigneten sozialen Kompetenzen ist im Grunde eine Voraussetzung für erfolgreiche Agency. Nur mit Hilfe dieser Eigenschaften können die Menschen ihre Umgebung erfolgreich gemeinsam gestalten.

Zu der Capability ‚Soziale Kompetenzen‘ wird auch das politische Bewusstsein und Engagement gefasst, da es einen wichtigen Bestandteil des erfolgreichen Zusammenlebens einer Gesellschaft ausmacht.

In den Interviews wurde ganz klar deutlich, dass sich das politische Bewusstsein und die politische Aktivität der Befragten durch KwaWazee stark verbessert haben. Dies bezieht sich vor allem auf den Status und die Situation der alten Menschen auf lokaler als auch nationaler Ebene. Sie fordern nun vermehrt die Verbesserung ihrer Lebenssituation durch die amtierende Regierung in Form von einem staatlichen Rentensystem und einer kostenlosen Gesundheitsversorgung für alle alten Menschen in Tansania. Die staatliche Unterstützung für Kinder im Bildungs- und Gesundheitsbereich stellen zusätzlich das Anliegen einiger Befragten dar, da dies oft von den Familien selbst nicht geleistet werden kann.

Die Forderung nach staatlichen Renten entstand einerseits schlicht durch die Einführung der Rentenzahlungen durch KwaWazee, da es das Bewusstsein für den allgemeinen Bedarf dieses Unterstützungssystems für alle alten Menschen in Tansania schuf. Viele der RentenbezieherInnen erkannten die enorme Wirkungskraft der Renten auf ihr Leben und sahen gleichzeitig die Bedürftigkeit anderer alten Menschen, die nicht von KwaWazee unterstützt werden. Die Solidarität zu ihren ‚fellow grannies‘ ist der Hauptgrund für ihre Einstellung, dass dieses System durch den Staat auf alle alten Menschen erweitert werden sollte. Auch ist ihnen bewusst, dass KwaWazee eine NGO

ist, deren Finanzierung und damit auch ihre Projekte in Nshamba theoretisch jederzeit eingestellt werden könnten und die Nachhaltigkeit der Unterstützung damit beschränkt ist. Sie sehen den Staat als eigentlichen Verantwortlichen für die Rentenzahlungen: *“We want to talk with local leaders because we are few grannies who are supported by KwaWazee, but others, our fellow, are not supported by KwaWazee, so we want to talk with these leaders so that they can also help our fellow grannies.”* (5D).

Bezüglich der gesundheitlichen Versorgung ist die Unterstützung durch die KwaWazee Projekte nicht ausreichend, vor allem aufgrund der hohen Kosten von Medizin und Krankenhausbesuchen. Kostenlose ärztliche Behandlung für alte Menschen ist deshalb ein Hauptanliegen vieler Befragter.

Die Unzufriedenheit mit Politikern und politische Diskussionen mit anderen Leuten tragen ebenfalls zur Entstehung des politischen Engagements bei. Hier spielen die PSS-Gruppen eine fördernde Rolle, da sie den alten Menschen einen Raum für Reflektion über Regierung und Politik bieten:

“She thinks that the government have to do things like KwaWazee do[es] for older people. Because when they select them, they want them to change their lives. But instead of changing their lives they just think [of] themselves and have a big stomach. [...] After getting knowledge, talking with other people, discussing our issues it is where I got this knowledge that if we are together, we can join together, we can change the government. [...] For example during election times when they meet in their groups they discuss whom they have to vote. So after voting [...] also they discuss, for those who we voted [for], does he something to us, or not? So it is the time they come to discuss again. We have wrongly, we voted wrongly. Somebody did not support us. So next time I have to change.” (6C).

In den Gruppen werden darüber hinaus auch Informationen über politische Treffen und Wahlkampf-Events weitergegeben.

Die RentenempfängerInnen verfügen nicht nur über politisches Bewusstsein, sondern werden im Rahmen einer jährlichen Demonstration am ‚Old People’s Day‘ auch tatsächlich politisch aktiv. Die Information über die Existenz des ‚Old People’s Day‘ und seine Bedeutung wurde vor allem durch die Gruppen von KwaWazee an die alten Menschen herangetragen. Auch die Demonstration an sich wurde von KwaWazee initiiert und organisatorisch unterstützt. KwaWazee hat hier also bedeutend mit dazu beigetragen, dass die alten Menschen ein Bewusstsein für ihre Rechte entwickelt haben und nun auch für diese eintreten: *“[I]t is a day where we can address the problem which is facing older people to the government leaders because they are also invited in this celebration. Through singing, through dancing we address the message which are affecting older people to the government leaders. So that they can start to implement them, for example I remember for the previous celebration we were just singing about that it is a right for all older people to get the pension from*

the government and not only the organization from KwaWazee to produce the pension. We also, through singing, we are just telling this government leaders that we work the road to our nation, to our government, so the pension for all older people it is our right. [... N]ot only pension but also free treatment [... A]lso, we have a special speech where it is indicating different problem affecting older people.”(1A).

Die Demonstration sendet nicht nur eine Message an die Politiker, sondern auch an die jüngeren Gemeindemitglieder. Alte Menschen scheinen in der Region ihren Status verloren zu haben und von der Gemeinde vernachlässigt und nicht beachtet zu werden. Am ‚Old People’s Day‘ wollen sie auf ihre rechtmäßige Position in der Gesellschaft und ihr Recht auf Respekt und Beachtung durch die Gemeinde hinweisen: *“They want to show other people, for example young people, that even the grannies have their chance, they are the people like other people because other people don’t care about those grannies. So by joining together, celebrate together, praying and do what, they can show that we are old but we are still in the world so you have to care about us.”* (5C).

Agency bedeutet in unserer Definition soziales und politisches Handeln. Die Entstehung von politischem Bewusstsein und Engagement führt deshalb ganz offensichtlich auch zu einem verstärkten Agency Level der alten Menschen. Sie überlegen, diskutieren und entscheiden über Missstände in ihrer Lebenssituation und führen auf politischer Ebene aktiv Handlungen zur gesellschaftlichen Veränderung aus. Durch die Einladung von Nicht-KwaWazee-Mitgliedern zur Demonstration wird die Capability der politischen Aktivität auch an andere alte Menschen weitergegeben, was einen Multiplikator-Effekt der Capability innerhalb der Gemeinde mit sich bringt. Die aktive Rolle, die KwaWazee als Organisation im Gegensatz zu den Renten und PSS Light bei der Förderung dieser Capability spielt, stellt allerdings die Frage nach der ownership der politischen Aktivitäten. Während einige Befragte die Demonstration tatsächlich als Plattform zur Einforderung ihrer Rechte sehen, wird der Tag für andere genauso als Feier und Gelegenheit zur sozialen Interaktion mit Gleichgesinnten angesehen, wie bereits bezüglich der Capability ‚Vergnügen‘ ausführlich erläutert wurde. Darüber hinaus wird die Demonstration am ‚Old People’s Day‘ von den meisten Befragten enorm stark mit KwaWazee verbunden. Die folgenden Zitate erläutern, in wie weit die Demonstration auf der Unterstützung und Organisation von KwaWazee basiert:

“It was not our culture to do like this. It was when we joined to KwaWazee, that’s the time when we started to celebrate, to have a demonstration like this so that through this that’s where we can address our needs to the government leaders. So it was not there before we joined to KwaWazee. [...] KwaWazee is preparing the area where we meet, for the decoration, preparing the chairs where we are going to meet. It’s arranged the things like that. Also, KwaWazee is the one who invite the government leaders on this, our day. [...] For the group, we contribute the money for buying food and

soda during the celebration. Also, we prepare the song which has the message of concerning about our rights, so that through singing the song we can address our problems which we are facing with.” (2A)

“After joining in the group, doing the monitoring, when the staff come[s] to visit us, it is where they tell us that there is a people’s day every year. So you are older people and you have to celebrate, join with other grannies in your country. So from there we decided from our group that we have to contribute some money for food and everything. So then KwaWazee said that we contribute, we will be your host, we will make the hall, we will make other things and we come to celebrate at our office. It is because of KwaWazee, before I didn’t know if there is a celebration of people’s day.” (5C).

Da ein großer Teil der ‚Old People’s Day‘ Demonstration der Initiative von KwaWazee entspringt ist es fraglich, inwieweit die Menschen die Demonstration ohne die Unterstützung der Organisation weiterhin durchführen könnten und würden.

10. Kultur

Die Capability ‚Kultur‘ ist die Fähigkeit einer Person, eine kulturelle Identität zu entwickeln. Dies geschieht durch die Vermittlung von gesellschaftlichen Werten und Normen sowie durch die Teilhabe an kulturellen, beispielsweise religiösen, Aktivitäten oder Traditionen. Zu letzterem lagen nur wenige Aussagen vor, aus denen jedoch geschöpft werden konnte, dass die Rentenzahlungen die Verrichtung und Ausgestaltung von kulturellen Festen und Traditionen ermöglicht bzw. verbessert. Die Rente kann dazu genutzt werden, die erforderlichen Dinge für Feiern, wie angemessene Kleidung und Essen, einzukaufen: *“During this day [Christmas] we normally change our food. I can buy the meat from the market. Also I can buy the new clothes for my family members so that we can be aware that we are celebrating. [...] Also I can buy after getting the money from KwaWazee food so that we can change the meal.”* (4B).

Die durch KwaWazee entstandene Feier am ‚Old People’s Day‘ bietet darüber hinaus eine Plattform für die Ausübung von traditionellen Aktivitäten wie Musik und Tanz.

Was bezüglich der Capability ‚Kultur‘ für die Befragten ein Problem darzustellen scheint, und wo weiterer Raum für Initiativen durch KwaWazee besteht, ist der Umgang der alten Menschen mit gesellschaftlichem Wandel, den sie vor allem durch den engen Kontakt zu ihren Enkelkindern zu spüren bekommen: *“When we come to our [group] meeting, we try to use the knowledge we are getting from the grandchildren. This is because they are going at school. [...] The formalities of our culture are changing day by day so we are not aware with the modern things.”* (EGP, 14/05/2012). Die Großeltern sehen durchaus die positiven Seiten des Fortschritts wie der verringerte Glaube an

Hexenkraft oder der Gebrauch von Moskitonetzen. Problematisch ist für sie jedoch, dass die gesellschaftlichen Werte und Normen der Großeltern und ihrer Enkel nicht mehr miteinander übereinzustimmen zu scheinen. Dies zeigt sich vor allem in der veränderten Beziehung und Umgangsform zwischen alten und jungen Menschen. Während früher alle Gemeindemitglieder die Kinder disziplinieren durften, sind heute ausschließlich die Eltern dafür verantwortlich. Dies hat nach Meinung vieler Befragten Disziplin- und Respektlosigkeit der Kinder gegenüber alten Menschen zur Folge: *“When we were younger [...] any person in your community, maybe if you are misbehaving he or she can maybe punish you, even if he is not or she is not your parents. But nowadays if you can punish a child of someone he or she can take you to the police. [T]hat’s why there [are] changes, nowadays people are just living a bad manners, they don’t have discipline because nowadays the child belongs to the parent and not all the community.”* (2C). Eine Erklärung für diesen Wandel oder Teil dessen ist, dass die Vermittlung von gesellschaftlichen Werten und Normen von der alten auf die junge Generation abgenommen hat: *“We usually [teach our grandchildren cultural norms and values] during the evening times when we sit around the fire, we are cooking, [...] it is like maybe a song we sing but through the song we teach somebody. [...] Or we tell them a story, long time ago there were many do like this, like this but it comes to be like this, then from there you teach them that if you do like this it will be like this for you. This is bad, this is good, so you have to follow this and do this. So you usually [do this] every day, even our parents long time ago, but nowadays, now there is a change. [...] Many parents now don’t sit with their children around the fire and [teach] them things. [...] To respect people, to do work, to participate in different work, to teach them to be close in religious, to respect God, also to not to steal other people’s property and not to say bad things to people, to accuse people.”* (10C).

Viele Großeltern stehen nun vor Erziehungsproblemen mit ihren Enkelkindern. Weil sich die Kinder heute anders verhalten, als die Großeltern es aus ihrer Vergangenheit gewohnt sind, besteht ein großer Bedarf nach Unterstützung in der Erziehung ihrer Enkelkinder. Die Renten und PSS Light haben die Situation bereits verbessert, da sie den Respekt der Enkel gegenüber ihren Großeltern gestärkt bzw. wiederhergestellt haben. In den Gruppen als auch von jüngeren Frauen in der Gemeinde erhalten die Großeltern darüber hinaus bereits Ratschläge und Unterstützung in Sachen Kindererziehung. Was hierzu ergänzt werden könnte, ist ein von KwaWazee an die Großeltern gerichtetes Angebot, wo sie in Erziehungsfragen beraten und trainiert werden. Eine der Befragten schlägt hierfür beispielsweise Seminare vor: *“Children are learning bad things from other people, so you treat your children to behave in a good way but you can find how him behaving differently as what you trained her or him. [...] What I think, maybe we need to have different seminars to train these children on how they can behave in a good way, to respect the other people. So, otherwise, they can be destroyed themselves, you see. So we need to have different seminars, different trainings on*

how we can train them, on how they can live in a good way so that to not behave in a bad situation.”
(2B).

Dieses Angebot könnte darüber hinaus auch eine Plattform sein, in der die Großeltern diskutieren können und beraten werden, wie sie sich dem gesellschaftlichen Wandel anpassen bzw. mit ihm umgehen können, vor allem im Bezug auf ihre Enkelkinder, durch die sie vor allem mit diesem konfrontiert werden.

5.4 Teil D: Persönliche Autonomie und Freiheit

11. Selbstwert, Selbstachtung

Das ‚Selbstwertgefühl‘ und die ‚Selbstachtung‘ wird in dieser Arbeit definiert als die Fähigkeit einer Person, die eigene Existenz als wertvoll zu erachten. Sie ist insofern eine sehr bedeutsame Capability, da sie einen entscheidenden Anteil an der Möglichkeit, ein zufriedenstellendes Leben zu führen, bildet. Eine Person, die ihrer eigenen Existenz nicht zumindest ein gewisses Maß an Wert und Sinn zuspricht, kann sicherlich kein erfülltes oder gar glückliches Leben führen.

Analysiert man die Interviews bezüglich ihrer Aussagefähigkeit zu der Capability ‚Selbstwert‘ und ‚Selbstachtung‘ kann ein positiver Einfluss und eine starke Verbesserung der KwaWazee-Tätigkeiten auf die Capability der Befragten festgestellt werden. Jene Aussagen, die diese Verbesserung der Capability andeuten, können weitestgehend in drei Themenblöcke aufgeteilt werden, die die Bereiche ‚Kleidung und Körperhygiene‘, die Vermittlung von ‚Wissen‘ durch KwaWazee und die ‚Achtung innerhalb der Gemeinde“ beinhalten.

Eine starke positive Auswirkung auf das Selbstwertgefühl und die Selbstachtung der Befragten ist in Folge einer Verbesserung der Kleidungssituation und Körperhygiene durch die Rentenzahlung erkennbar. Mit der Rente ergibt sich, beziehungsweise erhöht sich die Möglichkeit, sich Kleidung und vor allem Seife kaufen zu können. Dadurch kann sowohl einer angemessenen, würdevollen Körperhygiene nachgekommen werden, als auch durch das Waschen mit der Seife die Kleidung gründlicher als zuvor gereinigt werden. Das somit ermöglichte gepflegtere äußere Erscheinungsbild hat einen starken Einfluss auf das Selbstwertgefühl, da es das zuvor in einigen Fällen vorhandene Schamgefühl aufgrund schmutziger Kleidung verringert, beziehungsweise verschwinden lässt, was aus dem folgenden Zitat ersichtlich wird: *„This is because I had no good clothes, I am dirty and when I joined KwaWazee I get money where I can buy soap and body oil. So when I wake up in the morning I wash myself and I also put the body oil. So I am good. And when I go to the other people, they are*

respecting me. They can greet me.“ (3A). In Folge eines verbesserten äußeren Erscheinungsbildes wird den RentenempfängerInnen nun die gewünschte Achtung und der gewünschte Respekt anderer Personen innerhalb der Gemeinschaft zugesprochen, was wiederum indirekt ihre Selbstwahrnehmung verbessern und das eigene Selbstwertgefühl steigern wird. So wird die Capability durch die finanzielle Unterstützung sehr verbessert oder sicherlich in einigen Fällen auch erst initiiert.

Dieser durch das verbesserte äußere Erscheinungsbild positive Einfluss auf die Capability, wirkt sich auch auf die Enkelkindergeneration aus. In einem Fall wurde berichtet, dass das Enkelkind vor dem Eintritt in KwaWazee keine Kleidung besessen hat und aus Scham nicht hinaus gehen konnte, um mit anderen Kindern zu spielen, was sich dann durch die verbesserte Kleidungssituation im Zuge der Rentenzahlung änderte, wie eine Großmutter beschreibt: *„This is because they had no clothes, they could not go out to play with other children because the children would laugh at them.”* (EGP, 12/05/12).

Wie aus dem folgenden Zitat hervorgeht, ist die Situation für Nicht-Empfänger der Rente im Gegensatz dazu mit Hinblick auf das Selbstwertgefühl sehr kritisch: *„For those who are not in KwaWaze, they are not confident. They fear even to go with other people because their clothes are dirty sometimes. So they are not confident, they just hide themselves from other people.”* (6B).

Auch geht der direkte Zusammenhang zwischen materiellem Besitztum, der durch die Rente tendenziell verbessert wird und die damit verbundene Anerkennung anderer Personen, aus einem Interview hervor. Mit der Möglichkeit anderen etwas bieten zu können, wächst der Respekt den Empfängern und Empfängerinnen gegenüber und dies hat wiederum einen positiven Einfluss auf die Selbstachtung *„If I can expand my income, maybe construct a very, very good house. Maybe have a motorcycle. So the higher, you live better in your life, the more people respect you.”* (9C).

Die Capability ‚Selbstwertgefühl und Selbstachtung‘ wird im Zuge der Interviews durch die Befragten zudem in einen Zusammenhang mit der Aneignung von Wissen und Bildung gebracht. Durch Bildung und Wissen, so eine Befragte, könne das eigene Selbstwertgefühl und Selbstbewusstsein gestärkt werden: *„Because somebody has a knowledge maybe she is educated or not but she is strong, she can stand herself or himself. That’s something.”* (6A). In Bezug auf diesen Zusammenhang von Wissen und Selbstwertgefühl leistet KwaWazee, laut den Befragungen, einen positiven Beitrag zur Stärkung der Capability. Durch die Vermittlung von Kompetenzen und Fähigkeiten wie bspw. Buchführungskompetenzen und Gesundheitstrainings, die in den Trainings oder in Gesprächen mit KwaWazee-Mitarbeitern in Besuchen der PSS-Gruppen vermittelt werden, trägt die Organisation

dazu bei, dass die RentenempfängerInnen bestehendes Wissen erweitern und neue Fähigkeiten erlernen können und somit ihr Selbstwertgefühl steigern können:

“Through trainings from KwaWazee and other trainings about HIV, about health and other things. So she thinks that makes that one strong and self-confident.” (6A)

„KwaWazee, I get the knowledge during KwaWazee and learned about many things, so and they also gave me the support of money, so I am confident now. If I go everywhere I can stand up and talk about certain issue because I am confident.” (6C).

Durch die Organisation der Feierlichkeiten von KwaWazee zum ‚Old People’s Day‘, der als ein Ehrentag für alte Menschen in Tansania eingeführt wurde, wird ebenso die Capability der RentenempfängerInnen gestärkt. Zum einen wird ihnen durch die KwaWazee-Mitarbeiter die Bedeutung dieses Tages, nämlich die Wertschätzung und Achtung älterer Menschen in der Gesellschaft und von den Enkelkindern vermittelt: *„Before [KwaWazee] I didn’t care about the respect of children whether they greet me or not. I was not aware.” (10C)*. Zum anderen werden sie dazu motiviert, im Rahmen der Feierlichkeiten für ihre Rechte und Meinungen einzutreten und diese öffentlich zu vertreten. Dadurch wird ebenfalls das Selbstwertgefühl der Großmütter und –Väter gestärkt: *„So we just remember this and just celebrate because it is our day. And it happen[s] once per year so [we] need to celebrate more because it is our day.” (1A)*.

Durch die Rentenzahlungen und die soziale Interaktion im Rahmen der PSS-Gruppen wird in den Interviews durch einige der Befragten ein damit einhergehender erhöhter Respekt gegenüber den RentenempfängerInnen innerhalb der Gemeinde und der Familie erwähnt. Durch die Rente kann einerseits den Anforderungen innerhalb der Gemeinde besser als zuvor entsprochen werden, wie bspw. der üblichen Beitragszahlung im Falle einer Beerdigung eines Gemeindemitgliedes nachgekommen werden, anderen Personen wie Nachbarn oder Familienmitgliedern Unterstützung zum Beispiel durch das Bringen von Zucker geboten werden, als auch das vor den Rentenzahlungen häufig erforderliche Betteln für den Lebenserhalt eingestellt werden:

„Yes she is proud. The way they support me, it’s the way on how I support them.” (2B)

“It was not be like this because before getting the pension many of the time I was under stress, thinking what will I go to get soap. If there is a burial in the village I am supposed to contribute the money or Nndizi [cooking banana] but where am I going to get the money. But after getting the pension now I am feeling ok.” (9A).

Zudem ermöglicht die durch die Gruppen hervorgerufene häufigere soziale Interaktion das Selbstbewusstsein und somit das Selbstwertgefühl der EmpfängerInnen: *„I have been afraid to be in a group and to join with people but when I joined the group it opens me that I am a human being and be with other people.“* (3A). Durch diese genannten Punkte, die mit der Rentenzahlung eingeleitet werden, erhält die Person innerhalb der Gemeinde eine höhere Wertschätzung und Anerkennung, eine verbesserte soziale Position als zuvor und dies wiederum ist als positive Auswirkung auf das Selbstwertgefühl zu interpretieren: *„Before joining KwaWazee and starting getting the pension support we were just begging the money for salt, for soap from other people. But after the pension we are not beggars again. We are clean, we are smart. Even if we go to the church, [...] somebody can give me the space ‘come and sit here’. Like this. So the support from KwaWazee increased the chance to be respected.“* (6C).

Durch die Verbesserung der Capability, die zwar durchaus auch vor dem Eintritt in KwaWazee, nach Aussage einer Großmutter in Ansätzen vorhanden war: *„If you want to be respected, you have to respect yourself first. So for those who are respecting themselves even other people respecting them.“* (6C), wird die Möglichkeit für soziale Interaktion, als Folge der besseren Selbstwahrnehmung und Selbstachtung, ermöglicht. Die durch die Rente verbesserte Capability ‚Selbstwert‘ und ‚Selbstachtung‘ wirkt sich somit gleichzeitig positiv auf eine andere Capability, die ‚soziale Interaktion‘ aus. Die Agency, die hervorgerufen wird, ist demnach eine vermehrte soziale Interaktion der Befragten, denn erst mit der indirekt durch die Rente gewonnenen Selbstachtung fühlten sich einige der Befragten befähigt, an sozialen Interaktionen innerhalb der Gemeinde teilzunehmen. Zudem ist in der Beteiligung am ‚old People’s Day‘, wie zuvor in dieser Arbeit bereits aufgezeigt wurde, eine hohe Agency erkennbar.

Zusammenfassend wurde die Capability sowohl durch die Rentenzahlung an sich als auch durch die PSS-Gruppen und die Wissensvermittlung und Trainings durch KwaWazee insofern verbessert, als dass die soziale Position einiger befragter Personen innerhalb der Gemeinde verbessert werden konnte und dies durch den damit verbundenen erhöhten Respekt von Gemeindemitgliedern zu einer erhöhten Selbstachtung führt. Somit haben zum einen die materiellen Aspekte in Form der Rente, als auch die Aktivitäten im Rahmen von PSS Light einen positiven Einfluss auf die Capability der RentenempfängerInnen und auf ihre Enkelkinder, die ebenfalls durch ein verbessertes äußeres Erscheinungsbild aktiver am Gemeindeleben teilhaben können.

12. Physische Sicherheit

Die Capability ‚Physische Sicherheit‘ meint die Fähigkeit einer Person frei und geschützt von physischer Gewalt zu sein. Betrachtet man die Antworten der befragten Personen zu der Frage nach ihrem Sicherheitsgefühl zum einen in ihrem Haus und zum anderen in ihrem näheren Umfeld, so fällt auf, dass die Antworten diesbezüglich recht unterschiedlich ausfallen und kein eindeutiger Trend in Bezug auf die Ausbildung der Capability und dem Einfluss von KwaWazee darauf festzustellen ist. Während einige der Befragten angaben, sich durch die von KwaWazee durchgeführten Sicherheitstrainings als durchaus geschützt und sicher gegenüber Angriffen wie beispielsweise Raub oder Vergewaltigungen zu fühlen: *„No I am not afraid. [...]Because I have been learning about self-defense for grannies. They taught us many different techniques how to overcome your enemy. So I am sure that I can defend myself.”* (6B), empfinden andere ihre Sicherheitslage weiterhin durchaus als kritisch *„Nowadays there is a tendency of raping older women. So I am not feeling really save, although I learned techniques from self-defense but somehow I feel-“* (10B).

Vor der Mitgliedschaft bei KwaWazee bestanden bereits Strategien oder Taktiken, um sich eigenständig so gut wie möglich verteidigen zu können und um sich vor den gegebenen Gefahren zu schützen: *„ [...] for instance I am not going during the night, at eight pm I have to be at my home and already be asleep“* (3B) und *„Before learning the self-defense issues, we usually keep the big knives under the bed.”* (9C).

Auch spielen bezüglich des Sicherheitsgefühles die Entfernungen zu anderen Häusern und die Unterstützung durch die Nachbarn oder Freunde laut einer Aussage für das Sicherheitsempfinden eine wichtige Rolle. Eine Rentnerin gab an, dass es ihr ein Gefühl von Sicherheit vermittele, die Nachbarn im Gefahrenfall zur Hilfe rufen zu können: *„For the moment I feel save, because my house is closer to other house and if something happen to me, I can shout so that people come to save me.”* (3B).

Auf institutionelle Hilfe durch die Polizei, ist einer Aussage zur Folge nicht zu vertrauen. So müssten zum einen die Dokumente zur Anzeigenerstattung selbst bezahlt werden: *„When you want to get the help from the police or government, you have to produce money for buying papers, for writing, for tasks, for other issues. So if you don´t have money even if somebody do bad things for you there is no way.”* (6B) und erschwerend hinzukomme die Bestechlichkeit der örtlichen Polizisten *“If somebody has money he goes to the leader so that he keeps secret the things.”* (10B).

So konnte die Capability ‚Physische Sicherheit‘ zwar in einigen Fällen durch die von KwaWazee durchgeführten Selbstverteidigungs-Trainings durchaus verbessert werden und ein höheres Sicherheitsempfinden der befragten Personen erzielt werden: *„Before getting the training I was*

afraid. After getting the training I was not afraid again.“ (6B), doch die Lücken, die bezüglich des Sicherheitsempfindens der Befragten weiterhin bestehen, können von KwaWazee nicht vollständig kompensiert werden. Den institutionellen Mängeln seitens des Staates können durch die Präventionsmaßnahmen im Rahmen von PSS Light und der Unterstützung und Beratung von KwaWazee-Mitarbeitern bei Konflikten nur ein Stück weit entgegen gewirkt werden. Probleme beim Schutz vor äußere Gewalteinwirkung bleiben bei den Befragten daher auch zukünftig bestehen.

Die durch die Präventivmaßnahmen der Trainings hervorgerufene Agency ist in diesem Falle, im Multiplikatoren-Effekt der Self-Defense-Trainings zu sehen. Durch das dort gewonnene Wissen, was durch die Gruppen und unter Freunden und Nachbarn geteilt und weitergegeben wird, entsteht die Verbreitung des Wissens zu den Möglichkeiten der Selbsthilfe. Dies ist ein sehr wünschenswerter und positiver Aspekt des Pension-Plus-Aspektes. Hiervon kann auch gerade die Enkelgeneration der Befragten profitieren, die teilweise separat von KwaWazee in Self-Defense geschult werden und auch indirekt das Wissen der Großmütter zur Sicherung vor Gewalteinwirkung erhalten und nutzen können.

13. Risikomanagement

„Risikomanagement“ bedeutet in dieser Arbeit, die Fähigkeit einer Person sich vor Unsicherheiten in der Zukunft, wie beispielweise Krankheit oder wetterbedingten Ernteaussfällen, zu schützen.

Im Zuge der Interviews fällt auf, dass die Capability bei den befragten Personen in den meisten Fällen von KwaWazee überhaupt erst geschaffen und initiiert wurde. Da die RenteneempfängerInnen bevor sie die Rentenzahlung erhalten haben, oftmals nicht einmal ihre Grundbedürfnisse abdecken konnten war es ihnen unmöglich Ersparnisse als Sicherheiten vor Krisen wie zum Beispiel bei Krankheit oder bei Ernteaussfällen aufzubauen oder Investitionen in einkommengenerierende Tätigkeiten zu tätigen: *„But because they [get] the pension, they can afford to get their basic needs. But for those who have no pension and they have no husband they have to work as day labor or they have nothing.”* (9B).

Mit der Rente, den PSS-Gruppen und dem Beratungsangebot der KwaWazee-Mitarbeiter, bspw. während der Rentenauszahlung, wird die Möglichkeit Ersparnisse anzulegen und Zukunftsvorsorge zu betreiben, kreiert. Die Rente von KwaWazee ist dabei für die Großmütter und Großväter zunächst einmal die Grundvoraussetzung um überhaupt, zumeist kleine Geldsummen für die Zukunft, zurückzulegen: *„Also, I get the support from my group because they are getting pension and from the*

pension which we get, we save some amount and that amount which we save, if someone is sick they support him or her from our savings. But we, for previously, we didn't manage to save because we have nothing to save. That's why I can say that KwaWazee is the main starting point and I can say that it's a big reason which make changes when I compare to previous time.” (2B).

Den Rahmen für das durch die Rente ermöglichte Sparen bildet dabei, so geht aus den Interviews hervor, oftmals die PSS-Gruppe. Innerhalb dieser Gruppen werden gemeinsam zukünftige Ziele zur Vorsorge und die dafür notwendigen Regeln und Grundsätze festgelegt. Die Ersparnisse innerhalb der PSS-Gruppe dienen den Gruppenmitgliedern oftmals als eine Art Versicherung in Krisenzeiten wie bei Ernteausfällen oder im Krankheitsfalle, um beispielsweise die erkrankten Personen der Gruppe finanziell zu unterstützen. Zudem werden die Ersparnisse für die Planung und Umsetzung möglicher Projekte wie der Kauf und Verkauf von Feuerholz oder Kaffeebohnen zur Einkommensgenerierung der Gruppe eingesetzt. Die Grundsätze und Regeln werden dabei von der Gruppe gestaltet und festgelegt. Die Gruppe spielt somit eine bedeutsame Rolle beim Risikomanagement, da einerseits die Unterstützung einzelner Mitglieder, zumindest bis zu einem gewissen Grad, gewährleistet werden kann und Projekte möglich werden, die als Einzelperson finanziell nicht umsetzbar wären:

„So when we came to the meeting of the group, we discuss, this money we contribute every month, maybe 1000TZS, what can we do for this money in order that to increase the money. So we discuss and maybe we can buy coffee, we keep it. Then, when the price is high, we sell it on high price so that we can get the money and then after at the end of the year we divide.” (6C)

„Also, because I live alone, when I am sick the group help me or support me. With the support of the group I also learned about how to carry different activities because we are carrying income-generating-activities in our group. We have a small shop in our group. We buy things and sell them.“ (8A).

Die Gewinne aus den Projekten der Gruppen können als zusätzliches „Polster“ gegen mögliche Krisen unter den Gruppenmitgliedern aufgeteilt werden oder für weitere Investitionen genutzt werden. Somit entsteht im Idealfall ein Kreislauf. Aus der Rente kann von zur Verfügung stehenden Einkommen zumeist innerhalb der Gruppe eine Ersparnis gebildet werden, die in Projekte investiert werden kann. Aus diesen Projekten kann wiederum Einkommen erzielt werden, was gespart oder re-investiert werden kann. Diese Einkommen-generierenden Projekte beinhalten daher ein sehr hohes Nachhaltigkeitspotential, welches die folgende Abbildung veranschaulicht:

Rente → Einkommen → Sparen → Investition



Abbildung 8: Durch Rente ausgelöster Investitionskreislauf

Neben den gemeinsamen Einkommens-generierenden Aktivitäten der Gruppe werden auch individuelle Investitionen durch die Gruppe ermöglicht. Im Rahmen des sogenannten ‚Revolving Fund‘ gibt jedes Gruppenmitglied einer monatlich wechselnden Person aus der Gruppe einen festgelegten Geldbetrag. So erhält der Empfänger einen hohen Geldbetrag für teurere Investitionen, den sie allein nicht fähig gewesen wäre aufzutreiben. Die getätigten Investitionen, wie Nutztiere oder Motorräder, erzielen meist Einkommen oder sind von anderem langfristigen Nutzen. Das Instrument des ‚Revolving Fund‘ wird von einigen Gruppen genutzt und verdeutlicht die Wirkung der PSS-Gruppen in Zusammenhang mit den Rentenzahlungen als Auslöser für wirtschaftliche Aktivitäten und nachhaltige Investitionen.

Ein weiterer wesentlicher Punkt neben der Rente und den PSS-Gruppen als Rahmen für die Zukunftsvorsorge ist das durch KwaWazee vermittelte Wissens-Angebot bezüglich der Zukunftsvorsorge und Projektplanung, welches ebenfalls eine Art Grundvoraussetzung für die starke Verbesserung der Capability durch KwaWazee darstellt. Zunächst einmal vermittelt KwaWazee den Rentenbeziehern die Notwendigkeit einer Zukunftsvorsorge: *„About saving I learned from KwaWazee during different meetings and trainings. Because I can’t arise that if you maybe got 1000, you have to keep 500 and to use 500. Because you don’t know in the coming day maybe one day you can be sick or grandchildren can be sick so you have to keep the money for other needs.“* (10A).

Die KwaWazee-Mitarbeiter informieren in ihren Besuchen der PSS-Gruppen die RentenempfängerInnen über die hohe Bedeutung einer Zukunftsvorsorge in Krisenzeiten und zeigen Möglichkeiten kleinerer Projekte und Einkommensmöglichkeiten sowie deren konkrete Umsetzungsmöglichkeiten auf. So werden beispielsweise Hinweise und Wissen bezüglich der Viehhaltung oder Buchführung vermittelt oder einzelnen Gruppen positiv verlaufende Projekte anderer Gruppen vorgestellt, um die Gruppen bei ihrer Zukunftsvorsorge zu unterstützen und ihnen Hilfestellung zu geben:

„They visit us every month, they advise us on where [how] we can improve to do more income activities so that we can improve our group at the time- we can improve our life because the income which we get from our group it is the amount we use when we are sick.“ (4A)

„We discuss how to improve our activities of income-generating and those things KwaWazee implemented to us. Education of how to keep goats, how to health exercise and the other things. So we usually emphasize ourselves that we have to keep on with these things.“ (8B).

Zusätzlich wird den Rentenbeziehern von KwaWazee die Möglichkeit gegeben, einen Teil ihrer Rente auf einem Account bei KwaWazee zu sparen und nicht die gesamte Rente ausgezahlt zu bekommen, um den Rentnern einerseits das Sparen zu erleichtern und andererseits den Schutz der Ersparnisse vor Raub zu verbessern. In einigen Fällen kommt es zudem vor, dass KwaWazee einer Gruppe oder einer Person einer Gruppe eine Ziege als Kredit zur Verfügung stellt und die nötigen Informationen zur Viehhaltung vermittelt, um so die Produktion weiterer Tiere und die Düngerproduktion für die Landwirtschaft, mit dem Ziel höhere Erträge zu erhalten, zu ermöglichen. Dies geht aus dem folgenden Zitat hervor: *„Also another it is not only the money which I get from KwaWazee, I also got the goat as a loan where I can keep and from the manure [...] which I get from my goat I can use that manure in my small farm where I can get more food comparing to the previous time.“ (1A).* Diese Viehhaltung von Schweinen oder Ziegen dient den Großmüttern und Großvätern ebenfalls als eine Anlage und eine Art Schutzschild vor Unsicherheiten in der Zukunft. Das Wissen und die Unterstützung durch KwaWazee-Mitarbeiter ist ein entscheidender Faktor, um die Zukunftsvorsorge der RentenempfängerInnen voranzutreiben und somit ihre Risiken in Krisenfällen zu mildern. Es verbessert diese Capability daher in hohem Umfang.

Durch die Verbesserung der Capability sind auch positive Auswirkungen auf die Enkelgeneration aus den Interviews hervorgegangen, da auch sie bei der Zukunftsvorsorge der Großeltern berücksichtigt und somit weniger Zukunftsrisiken ausgesetzt werden: *„So I make sure that I put my effort to see that all of my grandchildren improve their lives. I cook for them, I care them about school, about the clothes, how do they live in the future so that is why I have goats and I make sure that I cultivate something so that I get enough food. Maybe if there is a problem I can sell one of my goats in order to make sure that my grandchildren improve.“ (8C).*

Ein Großvater beschreibt im Interview, dass er von KwaWazee und der PSS-Gruppe den Zusammenhang zwischen Bildung, Unterstützung und somit Zukunftsvorsorge erlernt hat und beschreibt diesen als folgendermaßen: *„Also I learned that if my grandchildren have more education they will do better, it will help other family members.“ (5B).* Mit dieser Aussage ist die Hoffnung verbunden, dass die Enkelgeneration zukünftig Einkommen generieren kann, um andere Familienmitglieder zu unterstützen. Bildung wird somit als ein Faktor der Zukunftsvorsorge betrachtet und ihre Bedeutung erkannt, was ein positiver Einfluss für die Capability 'Bildung' der Enkelgeneration ist. Ein möchte sein Wissen an seine Enkelkinder weitergeben und sie dadurch auf

ihre Zukunft vorbereiten: „*He usually teach them how to overcome with the other challenges in their life and he said that maybe KwaWazee can close up so he have to find other opportunity how to live. We usually assist them and we teach them how to keep the goats [...] to feed them, to make the shamba and other things.*” (5B).

Ohne die Unterstützung von KwaWazee schätzen die Befragten die Möglichkeiten des Risikomanagements von positiv bis skeptisch ein:

“We can continue because as you see, now we have the balance as Upendo, the big group and the small group, so although you can't improve like now but you can't go back like before. But you can improve by selling the things we sell in our groups.” (6C)

„If KwaWazee stops, the group will be there but there are differences. Because now from the pension you get, you can save the money so you have got the balance. So if KwaWazee is not there again where can we find the money for savings. [...] so we can continue with our group but in case of money and savings it will be difficult.” (5C).

Insgesamt, so geht aus den Interviews hervor, wurde die Capability also durch KwaWazee initiiert und daher stark verbessert. Doch insbesondere aus der Dokumentenanalyse der PSS-Akten geht hervor, dass bei der konkreten Umsetzung und Planung für Einkommen-generierende Tätigkeiten in einigen Fällen weiterhin große Probleme, Herausforderungen und ein hoher Betreuungsbedarf durch KwaWazee- Mitarbeiter besteht. Neben einigen durchaus positiven Fällen der Vorsorge-Tätigkeiten, sind Vertrauens-, Hierarchie-, Kompetenz- und körperliche oder gesundheitliche Hürden und Probleme erkennbar, die die Zukunftsvorsorge und das Risikomanagement der RentenempfängerInnen nur in Ansätzen auf ein ausreichendes Maß hebt. Hier besteht, trotz durchaus positiver Vorsorgeaktivitäten einiger Gruppen, weiterer Handlungs- und hoher Motivationsbedarf durch die Organisation, um die Großmütter und Großväter bei der weiteren Stärkung der Capability zu unterstützen.

Bezüglich der Agency dieser Capability sind demnach auch unterschiedliche Stufen zu unterscheiden. Während in einigen positiven Fällen ein sehr hohes Maß an Agency vorliegt, die RentenempfängerInnen tatsächlich in Form von Projekten und einhergehend mit einer erhöhter sozialen Interaktion Zukunftsvorsorge betreiben, verbleiben einige auf einem weitaus geringerem Level. Sie haben Schwierigkeiten bei der Umsetzung von Initiativen zur Zukunftsvorsorge und daher ist ihre Agency dementsprechend geringer. Der Multiplikatoren-Effekt der KwaWazee-Tätigkeiten und der Gruppenaktivitäten ist beim ‚Risikomanagement‘ erkennbar, da mitunter auch

Gruppenmitglieder, die keine Rente beziehen, sich der Zukunftsvorsorge anschließen. Somit wird durch die Weitergabe und die Vermittlung von Kompetenzen an Dritte, Agency ersichtlich.

14. Zukunftsbestreben

Unter ‚Zukunftsbestreben‘ wird hier die Fähigkeit einer Person gefasst, individuelle Ziele, Werte und Hingaben zu haben. Dieses Bestreben kann den Menschen dann die nötige Motivation für ihr Handeln geben und es ihnen ermöglichen auch in schweren Lebenssituationen ihre Hoffnung beizubehalten und eigene Werte und Ziele nicht aus den Augen zu verlieren.

Auffallend bei den relativ wenigen Aussagen zu dieser Capability in den Interviews ist vor allem, dass die Zukunftswünsche der Befragten sich hauptsächlich auf das Leben der Enkelkinder beziehen. Viele der Befragten haben aufgrund ihres fortgeschrittenen Alters die Sorge, was aus ihren Enkelkindern werde, sollten sie sterben und ihrer Fürsorge nicht mehr nachkommen können. Die EmpfängerInnen wünschen sich für ihre Enkelkinder daher eine sichere, sorgenfreie Zukunft und vor allem gute Bildung, um dieses auch erreichen zu können:

„I want to change the live and the relationship with my grandchildren to improve. Maybe to improve the life to get more, different variety of food, maybe to add clothes, they have only one shoes. So I want to improve the relationship of my grandchildren.“ (6A)

“I wish and pray for my god that if I can live for many years longer to support my grandchildren.“ (6D)

“We want our grandchildren to have high education. Having high education can support her or him to do different activities. Maybe he can be employed or they can be aware with the change of the environment.“ (EGP, 14.05.12).

Auch materieller Besitztum und damit ein erhöhter Lebensstandard (*„She would like to construct a big and comfortable house, she would like to maybe have a bicycle, maybe that the grandchildren can use the basket to fetch water, go to the shamba, go to the center and buy something. She would like the family to have mattress and sleep well. Have many bed sheets and blankets. So that they have money in their account, save money, enough money. That is what she wishes that my life in five years could be.“*) (9C) und die Erweiterung des eigenen Wissens und die soziale Interaktion, der Austausch untereinander, scheinen als individuelles Ziel, welches Halt und Sinn stiftet, eine Rolle zu spielen: *„She wants to expand her knowledge to different skills and she has the time when they call them to the training she came and have the training and then after the training she go back and exchange with other people.“* (6A).

Eine Großmutter hat geäußert, dass auch wenn die Rentenzahlung zukünftig einmal aufhören sollte, die Gruppe und der damit verbundene Halt und die Unterstützung weiterhin bestehen bleiben kann: *„Myself, I think that if KwaWazee stops even our group can last.”* (7C).

Es kann bei diesen Aussagen zum Zukunftsbestreben nicht klar definiert werden, welchen Einfluss KwaWazee auf diese ganz individuellen Ziele und Wünsche der interviewten Personen tatsächlich hat. Es ist sowohl möglich, dass diese individuellen Werte und Ziele bereits vor dem Eintritt in KwaWazee vorhanden waren und eine Rolle im Leben der Interviewten gespielt haben. Dennoch kann angenommen werden, dass durch die Wissensvermittlung der KwaWazee-Mitarbeiter in den Trainings und dem Austausch der RentenempfängerInnen innerhalb der PSS-Gruppen, die Bedeutung der Bildung für die Enkelkindergeneration thematisiert wurde und deren Wichtigkeit aufgezeigt wurde, sodass die Befragten diese als wichtiges Element in der Zukunft ihrer Enkelkinder erachten. Daraus wäre ein positiver Einfluss von KwaWazee auf die individuellen Zukunftsbestrebungen durchaus erkennbar. Zudem ist es, ähnlich wie bei der Capability ‚Risikomanagement‘, durch die Rente und die Unterstützung von den PSS-Gruppen wahrscheinlicher, die eigenen Ziele zu erreichen und damit auch wahrscheinlicher, dass diese Ziele und eigenen Werte in den Gedanken der EmpfängerInnen überhaupt erst formuliert und ausgestaltet werden.

Aussagen über die Agency dieser Capability zu treffen, ist ein sehr schwieriges Unterfangen, da nicht absehbar ist, beziehungsweise aus den Aussagen nicht hervorgeht, ob konkrete Schritte eingeleitet werden, um die Bildung der Enkelkinder beispielsweise, tatsächlich zu verbessern. Was jedoch aus den Aussagen hervorgeht ist, dass die RentenempfängerInnen stets bemüht sind, möglichst viel daran zu setzen, um das Leben der Enkelkinder und sich selbst zukünftig tatsächlich besser zu gestalten und ihren Zukunftszielen so näher zu kommen: *„So I was just thinking about how I can support them. Maybe at the time they are at school, I have to provide the needs, I have to make sure that they are going to school. So this was difficult for me. But for them I can say they don’t have any bad feeling.”* (3C). Es ist davon auszugehen, dass die erkannte Bedeutung von Bildung der Großmütter und –Väter an die Enkelgeneration weitergegeben und vermittelt wird. Die Agency ist daher in der Vermittlung von Wissen über die Bedeutung der Bildung an die nächste Generation zu sehen.

5.5 Vernetzung der Capabilities

Die Analysen der Zitate aus den Bereichen A bis D haben deutlich gemacht, dass die Capabilities stark miteinander vernetzt sind und sich gegenseitig beeinflussen. Keine Capability steht für sich, sondern jede Capability beeinflusst eine andere Capability oder umgekehrt. In den meisten Fällen treten beide Möglichkeiten bei den Capabilities auf: sie beeinflussen und werden wiederum selbst

beeinflusst. Diese Vernetzung der Capabilities zeigt die Komplexität der Problematiken, in welchen die RentenempfängerInnen und ihren Enkelkinder agieren. Die folgende Abbildung verbildlicht die von den Befragten genannten Verbindungen zwischen einzelnen Capabilities. (Die rot markierten Capabilities gehören zu Block A, die Grünen zu Block B, die Blauen zu Block C und die Gelben zu Block D)

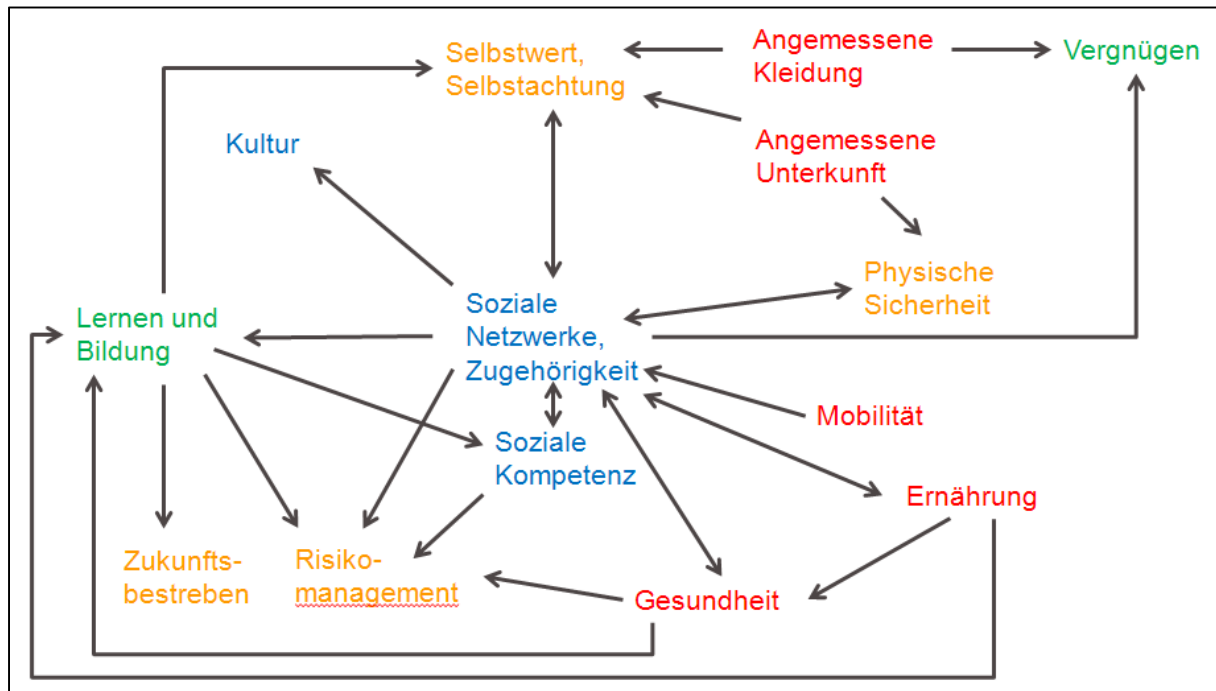


Abbildung 9: Vernetzung der Capabilities (Ergebnisse der Analysen, eigene Darstellung)

Jeder der Pfeile steht für eine Beeinflussung. Es ist anzumerken, dass die Pfeile nur die in den Interviews belegbaren Vernetzungen von Capabilities darstellen. Es ist nicht auszuschließen, dass es noch mehr Verbindungen gibt, diese allerdings in den Interviews nicht genannt wurden und daher auch in der Abbildung nicht zu finden sind.

Als zentrale Capability für viele Aktivitäten steht die Capability ‚Soziale Netzwerke, Zugehörigkeit‘. Sie wird von einer großen Anzahl anderer Capabilities verstärkt, wie z.B. durch die Gesundheit und die Ernährung. Ohne eine gesunde Körperverfassung können die RentenempfängerInnen an relativ wenigen Interaktionen teilnehmen, da sie bei Krankheit im eigenen Haus bleiben. Auch die Capability ‚Mobilität‘ verstärkt die Capability ‚Soziale Netzwerke, Zugehörigkeit‘, da Menschen, die das Haus verlassen und andere Orte aufsuchen können, an mehr sozialen Netzwerken teilnehmen können. Die Capability ‚Selbstwert, Selbstachtung‘ beeinflusst ebenfalls die Capability ‚Soziale Netzwerke, Zugehörigkeit‘. Grund dafür ist, dass die Menschen erst mit einem gewissen Maß an Selbstwertgefühl am sozialen Leben teilnehmen, andernfalls leben sie zurückhaltend und nutzen keine sozialen Netzwerke (außer vielleicht die eigene Familie). Sowohl die Capability ‚Angemessene Kleidung‘ als auch die Capability ‚Angemessene Unterkunft‘ haben Auswirkungen auf das Selbstwertgefühl der

Interviewten, da sie beeinflussen, ob eine Person von der Gemeinschaft respektiert wird und ob die Person sich selbst wohl fühlt, um am gesellschaftlichen Leben teilzunehmen. Die beiden Capabilities beeinflussen noch zwei weitere Capabilities. Eine Verbesserung der Capability ‚Angemessene Unterkunft‘ beeinflusst das Sicherheitsgefühl der RentenempfängerInnen und verstärkt somit auch die Capability ‚Physische Sicherheit‘. Die Capability ‚Angemessene Kleidung‘ beeinflusst die Capability ‚Vergnügen‘, da sowohl die RentenempfängerInnen als auch ihre Enkelkinder nur mit Kleidung in der Gesellschaft akzeptiert werden. Da ‚Vergnügen‘ meistens in gemeinschaftlichem Beisammensein empfunden wird, spielt die Kleidung eine entscheidende Rolle bei der Frage, ob die Menschen Vergnügen empfinden können. Daher nimmt nicht nur die Capability ‚Angemessene Kleidung‘, sondern auch die Capability ‚Soziale Netzwerke, Zugehörigkeit‘ Einfluss auf die Capability ‚Vergnügen‘.

Die Capability ‚Soziale Netzwerke, Zugehörigkeit‘ beeinflusst noch weitere Capabilities. Zunächst beeinflusst sie durch den in den sozialen Netzwerken stattfindenden Austausch die Capability ‚Kultur‘, da Kultur in der Gemeinschaft entsteht und Werte und Normen hier reflektiert werden. Einen starken Einfluss hat die Capability ‚Soziale Netzwerke, Zugehörigkeit‘ auf die Capability ‚Lernen und Bildung‘. Ein Grund dafür ist, dass in den sozialen Interaktionen Wissen weitergegeben wird und jeder Beteiligte sich in den Interaktionen neues Wissen aneignen kann. Das trifft vor allem auf die RentenempfängerInnen zu, die in ihren Gruppen Wissen generieren, sei es durch ein anderes Gruppenmitglied oder durch die Trainings von KwaWazee. Die Capability ‚Lernen und Bildung‘ wird darüber hinaus noch von den Capabilities ‚Gesundheit‘ und ‚Ernährung‘ beeinflusst. Je besser diese Capabilities ausgebildet sind, umso besser ist die Konzentrations- und Lernfähigkeit. Diese Verbindung zwischen den Capabilities wurde vor allem im Hinblick auf die Enkelkinder thematisiert. Die Capability ‚Lernen und Bildung‘ wirkt sich auch auf andere Capabilities aus. Sie hat Auswirkungen auf die Capability ‚Zukunftsbestreben‘, denn durch die Trainings und die daraus resultierenden Lerneffekten können die RentenempfängerInnen Zukunftspläne entwickeln und somit die Capability verwirklichen. Das gleiche gilt auch für die Capability ‚Risikomanagement‘, die ebenfalls durch die Capability ‚Lernen und Bildung‘ beeinflusst wird. Das vermittelte Wissen durch die Gruppen und die Trainings verhilft den RentenempfängerInnen zu verstärkten zukunftsichernden Aktivitäten. ‚Risikomanagement‘ wird durch drei weitere Capabilities beeinflusst: ‚Gesundheit‘, weil ohne die körperlichen Verfassung kaum Aktivitäten möglich sind, ‚Soziale Kompetenz‘, da Aktivitäten durch die verstärkten oder neu angeeigneten Kompetenzen effizienter durchgeführt werden können und ‚soziale Netzwerke, Zugehörigkeit‘, denn wie bereits dargestellt erleichtern die gemeinsamen Aktivitäten der Gruppe die Zukunftsvorsorge. Die Capability ‚Soziale Kompetenz‘ wird aber ebenfalls durch andere Capabilities beeinflusst. Sowohl die Capability ‚Lernen und Bildung‘ als auch die Capability ‚Soziale Netzwerke, Zugehörigkeit‘ fördern die Capability ‚Soziale Kompetenz‘ durch

Wissensaneignung bezüglich des Umgangs mit anderen Menschen als auch die aktive Durchführung desselben.

Abschließend lässt sich sagen, dass Veränderungen einer Capability in den allermeisten Fällen einen Einfluss auf eine andere Capability haben. Ist die Veränderung positiv, so sind die Auswirkungen auf die anderen Capabilities ebenfalls positiv. Im Hinblick auf die Projekte von KwaWazee ist zu bemerken, dass die einzelnen Projekte nicht alle Capabilities direkt beeinflussen, sondern einige auch indirekt beeinflusst werden wie z.B. im Fall der ‚Kultur‘.

Im folgenden Kapitel werden die grundlegenden Ergebnisse der Analyse in Bezug zu den Forschungshypothesen und dem damit verbundenen theoretischen Modell gebracht. Außerdem wird die Nachhaltigkeit als auch die Zuschreibung der erfassten Ergebnisse zu den zwei untersuchten Projekten SCT und PSS Light aufgezeigt. Darüber hinaus werden mögliche Schlüsse, Handlungsempfehlungen und so genannte ‚Lessons Learned‘, welche im Zuge der wissensgenerierenden Evaluation aus der Analyse seitens der Forschungsgruppe gezogen und abgeleitet wurden, dargelegt.

6. Diskussion

Zusammenfassend können als Gesamtergebnis der Evaluation die auf dem theoretischen Modell basierenden Hypothesen der Forschungsarbeit bestätigt werden. Neben den direkten Auswirkungen von SCT und PSS Light auf das Capability und Agency Level der alten Menschen zeigen die Projekte, wie angenommen, auch indirekte Wirkung. Die durch die verstärkten Capabilities hervorgerufenen Handlungen und Entscheidungen der alten Menschen haben wiederum Auswirkungen auf die Lebensumstände der alten Menschen und ihrer Enkel, jener Zusammenhang, der im theoretischen Modell dieser Arbeit durch die roten Pfeile dargestellt ist (Kapitel 3.2).

Die alten Menschen beeinflussen die strukturellen Faktoren ihrer Umgebung, indem sie sich aktiv für die Verbesserung ihrer Lebensumstände ein, beispielsweise wählen gehen, und beim jährlichen ‚Old People’s Day‘ staatliche Rente und kostenlose Gesundheitsversorgung für alte Menschen fordern. Durch die aktive Teilnahme an den PSS-Gruppen entwickeln sie aus Eigeninitiative Strukturen, die vorher in der Gesellschaft nicht vorhanden waren: Durch das gemeinsame Sparen ermöglichen sie sich Optionen, die vorher nicht gegeben waren, wie eine bessere Versorgung im Krankheitsfall oder Zugang zu Mitteln für Investitionen, die für Einkommens-generierende oder zukunftsichernde Maßnahmen erforderlich sind.

Auch auf das Leben der Enkelkinder wirkt sich die verstärkte Agency der Großeltern positiv aus: Die Capability der ‚Ernährung‘ und ‚angemessenen Kleidung‘ der Enkelkinder wird durch die verbesserte

Versorgung durch die Großeltern gegeben. Die adäquate Ernährung sowie die verbesserte Ausstattung mit Schulmaterial wirken sich wiederum positiv auf die Capability ‚Lernen und Bildung‘ der Enkelkinder aus, genauso wie saubere und ausreichende Kleidung das Spielen der Kinder mit Anderen ermöglicht und somit die Capability ‚Vergnügen‘ verbessert. Durch die Einkommensgenerierenden Aktivitäten, die von den Großeltern durchgeführt werden, ist auch die Zukunft der Kinder besser gesichert, beispielsweise kann das Zahlen von höherer Schulbildung durch die Großeltern ermöglicht werden.

Den alten Menschen wird es durch SCT und PSS Light ermöglicht, ihr Leben vermehrt selbst zu gestalten, Veränderungen zu initiieren und somit ihre Lebensumstände und die ihrer Enkel aktiv und eigenständig zu verbessern. Die Projekte der Organisation KwaWazee bringen so neben den direkten Wirkungen der Rentenzahlungen und Gruppenaktivitäten auch Effekte des Empowerments und der Nachhaltigkeit mit sich. Bezüglich der Nachhaltigkeit kann angenommen werden, dass vor allem PSS Light über ein sogenanntes drop-off value verfügt. Dies bedeutet, dass auch bei Beendigung der Projekte ihre positive Wirkung erhalten bliebe, wenn auch mit abfallender Stärke. PSS-Light haben einen starken Multiplikator-Effekt, da das hier erhaltene Wissen über gesunde Ernährung und Gesundheitsübungen auch an Nicht-KwaWazee Mitglieder weitergegeben wird. So breitet sich die positive Wirkung auch über die RentnerInnen hinaus an Freunde, Nachbarn, Familien- und Gemeindemitglieder aus und wird von hier aus wiederum weitergegeben. Im Rahmen der Demonstration am ‚Old People’s Day‘ werden ebenfalls Nicht-KwaWazee Mitglieder miteinbezogen und das politische Bewusstsein und die Forderungen der alten Menschen innerhalb der Gemeinde verbreitet. Zusätzlich haben einige PSS-Gruppen Nicht-KwaWazee-Mitglieder aufgenommen. So weitet sich die Wirkung der gegenseitigen Unterstützung und des psychosozialen Beistands auch auf andere alte Menschen in der Gemeinde aus.

Die sozialen Kontakte und der Gruppenzusammenhalt, der durch das Projekt entstanden ist, werden sehr wahrscheinlich in den meisten Fällen auch nach einer Schließung der Organisation KwaWazee bestehen bleiben. Der Wegfall der Rentenzahlungen könnte lediglich die Spar- und Einkommensaktivitäten der Gruppe und somit die Dynamik der gegenseitigen Unterstützung einschränken. Die Aktivitäten und sozialen Kompetenzen innerhalb der Gruppe basieren außerdem zum Teil noch stark auf der begleitenden und beratenden Rolle der KwaWazee Angestellten und es ist fraglich, wie effektiv die Gruppen ohne jegliche konzeptionelle Unterstützung der Organisation funktionieren würden. Dies gilt auch für das stark auf KwaWazee’s Initiative beruhendem politischem Engagement. Diese Gründe sprechen also für eine zwar nicht abrupt abfallende, aber doch langsam abnehmende Nachwirkung der Projekte.

Was kann nun mit Hilfe der Ergebnisse dieser Evaluation zu dem Mehrwert des SCT Plus im Vergleich zu traditionellen SCTs ausgesagt werden? Grob kann festgestellt werden, dass während die Rentenzahlungen vor allem die Capabilities des physischen Wohlbefindens (Ernährung, Unterkunft, Kleidung) fördern, also die Grundbedürfnisse der alten Menschen und ihrer Enkel abdecken, ist PSS Light der Hauptauslöser für Capabilities, die über Grundbedürfnisse hinaus gehen. PSS verstärkt Interaktion mit Menschen und alle damit verbundenen Capabilities, wie ‚Lernen‘, ‚Soziales Netzwerk‘, ‚Soziale Kompetenz‘ und ‚Kultur‘. Mit ihren Spar-, Unterstützungs- und Einkommensmaßnahmen sind die PSS-Gruppen auch die Hauptförderer der Capabilities ‚Gesundheit‘ und ‚Risikomanagement‘. Der Mehrwert des SCT plus ist also, dass die Unterstützung neben der Befriedigung von Grundbedürfnissen auch die Förderung des Sozial- und Humankapitals einschließt. Gerade diese Capabilities führen zu erhöhter Agency und ermöglichen somit, wie bereits erläutert, eine nachhaltige Wirkung der Projekte. PSS Light und SCT sind aber keinesfalls isoliert anzusehen. Die Rentenzahlungen stellen die Basis für die Aktivitäten der Gruppen dar. Die Wichtigkeit der materiellen Zahlungen bleibt also bestehen, doch stellen die PSS-Gruppen eine sinnvolle Ergänzung dar, mit Hilfe derer die Empfänger die Rentenzahlungen effektiver und nachhaltiger nutzen können.

Durch die im Rahmen der Evaluation generierten Ergebnisse und Informationen können folgende ‚Lessons Learned‘ für KwaWazee festgehalten werden:

1. PSS Light ist weiterzuführen und auszubauen. Die bereits erhebliche Wirkung der Rentenzahlungen wird durch PSS um ein Vielfaches ergänzt, erweitert und verstärkt. Der Mehrwert ist vor allem hinsichtlich der hervorgerufenen Agency und damit verbundenen Nachhaltigkeit der Projekte auszumachen. Das Modell PSS Light ist von enormer Wirkung für die verbesserte Lebenssituation der alten Menschen, ob im materiellen als auch im psychosozialen Bereich. Aufgrund dieser Erkenntnis ist es sinnvoll Programme in weiteren (Unter-)Bereichen zu entwickeln, die ebenfalls in das erfolgreiche Konzept aufgenommen werden können.
2. Um den Effekt der Nachhaltigkeit und des Empowerments zu erreichen, ist die individuelle Begleitung und Beobachtung der einzelnen Gruppen erforderlich. Die Gruppen benötigen gerade zu Anfang den Input und das Know-how von KwaWazee, um mit ihren Aktivitäten zu beginnen und sie erfolgreich durchzuführen. Manche stehen schneller „auf eigenen Beinen“ als andere, einige benötigen mehr bzw. länger Unterstützung und Beratung als andere. Langfristiges Ziel sollte jedoch sein, dass die Gruppen früher oder später unabhängig von KwaWazee agieren und funktionieren. Derzeit besteht Bedarf nach erhöhter personeller Unterstützung durch KwaWazee, da Gruppenbesuche nur sehr unregelmäßig stattfinden.

Durch eine Ausweitung in dieser Hinsicht könnte der Erfolg vieler Gruppen auch in anderen, bisher lethargischeren Gruppen, stattfinden.

3. Eine weitere Maßnahme, um weniger aktive Gruppen verstärkt in Aktivitäten einzubinden, wäre der Austausch zwischen erfolgreichen und weniger erfolgreichen Gruppen. Die Kommunikation zwischen den alten Menschen scheint einen enorm starken Effekt mit sich zu bringen. Gruppenübergreifende Aktionen zum Erfahrungsaustausch von Spar-, Unterstützungs- und Einkommensaktivitäten könnten die Motivation und das Know-how von dynamischen Gruppen auf weniger aktive Gruppen übertragen.
4. Die Vernetzung der Capabilities und ihre gegenseitige Beeinflussung sollte in der Programmgestaltung diskutiert werden. Insbesondere bei den Capabilities, die nicht direkt durch die Aktivitäten durch KwaWazee berührt werden. Dieses Netz an Capabilities sollte vielleicht auch in den PSS Groups thematisiert werden um die Gruppen sensibel dafür zu machen, dass Beziehungen zwischen den einzelnen Dingen, die sich verbessert haben, bestehen. Das Wissen über die vielen Verbindungen zwischen den einzelnen Capabilities kann möglicherweise noch stärker genutzt werden
5. Obwohl die Capability ‚Gesundheit‘ eine sehr starke Verbesserung durch die Rentenzahlungen und die PSS-Gruppen erfahren hat, besteht weiterhin viel Potenzial bei der Capability. In den meisten Fällen erfahren viele RentenempfängerInnen durch SCT Plus erstmals eine weitestgehend gesicherte Unterstützung durch die PSS-Gruppe bei Krankheit. Problematisch ist allerdings, dass die finanzielle Unterstützung im Krankheitsfall starken Restriktionen unterliegt, die die Rentenzahlungen nicht auffangen können und es vielen Großmüttern und Großvätern Schwierigkeiten bereitet, die finanziellen Mittel selber aufzubringen. Den Wunsch der RentenempfängerInnen nach kostenloser medizinischer Versorgung durch die Regierung kann KwaWazee nicht realisieren, trotzdem sollte das Thema noch einmal genau beleuchtet und geprüft werden, ob noch weitere Schritte realisierbar sind, die den RentenempfängerInnen eine gesundheitliche Versorgung gewährleisten können.
6. Die Forderung nach Renten und Gesundheitsversorgung durch den Staat ist ein oberstes Anliegen der meisten Befragten. Im Bereich des politischen Engagements hat KwaWazee bereits den Großteil der derzeitigen Aktivitäten initiiert, aber dies könnte durch verstärkte Seminare zu rechtlichen und politischen Strukturen des Landes ergänzt werden. Das Bedürfnis der alten Menschen, ihre Lage und ihre Forderungen mitzuteilen ist groß, aber sie haben keine Vorstellung von den Möglichkeiten, die ihnen offen stehen, diese Forderungen zu erreichen. So wurden wir als Forschungsgruppe aus Deutschland darum gebeten, ihre Forderungen an die Regierung weiterzutragen, da davon ausgegangen wurde, dass wir diese

antreffen würden bzw. könnten. Es besteht also der Bedarf nach weiterer Aufklärung und Beratung im Bereich der politischen Organisation.

7. Weiteres Potential zum Ausbau des Programms liegt bei der Erziehung der Enkel von RentenempfängerInnen, vor allem vor dem Hintergrund des gesellschaftlichen Wandels. Hier sehen sich viele Großeltern durch die Diskrepanz zwischen den Generationen überfordert und Angebote der Organisation in Form von Trainings oder Seminaren könnten Wissen, Orientierung und den Raum zur Diskussion über das Thema bieten. Innerhalb der Gruppen wird zwar schon über Erziehungsprobleme diskutiert, aber mit Beratung von Seiten KwaWazees könnte der hier bestehende Raum aufgegriffen werden, um professionelle Beratung anzubieten. Das so erteilte Wissen könnte sich von dort aus weiter in der gesamten Gemeinde verbreiten und ähnliche nachhaltige Effekte erzielen wie im Bereich der gesunden Ernährung. Dies gilt nicht nur im Bezug auf die Kindererziehung an sich, sondern auch um Veränderungen in der Gesellschaft wahrzunehmen und zu akzeptieren bzw. zu tolerieren.

7. Fazit

Aufgrund eines strukturellen Wandels liegt in einer Vielzahl von afrikanischen Staaten eine zunehmende Problematik der sozialen Fürsorge der alten Menschen vor. Die traditionellen, familiären Versorgungsstrukturen funktionieren seit einer geraumen Zeit nicht mehr. Dies ist zum einen durch die demografische Entwicklung, also aufgrund der alternden Bevölkerung, als auch durch eine anhaltende Urbanisierung zu erklären. Eine unzureichende Befriedigung der Grundbedürfnisse und eine hohe Altersarmut sind die Folge. SCT-Programme bilden einen Versuch, dieser Problematik entgegenzuwirken und den ‚vulnerable groups‘ ein Mindestmaß an sozialer Sicherung zuzusprechen.

Im Zuge dieser Forschungsarbeit wurde ein derartiges SCT-Programm in Tansania hinsichtlich einer Verbesserung der Capabilities der RentenempfängerInnen evaluiert. Das Social Cash Transfer Plus Programm der Nichtregierungsorganisation KwaWazee in Nshamba hat einen stark positiven Einfluss auf das Leben der RentenempfängerInnen sowie indirekt auch auf das Leben ihrer Enkelkinder. Wie bereits in der 2008 durchgeführten Evaluation festgestellt werden konnte, unterstützen die Rentenzahlungen die Capabilities des physischen Wohlbefindens, wie beispielsweise Nahrung, Unterkunft und Kleidung, und tragen zur Befriedigung der materiellen Grundbedürfnisse bei. Während die SCTs die Großmütter und Großväter bei der Sicherstellung ihrer Grundbedürfnisse unterstützen, dienen PSS-Light-Aktivitäten der Verstärkung des Human- und Sozialkapitals der alten Menschen, was das Programm besonders nachhaltig macht. Es ist kein weiteres Projekt bekannt, was dieses ‚Plus‘ bislang umsetzt. Der stark positive Einfluss auf die Capabilities wirkt sich darauf aufbauend auf die Agency der RentenempfängerInnen und damit auch ihrer Enkelkinder aus.

Indirekten Einfluss hat das Programm auch auf die Gemeindemitglieder, da sie sich das Wissen, was die RentenempfängerInnen generieren, teilweise ebenfalls aneignen. Eine besondere Bedeutung fällt der starken Vernetzung der untersuchten Capabilities zu, in der sich die Capabilities gegenseitig positiv beeinflussen.

Die Ergebnisse der Forschungsarbeit haben einige ‚Lessons Learned‘ für KwaWazee hervorgebracht, die der Organisation bei der Ausweitung des PSS Light Programmes nützlich sein könnten und für die Capabilities der RentenempfängerInnen und ihren Enkelkindern einen deutlichen Mehrwert darstellen könnten.

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9. Anhang

1. Capability-Liste /Definitionen

Definitions of capabilities:

A) Physical Well-Being

1. Health:

This capability includes the ability of a person to have unproblematic access to medical treatment (doctor and hospital), to have access to affordable medicine, to get adequate care by others like (e.g. family, friends) and to have access to clean (drinking) water.

2. Nutrition

Includes the ability of a person to have access to sufficient and nutritional food and not to feel hunger.

3. Adequate Shelter

Includes the person's need of protection in form of a place to stay where the person can feel at home and comfortable and is protected against all weather conditions.

4. Adequate Clothes

The ability of a person to have adequate clothes to be protected against all weather conditions so that the person can feel covered, warm and clean.

5. Mobility

The ability of a person to be able to move to different places freely to places of the person's choice.

B) Mental Well-Being and Intellectual Development

6. Pleasurable Experiences

The ability of a person taking part in activities that creates joy and distract from worries.

7. Learning and Education

The ability of a person to increase his/her knowledge and to have adequate access to education.

C) Relating and Interacting

8. Social Network, affiliation

A person's ability to have a number of people that offer mutual support, condolence, sympathy, affection, communication and love.

9. Social Skills

To have the ability to manage social interaction successfully and peacefully.

10. Culture

The ability of a person to be aware of his/her own identity regarding the values and norms of his/her society.

D) Personal Autonomy and Freedom

11. Self-Worth/ Self-Respect

The ability of a person to attach value to your own existence (and to be satisfied with it).

12. Physical Security

To be free or protected from physical violence.

13. Risk Management

The person's ability to protect himself/herself from future uncertainty.

14. Future Aspiration

The ability to have individual goals, values and commitments.

2. Interviewleitfaden der Explorationsgruppeninterviews

A. What is the grannies conception of a good life?

- **How happy are you in your life? (smiley scale, everyone puts a stone) How come that you are on this scale? Why are you not on a higher level? What is missing to be on a higher level?**
- **When was the last time that you were very happy? Why?**
- **If you were to start life all over again, what would you want to be different in your life? What would you change? What would you want to stay the same?**
- **What kind of life do you wish for your grandchildren? What should be different compared to your life? What should they be able to have in their lives? What should they be able to do in their lives? What do they need in their lives?**
- **What is most important for a happy life? Which parts of such a happy life do you see realized in your life? Which parts are missing?**

B. Which capabilities have been supported through KwaWazee projects?

- **Think about your life before joining KwaWazee! What were your biggest problems?** (each granny names one problem, not to be repeated)
- **Now think about your life today! Which problems are gone now?** (grannies discuss together which problems should be taken out of the circle)
- **How come things are a little bit/much better?**
- **What can you do better than before?**
- **What do you feel more secure about?**
- *What would your best friend/grandchildren say about the changes in your life?*
- **What is still unsatisfying you in your life? What could still be improved in your life?**

C. Which capabilities of the grandchildren were indirectly supported through KwaWazee projects?

- **How good was the life of your grandchildren before KwaWazee? (smiley scale, everyone puts a stone)**
- **How good is their life now? (smiley scale, everyone puts a paper)**
- **How come things are a little bit/much better? What has changed/improved?**
- **What is still unsatisfying in the lives of your grandchildren? What could still be improved in their lives?**

3. Explorationsgruppen-Protokolle

Protocol of the first exploration group, 12/05/2012

Group: Tumanyangane, Kisana

We drive with Jovinary and Edimund, two members of KwaWazee, on the motorbikes to the home of one of the grandmothers we want to interview. The grandmothers, also called *bibis*, and grandfathers are already waiting for us. Fifteen people have been invited by KwaWazee during the last pay out of the pension, fourteen appeared (one was sick). They welcome us warmly and invite us to sit with them outside in a circle on the ground between the banana trees. Jana introduces all three of us to the group and explains in English how happy we are to be in Tanzania and with them and brings in what we want to ask them today. Jovinary and Edimund translate all our sayings in Kihaya, the language which is spoken by the elder people. Jana also mentions that the atmosphere shall be very trustful and if the grannies do not want to talk about a certain topic they do not have to. Lara does the interview during this visit, Jana records Lara's questions and the English translations from Jovinary and Edimundi and Lisa protocols the whole meeting.

We start with the first question to the grannies: How happy are you in your life? For this question we printed out smileys to make a 5-step-scale from very happy (three laughing smileys), happy (two laughing smileys), okay (one laughing smiley), sad (one sad looking smiley) to very sad (two sad looking smileys). Every granny gets a little post-it and we ask them to put all together at the same time the post-it on one smiley of the scale. The result is that six grannies are happy in their lives and the remaining eight grannies are very happy in their lives. We ask them about the reasons for their choice. The grannies raise their hands and we take them one after the other. The first granny (very happy) argues that she is happier because she gets support. **With the pension she manages to buy food, salt, sugar, school uniform and school material for her grandchildren.** She furthermore explains that she is not afraid of anything now and has fewer worries. Another granny (very happy) tells us that before joining KwaWazee she was afraid about how she can care for her grandchildren if nobody helps her with further support because she would not manage it alone. She asked all organizations for help but they sent her away. Since 2004 she joined KwaWazee and now **she can buy soap, oil, sugar, salt and fish.** She also keeps goats since 2007. We ask the granny who put the post-it on the scale "happy" why she is not on the highest level and what is still missing to be very happy. She explains very clear that she compares the moment with the future. **At the moment she has goats and the pension from KwaWazee so that she can care for the grandchild. But she thinks about the future**

how it would be if KwaWazee stopped paying the pension because her biggest fear is that she does not have sufficient support. If KwaWazee stopped paying the pension she would still have the support of the group but that would not be enough. That is why she is happy and not very happy. One granny (very happy) tells us that when her child died she had four grandchildren to care about. With the help of KwaWazee she can pay the school fees for the children. That makes her feel stronger.

We ask them the next question: What is most important for a happy life? They don't seem to be able to understand this question so we rephrase it: What kind of life do you wish for your grandchildren?

We ask them to name one topic each. They mention:

- Support
- school support
- education
- clothes
- shelter
- food
- soap
- employment
- money
- mental health
- medication
- to have something to support for example land or goats.

We want to get more topics regarding their feelings (like love, friends etc.) but it is difficult for them to imagine so we go on to the next question. We ask them if they are completely happy now since they joined KwaWazee. One granny mentions that she is not completely happy because the government should take over so that all grannies can get a pension. Another granny agreed with the granny and adds that the government should also be responsible to build houses for the elder people. The next answer from a granny is that she is also not totally happy. She would be totally happy if every granny would get free treatment at the hospital. One granny explains that the environment is not good for the old people and their grandchildren. This is why she thinks all old people should get a pension from the government. We ask her to further specify this. She adds that the attention and closeness [affection, physical contact] a granny needs cannot be done by KwaWazee. She would be happy if other people would take care of the elder people.

We go further to the next question and ask the grannies to think about their lives before joining KwaWazee and which have been their biggest problems. Again we ask them to name one topic each. Edimundi draws every topic quickly on a paper and puts it in the middle of the circle. The answers are:

- no blankets
- no goats
- no clothes (*"I used to have one clothes, now I have more than one"*)
- no money
- no shoes (*"Before ... I had never put any shoes in my life."*)
- no medication
- no house (we ask her where she lived before joining KwaWazee and she explains that she lived with the neighbors)
- no food
- no mattress
- no water
- no knowledge of the world (The granny gives further explanation for it. She means with knowledge of the world how to manage money, book-keeping, leadership).

We try again to ask them about their feeling before joining KwaWazee. The first answer from one granny is that she could not sleep at night because she had to think about her dead child and she felt sad. *Another granny felt thoughtfulness when she was alone and she feels better [distracted] when she is with other people. ("I have a feeling of thoughtfulness. This is because when I'm with others speaking I don't have any thoughts and when I leave and stay alone I start thinking about my grandchildren and my son who died.")* Before KwaWazee she sometimes got visitors or met people at ceremonies who came to her but since KwaWazee and joining the women groups she meets a lot of people so that she does not feel alone and sad. The following granny felt alone at night before KwaWazee because *her own child, an albino, was killed and she is afraid that something could happen to her grandchild, also an albino.* Since joining KwaWazee she gets support through the advocacy committee. We ask her if KwaWazee could help her even more and her answer is that KwaWazee could support her more by talking to the leader of the advocacy committee. *Another granny tells us that all of her five children died and she therefore had no appetite and couldn't sleep. With KwaWazee now she meets other people with the same problem and they can exchange their thoughts. ("She's explaining about [her] five children who died. [...] So that makes her feel [...] she didn't have any more appetite to eat. [...] She was just thinking about those children. [...] In the night she sleeps and then after two hours she's just waking up. [...] But when she joined KwaWazee she*

managed to meet with other people having the same problem. [...] Now she can sleep because she knows that she is not the only one who has that problem.”) One grandfather let us know that two sons of his died. They used to bring him to hospital because he often has to go there because he has diabetes. KwaWazee helps him with the pension because with the money he can pay someone else to bring him to the hospital. The next granny explains us that she is frequently sick because she has blood pressure. Since joining KwaWazee and the mutual support group she is happier because the group supports her with local medicine. We ask the group who out of the group is familiar with local medicine and four grannies raise their hands.

We go back to the topics they mentioned earlier what have been their biggest problems before joining KwaWazee and ask them to think about their lives today and how the size of the problem changed. We make a three-step-scale while using the hands (this method was used before already and the grannies are familiar with it.) The three-step-scale contains the following: problem still big (hands closed in front of the body), problem is still there but not as big as it was (hands still in front of the body but open) and problem is gone (hands far away to the side of the body). After the explanation of the scale we raise every topic mentioned before and ask the grannies to show with their hands how the problem has changed or not changed.

- no blankets: problem gone (they explain that you buy once blankets and then they last for a long time)
- no goats: problem gone (KwaWazee gave them goats)
- no clothes: problem gone
- no money: problem still there but not as big as it was
- no shoes: problem gone
- no medication: still a big problem for six grannies, for four grannies the problem is still there but not as big as it was
- no house: problem still there but not as big as it was (they all have a house but some are broken or not totally closed against all weather conditions e.g. rain)
- no food: problem is still there but not as big as it was (depending on the food situation, at the moment the banana trees are threatened by a disease)
- no mattress: problem gone (you buy them once and then they last for a very long time)
- no water: very difficult to measure (one granny has a water tank so for her it is no problem, four grannies have a big container where they collect rain water, the rest of the group has to fetch water in small bottles)
- no knowledge of the world: problem gone (the knowledge increased because of KwaWazee: meeting each other, trainings, support groups). (*“The knowledge they get from exchanging*

ideas. [...] They are now aware, they are no longer staying at home having many feelings of problems but they get into a group and they share, they get training, they go to KwaWazee, they are open.”)

We ask them how good the life of their grandchildren was before they joined KwaWazee. We use again the 5-step-scale method with the smileys. The result is that before joining KwaWazee three grannies estimate that the life of their grandchildren was okay, three other say their life was bad and another three even put in that the life was very bad (the sum is only 9 because the other grannies do not have grandchildren or they do not have to take care of them). We give them a second post-it with the question how good the life of their grandchildren is now. The result is that one granny mentions that the life of her grandchildren is good and the other eight grannies say that the life is very good. We ask them further how it comes that life is better. One granny explains that the grandchildren have clothes now. She also mentions that they have time to play outside, because before they didn't have clothes and they felt weak because of the lack of food. (*“This is because they had no clothes, they could not go out to play with other children because the other children would laugh at them. They could not get enough food, they were just feeling weak and then they could not go outside to play. [...] And then there are the feelings of losing their father and mother. These feelings comes when they have no food, they think that if my father or my mother is present I could have get food, they'd offer me food. Now they are no longer here, I can't get food. So these feelings stays. [...] They could think about this atmosphere that could make them grow and develop but they think about negative life.”*) Another granny tells us that the grandchildren now have soap, they can go to school and they get sufficient food. The next granny informs us that before joining KwaWazee the grandchildren who were supposed to go to school had to care about the younger sisters and brothers because the grannies needed the time to earn some money. With the pension of KwaWazee the granny can take care of the youngest grandchildren and the older one can go to school. (*“The grown-ups could not go to school because they have to care for these young ones [...] But when they joined KwWazee it means that the time that [the grannies] had to go and work for money they get the money from KwaWazee so they could spend the money to get food and other things and [the children] could go to school.”*)

We finish the interview after two and a half hours. We thank each granny very much and we give each of them a piece of soap as a present. We get from the grannies three passion fruits and unroasted coffee beans as a thank you. We drive back with Jovinary and Edimund on the motorbikes.

Protocol of the second exploration group, 13/05/2012

Group: Tweyambe, Kanywangonge

We drive with Jovinary and Edimund, two members of KwaWazee, and one other person on the motorbikes to the home of one of the grandmothers we want to interview. The grandmothers, also called *bibis*, and grandfathers are already waiting for us. Seven people have been invited by KwaWazee during the last pay out of the pension, six appeared on time and one came too late. They welcome us warmly and invite us to sit with them in a circle on the ground inside the house. Like the day before, Jana introduces all three of us to the group and explains in English how happy we are to be in Tanzania and with them and brings in what we want to ask them today. Jovinary and Edimund translate all our sayings in Kihaya. Jana also mentions that the atmosphere shall be very trustful and if the grannies do not want to talk about a certain topic they do not have to. Lara does the interview during this visit, Jana records Lara's questions and the English translations from Jovinary and Edimundi and Lisa protocols the whole meeting.

We start with the first question to the grannies: How happy have you been in your life before joining KwaWazee? For this question we use again the 5-step-scale from very happy (three laughing smileys), happy (two laughing smileys), okay (one laughing smiley), sad (one sad looking smiley) to very sad (two sad looking smileys). Every granny gets a little post-it and we ask them to put all together at the same time the post-it on one smiley of the scale. The result is that all six grannies (at that time the seventh granny is still missing) have been very sad and unhappy in their lives. We further ask them how happy they are now in their lives after joining KwaWazee and give them again a post-it in another color. One of the grannies puts the post-it on okay, two choose good and three grannies put their post-it on very good. We ask them about the reasons for their choice. The grannies raise their hands and we take them one after the other. **The first granny (okay) argues that she is happier because she can buy food now.** Another granny (very happy) explains that before her life was very difficult. With the pension from KwaWazee she manage now to buy **food** and **medicine** what makes her life much easier. **She furthermore explains that cultivation was not sufficient. Since receiving the pension she is able to cultivate more than before because she is not forced to harvest before time. ("When they were cultivating [...] what they harvested [was] not sufficient to maintain**

their lives. But when they got the money from KwaWazee [...] they start using the money and wait till the plantation is growing. [...] [Before], they were just harvesting before it was grown up.”) The next granny tells us that with the pension of KwaWazee her son could finish secondary school and that he now can attend university. We ask her how the attendance of her son at university changes his life. She hopes that with him completing his studies he can help his sisters and brothers also to study at university. One granny (very good) explains that before KwaWazee life was very difficult but with the pension she can now repair the house and wash her clothes. She also points out that compared to before where she was alone and met only a few people, she is now in the social group where she can interact with others. So the number of people she is meeting and interacting with increased. She furthermore tells us that interaction also takes part when you buy something. (“Before, my life it was difficult but after joining KwaWazee [...] I could access the social service in the community [...] and I can interact with different people in the community. Before, I was just living alone but now I’m just communicating with my friends [...] so that I feel okay [...] When I compare this time to the previous time then I was just interacting but with a few people but now I can maybe manage to join even [...] the social groups in the community, so it has increased the number of people who are communicating.”) One grandfather came to attend this interview to represent his wife who is sick. He says that from the support of KwaWazee his wife manages to buy food and medicine. This is especially very important for him and his wife because he is weak and cannot work any longer. He thought that his wife would die because he can’t support her. With the support of KwaWazee they managed to buy medicine and today she is (six years later) still living. (“He can’t walk so he couldn’t earn money to support his wife. At this time he thought the wife would die because he didn’t have money to support her. But when the wife was registered in KwaWazee [...] [it] much supported him because when he get money he spend that money to support his wife.”) Another granny tells us that when her husband died she was alone with the children. With the support of KwaWazee she buys food and school material and she also attends trainings (like health training, self-defense training) and she joined a mutual support group. When she is sick she gets support from the grannies of her group. She explains that she also joined a group before KwaWazee but they only supported each other when somebody died. She considered the group she used to be in before KwaWazee to be not enough but feels now the mutual support group as stronger.

We ask the grannies who put the post-it on the scale “okay” why they are not on the highest level and what is still missing to be very happy. One granny explains that all laughing smilies are the same to her so she could even put her post-it on another level. The grandfather tells us that he put his post-it on the scale “okay” that the pension is not enough for his sick wife and it is a big task to get more money for her medicine. With the money from the group (when the saving is divided through all group members) he employs someone to cultivate vegetables which he sells again to get money.

We ask the grannies the question if they are completely happy now? One granny is represented by her daughter because she is sick. The daughter conveys that she is not completely happy because her mother is frequently sick (blood pressure and diabetes). This is why she has to stay at home and care for her mother which means a lot of work for her. The next granny tells us that she suffers also by being frequently sick where she has to go to the hospital. But because the treatment is not for free she has to pay for it which is not easy for her. One granny explains that she has four children for whom she has to pay the school fees, buy food and manage basic needs. She tells us that she still has to look how to get money. Another granny shows up the big challenge when she is frequently sick. She has to pay at the hospital to access medicine but she has not enough money to pay the medicine. She further explains that she does not have a balance to save till the end of the month for unexpected sickness. (*“Accessing medicine from the hospital is still a big challenge for us. Though we are getting pension but we are sick frequently. Because you get sick frequently, you have to pay money frequently [...] The money is not enough because we normally attend these private sector hospitals and we have to pay because they are business dealers and the medicine are too expensive [...] So the pension which we get is not enough, we can’t maybe buy food, clothes and to have excess money for paying for health services.”*) The group supports the member with money when they are sick but the rule is that the support is only given out every three months. (*“When you are sick maybe this month they support you but next month they can’t support you because the constitution says that after three month you can get support [...] because else our money will be finished.”*)

We ask them the next question: What is most important for a happy life? We ask them to name one topic each. They mention:

- money (referring to Tanzanian saying “money is the soap of the heart” and every happiness is coming from the heart) (*“When you get money – money is everything. You can access everything you want: you can go to the hospital, you can buy food, pay school fees for your children, you can do something which you want with the money. So there is one saying of Swahili, we say that the money is the soap of the heart. So when you get the money, everything is possible. It cleans the heart, so every happiness comes from the heart. You can get any joy, a happy life.”*)
- free medication
- food
- health
- having more friends/ interacting (staying alone makes your heart dirty, having friends means to be more happy and comfortable) (*“To my side another point is having more friends, interaction of different people. It makes you feel okay because you chat to different people,*

you share different things. Staying alone it can makes your heart to be also dirty because you are not communicating with other people. So interaction it makes me to feel more happy and comfortable.”)

We go further to the next question and ask the grannies what they wish for the life of their grandchildren. The first granny says that she wishes her children to access good education. (*“I wish my children to succeed in their education so that from there they will have good life.”*) One granny explains that she wishes her children a good life. She tries to teach her children how to cultivate so that they earn money from it and can support each other. (*“To her, it’s that the wish starts before. When she starts getting money she starts preparing her grandchild so that when he’s grown-up he should have a good life, for instance when she was just getting money she bought the house, she bought the medicine, and then tried to train the grandchild in cultivation. Now [...] the last two months the grandchild managed to buy a motorbike. That motorbike is just helping them to go to the hospital and when the grandson is cultivating he can go where there’s a market and earn some money. So having somebody earning money supports you. So she wishes that her grandson will support her and then the grandson will support his own children.”*) Another granny mentions the importance of the local culture and she wishes that the grandchildren can learn from the grannies’ life to do things better in their own lives. (*“I wish our children in our community a good life, but a good life with enough discipline. This is because this day there is science and technology where the children are just learning the things which is not our culture. So to our side we have to train our kids our culture, the way we live, the way we have to not lose our culture system. So we have to train them, later they can also live as we live. [...] They wish that the grandchildren they have should not live in the life they have but they should change. That’s why we should train them by showing them the real life we have and then the grandchildren should learn from them that to prepare themselves when they are young and when they become old they should be getting support.”*)

The next question we ask the grannies is what they would change if their life was to start all over again, and what they would want to stay the same. One granny explains that she would work more in agricultural issues to get more food and money and that she would build a group with her friends to support each other. Her view of money is that the money is for the entire group so the once who are rich have to support the once who are poor. (*“To learn if they are young sustaining this organization among the people, to understand how they can support each other so that when they accumulate money it’s for all people in that organization. Not that having different structure, there are people who are rich and there are people who are not rich. So those who are rich they have to support those who are not rich.”*) She would also learn skills which can support them in their lives.

Now we ask about their lives before joining KwaWazee and which have been their biggest problems. Again we ask them to name one topic each. We use the pictures from yesterday's focus group interview. If the group names a topic which is new we draw it quickly. The answers are:

- lack of support by husband (husband died before wife so wife stays alone)
- care for others (children have to support sick mother)
- food
- money (*"You can start January to May without touching money. But now we are getting money from KwaWazee we manage to buy food, we can buy sugar, we can buy salt, we can buy soap, we can buy medicine, so that's why the problem reduced."*)
- cleaning the banana trees (banana trees have not been prepared right).

The next question to the grannies is how the size of the problems they mentioned changed since they joined KwaWazee. We use the three-step-scale from yesterday (this method was used before already and the grannies are familiar with it). The three-step-scale contains the following: problem still big (hands closed in front of the body), problem is still there but not as big as it was (hands still in front of the body but open) and problem is gone (hands far away to the side of the body). After the explanation of the scale we raise every topic mentioned before and ask the grannies to show with their hands how the problem has changed or not changed.

- lack of support by husband: for some the problem is gone, for some the problem is still there but not as big as it was (KwaWazee kind of replaced the husband) (*"KwaWazee replaced her husband. The support which she had been getting from her husband is the support she is now getting from the organization. Instead of asking your husband can you assist me with the clothes, we don't have sugar, we don't have soap, we don't have this; so instead of asking your husband you get the support from KwaWazee, then everything is there."*)
- care for others: problem still there but not as big as it was (because they have money which supports them so that they do not have any worries about the future)
- food: problem is gone (problem is solved for the moment, but the grannies explain that they do not know for the future)
- money: problem is still there but not as big as it was (they can pay soap, sugar and medicine or they can employ someone to cultivate for them to get food, thus money reduces other problems) (*"From the money which we get there are problems reduced because after getting the money we can employ someone instead of cultivating yourself. You employ someone so that you cultivate the big land and from there you can get lots of food."*; *"From the money that we get we can also employ other people, we can manage to invest in the other income-generating activities, so from there we get more food."*)

- cleaning the banana trees (banana trees have not been prepared right): problem is gone

We ask them how good the life of their grandchildren was before they joined KwaWazee. We use again the 5-step-scale method with the smileys. The result is that before joining KwaWazee two grannies estimate that the life of their grandchildren was very bad (the other grannies do not have grandchildren or they do not have to take care of them). We give them a second post-it with the question how good the life of their grandchildren is now. The result is that both grannies mention that the life of their grandchildren is very good since joining KwaWazee. We ask them further how it comes that life is better. One granny explains that her grandchildren are very happy because they joined a children's group and they can meet friends, go to school, have enough food, wash their clothes and wear shoes. This is also a relief for herself because she doesn't have to worry about the future anymore. (*"She's thinking about the grandchildren she has to care for. This was a big problem to her because she didn't manage to get the school material and the other support for her children. [...] After getting the money from KwaWazee this is decreased because she's assured that this month she got money and that next month she will also get money. She's not worrying about the future."*)

The other granny who has grandchildren tells us that the problem is reduced and her grandchildren are nowadays happy. We ask further if there is still something missing or if something could be improved. One granny explains that not everything is completely good because the grandchildren still depend on her. After completing their studies they can be independent. The other granny says that as her grandchild is still young (A.d.V. and doesn't need support for school) there is at the moment no other need.

We finish the interview after two and a half hours. We thank each granny very much and we give each of them a piece of soap as a present. We get from the grannies vegetables and fruits as a thank you. We drive back with Jovinary, Edimund and the other person on the motorbikes. We give the fruits and vegetables to them as we do not cook for ourselves.

Protocol of the third exploration group, 14/05/2012

Group: Tupendane, Muzinga

We meet with Jovinary and Revina, two members of KwaWazee, to walk to the home of one of the grandmothers we want to interview. During the half an hour walk we get in a big shower so that we arrive wet almost everywhere at the place we meet the group. The grandmothers, also called *bibis*, and grandfathers are already waiting for us. Seventeen people have been invited by KwaWazee during the last pay out of the pension, sixteen appeared and one comes later. They welcome us warmly and invite us to sit with them in a circle inside the house. Jana introduces all three of us to the group as during the previous days and explains in English how happy we are to be in Tanzania and with them and announces what we want to ask them today. Jovinary and Revina translate all our sayings in Kihaya. Jana also mentions that the atmosphere shall be very trustful and if the grannies do not want to talk about a certain topic they do not have to. Lara does the interview during this visit, Jana records Lara's questions and the English translations from Jovinary and Revina and Lisa protocols the whole meeting.

We start with the first question to the grannies: How happy have you been in your life before joining KwaWazee? For this question we use again the 5-step-scale from very happy (three laughing smileys), happy (two laughing smileys), okay (one laughing smiley), sad (one sad looking smiley) to very sad (two sad looking smileys). Every granny gets a little post-it and we ask them to put all together at the same time the post-it on one smiley of the scale. The result is that all sixteen grannies (at that time the seventeens' granny is still missing) have been very sad and unhappy in their lives. We further ask them how happy they are now in their lives after joining KwaWazee and give them a post-it in a different color. As a result three post-its are on the scale "okay", ten on "good" and three on "very good". We ask them about the reasons for their choice. The grannies raise their hands and we take them one after the other. One granny (happy) explains that before joining KwaWazee life was difficult because she had no income while she had to take care of the grandchildren and she got sick frequently. With the pension she can now manage her life. She has blood pressure but she feels okay now because she can do simple exercises like stretching in the morning which let her feel that her body is fit. (*"Every morning when I woke up, I have to stretch myself and then this makes my body fit."*) The next granny (happy) tells us that before getting the pension she did not manage to buy soap, wash her clothes and wash her body and she also could not move from her house to the neighbor because she was too shy to show her unwashed clothes. With the support of KwaWazee she pays soap, body oil and food. (*"It was difficult even to move from their house to their neighbors. It was something difficult because they were getting shy because their clothes were not washed. [...] But after getting the pension they manage to buy soap, body oil and food. This makes them to feel like they are like others because they are washing their clothes."*) Another granny mentions that since 1987 her bones of her hips are cracked so that she could not carry anything around. When her husband died the basic needs had to be provided by her. Nowadays she pays clothes and food with

the pension and she has fewer worries about taking care of her children. The next granny tells us that she had two diseases before joining KwaWazee; one is hunger because she did not get enough food and the other is that she felt dizzy which was a big problem to her. At that time she worked as a day laborer but because she was weak she got fired. She was very happy to get support from KwaWazee. The first day of getting the pension the granny bought sugar to make porridge. Since that day she did not feel dizzy any more. She could also manage to buy food, clothes and other things. Another granny (happy) explains that when her husband died she got a shock because she asked herself how she can take care of the children. Because of the shock she also got stomach problems. With the help of KwaWazee she could solve some problems. First, she could send her children back to school as well and she could pay for the school material. And second, KwaWazee explained the importance of drinking water to her, since that day she has no more problems with her stomach. (*"When KwaWazee introduced the thinking of drinking water, she started drinking water and using some local medicine and now she is feeling better."*) One granny (very happy) tells us that she is very happy now, because when she was blind in the past people were making jokes about her because she could not see and recognize other people. Since joining KwaWazee she got an operation for her eyes and KwaWazee advised her to eat vegetables and fruits, nowadays she can see again. With the pension she buys shoes, clothes and everything for basic needs like food and she starts to keep pigs. The next granny (happy) explains that she buys food with the pension. She wishes for the future of her children that every child gets education and that they attend secondary school. She manages to pay school fees, school material, school uniforms, pens and soap. She mentions again that she is able to buy food. She furthermore explains that food is very important so that the children are able to concentrate at school because they don't have to think about whether they will get something to eat when they come back from school. Nowadays they do not have to worry about food because she has already prepared food when they come home from school. (*"The children, when they are at school they are not thinking about what they are coming back to eat but they can concentrate at school."*) Another granny says that she felt sick in the morning; she was shivering. She could not move from her home to another home because she was afraid that she could fall down. With the pension she bought sugar, food and cooking oil. She made herself a tea every day in the morning and after some months her sickness was gone. (*"In the morning hours she was just [...] shivering [...] She could not move from her home to other place because she [...] thought that when she could go to other people maybe she could fall down somewhere. So when she joined KwaWazee she managed to buy sugar and food and cooking oil and when she bought sugar she cooked a tea every morning. [...] After a few months she felt better and then this shivering went off."*) Nowadays she feels better and she can move around (for example to KwaWazee or to the meeting of the mutual support group). The next granny (okay) suffered in the past of tab worms while she was alone and the local medicine did not

help her. She spent the pension to go to the hospital and to get medicine which decreased the problem. Afterwards her child died and left grandchildren to her. **With the support of KwaWazee she can feed her grandchildren so they are sure to get food when they come back from school. She can also buy school material which she could not do before KwaWazee.** She feels that her grandchildren are now happier with their lives. One woman (happy) represents her mother in law because the granny is very old so that the woman comes to the meeting on behalf of her. The woman tells us that before KwaWazee supported her mother in law she supported her alone. With the pension she is now able to buy **food, clothes and soap** for the granny. The woman cooks for the granny and **keeps her goats and also produces more goats. She sold one goat for 45.000 TSH. For that money she bought maize which lasted for a year. Now she can use the money from the pension for other needs like blankets.** One man is representing his mother. He thinks *“that if the government will take over and start paying all the older people the pension it could be much more better. Also the older people can make their own organization because they are getting care of the government also they can be seen valuable.”*

We ask the grannies who put the post-it on the scale “okay” or “happy” why they are not on the highest level and what is still missing to be very happy. The first granny (happy) explains that she still suffers from blood pressure and that she sometimes does not have the money to pay the treatment at the hospital. *She wishes that the government provides free treatment. (“Sometimes she has no money. She has already spent the pension and no money to pay for treatment. Now she assumes that it could be better if the government can take over that the free treatment for older people. Maybe this will be more helpful to her and she will be more happy [happier].”)* Another granny (okay) suffers from her bones but she went to the hospital for treatment. Because she had no money to pay the treatment she had to sell a piece of land to get money. Now she is concerned with her life. The next granny (very happy) mentions that the pension shall be paid by the government because she is worried that KwaWazee could stop paying the pension and a pension by the government would be reliable. **(“Though they are getting the pension but I still thinking about if the pension will stop, shall I manage to care for these children, Because this [KwaWazee] is a non-governmental organisation. If it could be a permanent pension this would be much more better.”)** **One granny (okay) explains her choice that she is concerned about the price fluctuation of sugar, salt and food. She worries about the future because at the moment the pension is sufficient for the month but with the price fluctuation it could be different in the future.** The next granny says that she is living positively because she could not interact with others before because she is blind. Even though she is still blind the group members help her with cultivating so that she can manage to grow vegetables. Another granny (very happy) explains that the pension cannot help with all challenges for example for the behavior change of the children when they grow up. **(“She has children and these children needs**

many things so that can grow and develop in their life. Though Kwa Wazee is just supporting them with the pension there is some small, small, small needs which also the pension can't manage to change because there is this behavior change of the children. This is the problem. [...]The pension can't manage to solve that behavior change of the children because they are just confronting with many things, many challenges and this challenges is a challenge to the children. [...] For the children themselves they can't recognize these challenges but we, we know about the tradition, our tradition. So we see that this is a big problem to them.”) We ask further what she means with behavior change and she answers that “The challenges of the children they are facing is that [...] for instance, they have to walk on themselves. They [are] now eager to look after their live[s] before they be looking to one which is important like school. So they come at school but how we interact [...] with them.” [→

Erziehung] One granny (okay) does not get the pension but she joined the group when she noticed the support of the group when one member was sick. After that she asked the group for acceptance and since then she is joining the mutual support group. She tells us that the group itself makes her happy because she does not feel alone anymore. Through the group she can interact and meet other people. Her knowledge increased because of knowing all facts about drinking clean water and doing exercises. She feels fitter and now she can go to church without stopping on her way which was the case before joining the group. (“She is not beneficiary of KwaWazee but the group accepted her to join the other older people herself [...] because she is not getting the pension but the group herself makes her happy. [...] Before joining the group she was like somebody who is alone but after joining the group she finds that there is [are] other people, they are interacting with each other, visiting each other, so she find[s] herself with others. And they are joining these groups because they are doing different exercises of stretching the body. This helps her. [...] She got a knowledge from the group, [...] she is drinking water. Before she was not drinking water. But for the moment she is drinking water and the water makes her body fit. Now she can move from here to the church without resting.”) We further want to know if the group invited her to join or if it was her own initiative. Her answer is that “She asked herself to join the group. [...] Once she visited her close relatives who is a member of the group. And that one was sick. So when she was there the group members come to support her. They come with food, they come with water and firewood for her. I felt happy that there is a support like that among the older people. And then I was excited, [...] I get interested to join.”

The next question we ask the grannies is if they were to start life all over again what they would want to change and what they would want to stay the same. The first granny explains that she would try to get higher education so that she could get employed or do a small business to get more income and that she would also cultivate more than now. (“What she could have changed is that to get high education because if you get education you can be employed and then you can earn income. Or if you are not employed you can be a bit stronger in making business because you are well educated and

then you know what you are doing.”) The next granny says that she would cultivate groundnuts and cassava to earn money. Another conveys that she would study hard to reach a high education to get an employment (especially learning English) and she would drive a car. The next granny mentions that she would do trading so that she could make savings from her income to use the savings when she is old. (*“She is explaining that if she is coming back to be young, she could be making trading. And from trading the income she earn she could making savings. And that savings can help her when she is old.”*) One granny would cultivate as many food crops as she could do. One granny would make business to earn income which should support her family and with which she could keep cows or goats. (*“If you buy cows, you can produce more cows and this will support you when you are old.”*)

We go further to the next question and ask the grannies what they wish for the life of their grandchildren. The first granny mentions that she wishes for their grandchildren high education so that they can support themselves. (*“We want our grandchildren to have high education. Having high education can support her or him to do different activities. Maybe they can be employed or they can be aware with the change of the environment.”*) She explains further that she as a granny also learns from her grandchildren. (*“When we come to our [group] meeting, we try to use the knowledge we are getting from the grandchildren. This is because they are going at school. [...] The formalities of our culture are changing day by day so we are not aware with the modern things.”*) Another granny repeats what the first granny just said. One granny puts in that she wants for her grandchildren to get education. If they do not get education she wishes that they cultivate. She also wishes that the children can play and do sport. The next granny explains that education is the key of everything. Her grandchildren should be trained in doing business and they should form groups to support each other so that life can be balanced. (*“Education is the key of everything, but with education so we should be trained about making business also. Bring business also they can earn income which can support them in their development. [...] She is saying another idea is about forming organization that doing things together. [...] They can be supporting each other as grown-ups and the life can be balanced among the people.”*) One granny hopes that her grandchildren are learning different skills. She explains that they have to be trained. They can keep chicken, selling their eggs, keeping the money from selling, spending money, etc. So when they grow up they developed the skills which can support them in the future. Furthermore she wishes that her grandchildren should keep savings for the future.

We ask the grannies how good the life of their grandchildren was before they joined KwaWazee. We use again the 5-step-scale method with the smileys. The result is that before joining KwaWazee three grannies estimate that the life of their grandchildren was very bad (the other grannies do not have grandchildren or they do not have to take care of them). We give them a second post-it with the

question how good the life of their grandchildren is now. The result is that all three grannies mention that the life of her grandchildren is since KwaWazee very good. We ask them further how it comes that life is better. One granny explains that her grandchildren now get food when they come home from school. Before KwaWazee she could not manage to feed them after coming from school. She also says that her grandchildren formed a children's group so they can interact with others, share their thoughts and are not alone. The next granny who is taking care of her grandchildren mentions that she and the grandchildren do not worry about school material because she can pay for it now. Furthermore she explains her grandchildren feel emotionally well. One granny explains that the grandchildren she is taking care of still have parents but they cannot support them. That is why she wants the government to look after these children. We ask her how exactly the government should support those children. The grannies mention that they should pay for school and health care. One granny adds that the government should pay pensions for all old people and give them free medical treatment. The man who is representing his mother suggests that families should also be supported by the government. (*"Before he was asking for the pension of all older people. Now he is also asking for the support of those who are having children because they are now increasing day to day."*)

We ask the grannies the question if their children are completely happy or if something is still missing. One granny explains that it is still difficult to pay to get good school education. Another granny agrees with that.

We finish the interview after two hours. We thank each granny very much and we give each of them a piece of soap as a present. We get grandnuts from the grannies as a thank you. We walk back with Revina (Jovinary had to leave a little bit earlier).

4. PSS-Dokumenten-Auswertung

Group Number	Name	Village	Average Age	A1 Physical well-being	B2 Cognitive capabilities	C1 Social network	C2 Social skills	D3 Risk Management	D4 Practical reason
10	Guma Tuliyo = Don't worry because we' re together	Nshmaba-Kishoyo	69			care about each other: visit each other to check how they feel even if not sick to see where they need assistance (e.g. help cutting grass), give advice to one group member to go to the hospital when she was sick	planning and organizing: increase contribution, improve assistance by giving money, firewood, food, help with wedding conflict management: after some members received more support than others the equality and mutual respect regardless of age between the members was agreed upon group rules: deciding on a fine for members who don't attend meeting without excuse (sick family member)	sell small fishes and tomatoes, due to competition switched to selling baked banana, due to disease switched to selling firewood, hire and pay someone to cut firewood	
18	Tweyambe = let us assist each other	Buganguzi - Katare (30 km)	74	support each other when sick: receive from savings TSh2000 for sugar and medicine, TSh10000-20000 to enable hospital transport and help with getting firewood and cooking			planning and organizing: buy material to sell handcraft instead of banana due to disease	income-generating activity: take savings to buy beans during harvest when they are cheaper and sell them when they are expensive, thus increase savings revolving fund: for expensive investments (jackets, Thermoskanne, bed sheets, house repair etc.) each member contributes 1000 to one member each month support: if a member loses a child each member contributes TSh200, 2 pieces of firewood and 10 pieces of bananas	

16	Fraika (Shemelelwa) = Be happy	Birabo	N.A.	can't work on projects because they are too old and don't have the physical strength and energy support each other when sick: 200 for care at home, 5000 to go to hospital plus banana, firewood, water			problem solving: member to bring savings to KW wanted to charge TSh200 per person for transport, others didn't agree, a different member offered to do it for free delays in contributions, advice by KW: agree upon a day which is suitable for all --> decided for day after pension, one suggestion was to contribute immediately after pension is received at KW but group didn't agree because of non-collectors who don't have control over whether their collectors contributed, decided that it is better to contribute in a joint meeting	revolving fund: each member contributes TSh1000 a month for one member for bigger investment (if you don't contribute you get chased out of the group)
38	Twemanye = let us help ourselves, noone can help us	Kabare - Katikabutare	76	body exercise reduced body pain support each other when sick: contribute firewood and banana or white flour		lack of visits and communication: couldn't notice if someone is sick because some group members are living alone understanding: one member did not show up for three meetings in a row, was to be chased out of group but when she gave the illness of her children as explanation for her absence the group accepted this as a good excuse care for each other: help one member each week where they need support (e.g. weeding)	conflict management: priorities among group members as some did not get support when sick while others did, members discussed how to solve this problem and came to the conclusion that everyone has the right to get support and that they want to establish equality in the group group rules: one member only came to meetings when money was given out for income-generating activities and was chased out of the group, fee of 500 if meeting not attended	income-generating activity: first selling baked banana, after disease small fishes (profit: 50% to seller, 50% to savings) --> income enables them to buy grandnuts during harvest and sell them later divided in groups according to certain businesses (selling tomaoe, grandnuts, fish etc.), each group receives money from savings and repays it after two months with 10% profit for savings reduction of uncertainty: provision of loans in case of emergent needs (soap, food) without interest

56	Tumsiime = Let us thank him	Nshamba-Kisana A	70	health exercise: two members were trained by KwaWazee in health exercises and shared their experience with the group	lack of bookkeeping skills: need for training in how to deal with income and expenditure from KwaWazee	extending the group: a non-beneficiary was interested to join the group because she liked the mutual support and was registered, she contributes to the internal savings through income-generating activities		income-generating activities: selling bananas until disease, then planned to sell handcrafts, selling grandnuts and coffee	
7	Abagamba kamoi = They said one word (they agreed)	Mubunda-Bisheke (23 km)	72	support each other when sick: firewood, flour and TSh200	pleasurable experiences: organize festivities for 'old people day' on 1 October lack of bookkeeping skills: need for training in how to deal with income and expenditure from KwaWazee		communication and self-organization: if someone is sick they meet and everyone contributes, because some don't have the money to contribute they decide to contribute to savings in advance	income-generating activity: agriculture and selling of grandnuts and cassava, selling fish and keeping goats (through loan from KwaWazee, paid back with small goats), stopped selling fish because person responsible was sick --> new project: get money from savings to buy and sell maize	
41	Tweyende = Love each other	Kihumulo-Ruchumisi (8 km)	78	too old to do projects support each other when sick: TSh200 from pensions to savings for support in case of sickness				income-generating activity: grandchild of one sick member proposed to buy bananas and sell them in Muleba with 50% of profits going to him and 50% to group savings --> complained about not receiving money from him on time two members are able to sell fish with 50% of profits going to them and 50% to group savings	
67	Tweyambe = Help each other	Mkoma (27 km)	N.A.	support each other when sick: firewood, food and water plus TSh 2000 for transfer to hospital from savings				planning to buy own land to cultivate and sell	

34	Tugonzangane = Love each other	Nshmaba- lgabiro	86	support each other when sick: TSh5000 and visits from everyone		extending the group: two requests of non-beneficiaries to join the group agreed upon	conflict management: one member keeps a pig for the group and requested TSh10000 from each member for feeding the pig, the other members did not agree and after a discussion the group decided to make a timetable taking turns to provide food for the pig (4 members each week) --> succesful implementationdiscussions on balancing support because it is unequal (some get support twice, some not at all)	revolving fund: each member pays TSh1000 into fund each month, total is divided and given to two group membersKwaWazee loan for one group goat and one goat each for six group members who manage to keep goat (food, security), to be paid back with small goats	
1	Abagamba kamoi	Kabare- Kyansenene	75	selling of firewood because of the heaviness of the firewood to difficult for them --> selling bitter banana now		no projects	nobody of the group can read or write so they pay someone to do this for the group	worried that the money kepper could use the money for his/her own business --> decision: the money will be rotated so that it is kepted by every granny once; do not trust each other	

6	Ngonzi	Nshamba-Itongo	72	support each other but not all members support someone who is sick		at the beginning just one granny did the activities alone --> stopped with the activities; now the group cuts grass and sells it --> because not all members of the group can take part at this activity one part of the earnings go to the savings of the group, the other part of the earning will be distributed by the once who participated at the activity Agreement: if someone does not attend the meeting without being sick, the person will be excluded from the group; one granny always wanted to be reminded about the date of the meeting but she could remember the day of the pay out of the pension by herself		the money keeper who is at the same time the group leader took the money for her own business --> had to pay it back and someone else is the money keeper now	
45	Abagambakamoi	Kishanda-Nyere	67			some meetings took place with a small number of members and some meetings even got cancelled because nobody appeared		sold bananas but because trees got destroyed by insects they stopped seeling bananas	
46	Tumaini	Nshamba-Itongo	79	half of the group is very weak and cannot attend the meetings		high number of members (21 members) --> decision: stay as a big group for savings and projects as well as built 4 smaller groups to support each other better --> own estimation: small groups more supportive	because only half of the group can attend the meeting (others are too weak) --> decision: the group moves around to every granny who is weak to see them during the meeting	the money keeper used the savings for his/her own savings --> someone else was selected for keeping the money; earn money with selling handcrafts	

25	Mtumaini Mungu	Kagondo-Bish	80	too weak to cultivate --> hire someone who cultivates their land		they have been in the past 23 members, but because some have not been cooperative, they have been taken out of the group --> now only 13 members decided to include more members (reason: makes the group stronger); group agreed that the pension should not be used to buy local alcohol, it would be better to buy flavour and soap		KwaWazee supported the group with five goats, which have been kept by two members of the group --> other members did not come to help feeding them	
61	Mungu Abela	Ngenge-Kilamba	N.A.	very old grannies who cannot attend the meetings --> send representatives		one granny shifted from the village --> group did not know if she is still in the group and if she will contribute in the savings make plans (like cultivating or trading) but never realized them		savings have been distributed by the members because of a lack of food --> no money left to support sick members --> decision: distribution will only take part with a part of the savings so that they can still support sick grannies with the remaining savings	

5. Interviewleitfaden der Kleingruppeninterviews

Date of interview:

Group name:

Name of translator:

Code:

Age:

Gender: male female

Who is living with you in your household? How many?

Which group do you join? Since when?

Did you do one of the following trainings; health training, self-defense training?

(When they have grandchildren) Do your grandchildren join Tatutano?

A. PHYSICAL WELL-BEING

1. Health

How is your health condition? (zu lange geschichte)

How do you get care when you are sick?/

What kind of care do you get when you are sick? (self care, care by others, hospital, medicine)

Do you have access to clean water?

Do you have access to sanitation?

Has this always been like this?

Since when has this situation changed?

Who has contributed how much to the change? (10 stones plus 4 picture; KwaWazee, me, community, family)

How has (name each picture) contributed to the change?

What could be improved?

2. Nutrition

Do you have enough to eat and drink?

Has this always been like this?

Since when has this situation changed?

Who has contributed how much to the change? (10 stones plus 4 picture; KwaWazee, me, community, family)

How has (name each picture) contributed to the change?

What could be improved?

3. Shelter

How is your housing condition? (house and furniture)

Has this always been like this?

Since when has this situation changed?

Who has contributed how much to the change? (10 stones plus 4 picture; KwaWazee, me, community, family)

How has (name each picture) contributed to the change?

What could be improved?

4. Clothes

How satisfied are you with your clothes? (to be covered, to be clean, to be warm)

Has this always been like this?

Since when has this situation changed?

Who has contributed how much to the change? (10 stones plus 4 picture; KwaWazee, me, community, family)

How has (name each picture) contributed to the change?

What could be improved?

5. Mobility

How easy or difficult is it for you to go to different places? (Bias) (Neighbor, village, church)

Has this always been like this?

Since when has this situation changed?

Who has contributed how much to the change? (10 stones plus 4 picture; KwaWazee, me, community, family)

How has (name each picture) contributed to the change?

What could be improved?

B. MENTAL WELL-BEING AND INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT

1. Pleasurable experiences

Do you meet friends for pleasure?

What occasions do you have for celebrating? (old people day)

(if they have grandchildren)

Are your children playing outside with other children?

Has this always been like this?

Since when has this situation changed?

Who has contributed how much to the change? (10 stones plus 4 picture; KwaWazee, me, community, family)

How has (name each picture) contributed to the change?

What could be improved?

2. Cognitive capabilities

Do you have any restrictions to see, hear, feel, taste and smell?

Are you able to carry out tasks that involve reading, writing and counting?

How do you improve your knowledge?

(if they have grandchildren)

How often are your children attending school?

Has this always been like this?

Since when has this situation changed?

Who has contributed how much to the change? (10 stones plus 4 picture; KwaWazee, me, community, family)

How has (name each picture) contributed to the change?

What could be improved?

C. RELATING AND INTERACTING

1. Social network

Where do you interact with other people?

What do you do there when you are interacting?

Who cares about you?

Who do you care about?

Has this always been like this?

Since when has this situation changed?

Who has contributed how much to the change? (10 stones plus 4 picture; KwaWazee, me, community, family)

How has (name each picture) contributed to the change?

What could be improved?

2. Social skills

What do you plan within _____ ? (depends on the answer in C.1)

What problems or conflicts do you have in _____ and how do you solve them?

Did you attend the demonstration? (show picture) Why? What did you expect?

Has this always been like this?

Since when has this situation changed?

Who has contributed how much to the change? (10 stones plus 4 picture; KwaWazee, me, community, family)

How has (name each picture) contributed to the change?

What could be improved?

3. Culture

In which cultural activities or traditions do you participate?

In which religious activities do you participate?

(if they have grandchildren)

Are your children aware of cultural norms and values?

Has this always been like this?

Since when has this situation changed?

Who has contributed how much to the change? (10 stones plus 4 picture; KwaWazee, me, community, family)

How has (name each picture) contributed to the change?

What could be improved?

D. PERSONAL AUTONOMY AND FREEDOM

1. Emotional well-being and self-respect

How self-confident are you?Gruppe/austauschjahr

Who respects you? Why?

How lonely are you?

Who could be proud of you? And why? Does it make you feel stronger/self-confident?

(if they have grandchildren)

Are your grandchildren happy?

(if they have grandchildren)

How is the relationship to your grandchildren?

Has this always been like this?

Since when has this situation changed?

Who has contributed how much to the change? (10 stones plus 4 picture; KwaWazee, me, community, family)

How has (name each picture) contributed to the change?

What could be improved?

2. Physical security

How safe do you feel in your home?

How safe do you feel outside?

How do you protect yourself from danger?

Has this always been like this?

Since when has this situation changed?

Who has contributed how much to the change? (10 stones plus 4 picture; KwaWazee, me, community, family)

How has (name each picture) contributed to the change?

What could be improved?

3. Risk management and control of the situation

What do you do to make sure that your needs are covered in the future?

(if necessary)

Which income generating activities are you carrying out?

Do you do savings?

Has this always been like this?

Since when has this situation changed?

Who has contributed how much to the change? (10 stones plus 4 picture; KwaWazee, me, community, family)

How has (name each picture) contributed to the change?

What could be improved?

4. Practical reason

What are your goals for the future?

Has this always been like this?

Since when has this situation changed?

Who has contributed how much to the change? (10 stones plus 4 picture; KwaWazee, me, community, family)

How has (name each picture) contributed to the change?

What could be improved?

6. Transkriptionsregeln

Transkribieren bedeutet „Die Verschriftlichung menschlicher Kommunikation, meist auf der Grundlage von Tonband- oder anderen Aufzeichnungen. Je nach Untersuchungszweck kann bzw. muss die Transkription mehr oder weniger umfassend sein.“ (Ludwig-Mayerhofer, ILMES – Internet Lexikon). In vielen Fällen wird neben den Wortlauten auch die Art, wie etwas gesagt wird (laut, leise, zögernd, lachend) übertragen. (Küsters 2009: 73) Da es keine standardisierten Transkriptionsregeln gibt, muss der oder die Forschende abhängig von seinem Forschungsgegenstand selbst entscheiden, welche Richtlinien für die Transkription nötig sind.

Im Rahmen dieser Forschungsarbeit wurden Interviewpartner ausgesucht, die nur Kihaya sprechen, daher war ein Übersetzer nötig, der sowohl die Fragen von uns in Kihaya und die Antworten der Interviewpartner ins Englische übersetzte. Da durch die sinngemäße Übersetzung der wahre Wortlaut, die Art des Sprechens und die nonverbalen Äußerungen des Interviewpartners verloren geht, werden in der Transkription keine sprachanalytischen Eigenschaften verschriftlicht. Das gesprochene Wort des Übersetzers wird in der Originalgestalt übernommen und nicht in die Schriftsprache transformiert. Allerdings werden Wiederholungen, „äh“ und „hm“ und Versprecher nicht festgehalten, da sie für die spätere Analyse in diesem Fall von keiner Bedeutung sind. Als Lesehilfe werden Satzzeichen gesetzt.

Richtlinien für die Interviewtranskription:

Für jede Transkription wird eine eigene Datei angelegt. Das Transkriptionsdokument sollte im Kopfbereich folgende Angaben machen:

Date of interview: 18/05/2012

Interviewer: Lisa

Group name: Tweyambe, Bugarama

Name of translators: Edimund, Jovinary

Age	Alter eintragen
Gender	Geschlecht eintragen
Pension	Zahl eintragen, wie lange die Interviewperson schon die Rente bekommt
PSS	Zahl eintragen, wie lange die Interviewperson schon in der PSS Group ist
Health Training	,+' wenn die Interviewperson daran teilgenommen hat und ein ,-' wenn sie noch nicht daran teilgenommen hat
Self-defense training	,+' wenn die Interviewperson daran teilgenommen hat und ein ,-' wenn sie

	noch nicht daran teilgenommen hat
Household Members	Anzahl an Menschen, die im gleichen Haushalt leben, notieren
Tatutano	,+' wenn die Enkelkinder bei Tatutano mitmachen und in Klammern die Anzahl der Enkelkinder, die bei Tatutano sind

Verschriftlichung:

fett	Gesprochenes des Interviewers
normal	Gesprochenes des Interviewpartners
()	Vermuteter Wortlaut bei schlechtverständlichen Stellen
-	Abbruch eines Wortes oder eines Satzes
,'	Wörtliche Rede
[]	Festhalten der Ergebnisse der Bilder-Aufgabe (siehe 4. Methodik)

7. Transkription der Kleingruppeninterviews

Date of interview: 18/05/2012

Interviewer: Lisa

Group name: Tweyambe, Bugarama

Name of translators: Edimund, Jovinary

Code: 1 A

Gender: male

Age	79
Gender	male
Pension	2
PSS	2
Health Training	+
Self-defense training	-
Household Members	Wife, three children, two grandchildren
Tatutano	+ (2)

I would like to start with you, if he knows how old he is. What is his age? I am seventy nine years old. **And I would like to ask him who is living with you in your household?** I'm living with my wife and my five children, two are my grandchildren and three are my biological children. **So, three children and two grandchildren?** Yes. **Can you ask him when did he join the mutual support group?** This is the second year since I joined in the mutual supporting group. **So this is his second day? So he joined like really - second year! Second year, oh sorry, I understood second day. Can you ask him if he did the health training?** Yes, I did it. **Can you ask him if his grandchildren take part in Tatutano?** Yes. **Both?** Only two. **Can you ask, I think his name is Thadeo, right? Thadeo?** Yes. **Could you ask Thadeo once again. I didn't ask him how long he is in KwaWazee. I just asked him how long he is in the mutual support group.** This, after two years since I joined KwaWazee. **Okay.**

I would like to start with the first topic about health, about physical well-being. My first question would be what kind of care do you get when you are sick. And I would like to ask them each after each. The first support which I got is food, medicine. Also my relatives are just washing my clothes, because I am sick. Also I can send them to go somewhere maybe for looking this local medicine so

that I can get better. He is also explaining that also he can send them to go to the farmers where they can buy medicine. And who brings him the food? My fellow group members are just submitting the food so my wife is preparing my food when I'm sick then it is like that. Please ask him if this has always been like this. What? If this has always been like this. This comes when I'm sick but not all the days. When I'm sick that's when the time when I get the support from my fellow group members and they support from there my fam[ily]. But when I'm not sick I can do everything. I wanted to ask him, in the past, like let's think about 5 years ago, has the situation how he gets support, was it the same like it is now? When he got sick five years ago how was it? By that time it was difficult to get the support from the others. But I was a little bit manage to see, look the other alternatives because I was still having the power but this nowadays I'm not, I'm not, I don't have the power on how I can access different support from even the - . Also by that time I was living my two sons so it was very easy to maybe ask them, I need this, you have to do this and I have to go to the hospital, you have to take me to the hospital, but these days it is not easy because I'm just living with my grandchildren. Can you ask him what was the point when the situation changed from before, five years ago and now? He told us there is a change right? Is there a specific - is there a point when it changed? He said like when I got older. What makes the changes or? Yes. What changed my life is the pension which I got from KwaWazee, also I got the of the goat where I keep it so from there my life is changed because I just completely having nothing, also another point which changed my life was joining in these mutual supporting group where I can access support when I become sick or these from where we visit from each other, I can share my problem which I have so from there I can get support from my fellow group members. I would like to ask him who has contributed to that change and for this have prepared pictures, we can explain them for all of them because we will like go on to the next one and they also use these pictures later [pictures show: neighbors and friends, family, support group, KwaWazee, myself]. My question is who has contributed to the change. My first one would be if neighbors and friends did contribute. You can push them a little bit further [the pictures closer to the grannies]. How much did KwaWazee contribute to the change? How much did the mutual support groups contribute to the change? How did the family contribute to the change? And how did himself, like themselves contribute to the change? Can you just explain all of them the pictures? [translator explains every picture] Can you please ask him if his care is now better than before? The care when he is sick. When I compare the support which I got previously time, nowadays there is support which I get is more helpful than the other which I was getting maybe from my children. So I was just asking him why this is more helpful when you compare to the previous once. He say me that nowadays he is getting the support from the group. When he is sick, the group comes support him by different things so that he can survive. He can become better from the sick. I would like to give him these twenty beans and ask him how every picture supported him

how much. So how much did he support himself? How much did this change –like after this change how much does the family supported him? How much did they contribute to the change? How much does KwaWazee contributed to that change? How much are the support group responsible for the change now that the care is better? And how much do the neighbors and friends contribute to the change? And I would like to ask him to put these twenty beans on the different pictures depending on how much the – they supported. Yes. There are twenty? Yes. [the person puts five beans on KwaWazee, 7 beans on the mutual support group, 6 beans on friends and neighbors, 2 beans on family, none on myself] Okay, I would like to ask him why he put this beans here, so ten to KwaWazee, 5 to the support group [one bean on myself, two beans on family, two beans on friends and neighbors], so what did they actually all do, like what did he do myself that he put one bean there and what did the mutual support group – how did they contribute to the change that he put five there. So I would like to know the reasons why he put ten here, 5 there, two there. Can I explain from one point to another? Yes, sure. Yes. I decided to put ten beans on this picture because it is where I get the big support. When I get a pension from KwaWazee I can access everything, so after getting the money I can access everything, I can buy everything to my life. So that's why I decided here, it's a big support where I get. Also another it is not only the money which I get from KwaWazee, from KwaWazee I also got the goat as a loan where I can keep and from the goat I can get the manau, so that from the small manua which I get from my goat I can use that manua in my small farm where I can get more food comparing to the previous time. Please ask him, I probably didn't explain it so clearly, at that moment he should just think about the care he is getting when he is sick. How much do this pictures contributed. Not about the overall situation only about the situation when he is sick. Who is contributing to him, who cares for him and if he compares it with the past there is a change, he told us already [about it], there is a change between the past and now who care about him. And who is like now contributing? Probably he wants now to change them – he can, if he want to. If he just thinks about the health care. Something that maybe confused him if he spend the money to buy medicine, is it okay? Yes sure. I mean maybe he also meant with KwaWazee like if he has more food it also makes him more healthy. Or, I don't know – you just have to explain. Just explain how it affects the health care. We want to know how - . [the person puts 5 beans on KwaWazee, 7 beans on the mutual support group, 6 beans on friends and neighbors, 2 beans on family and none on myself] Starting with my neighbors and friends, from them when I'm sick I can get support like firewood, water, they also visit me to see how am I going on with my sickness. So from there that is why I decided to put six beans because they just visiting me and they are asking me on how am I going on with my health status. The more support which I get from the group which is the money. They contribute the money from the group, then after that they visit me all of them and they can also use that time to collect the local medicine

so that from there I can become more healthful because the more support which I get when I'm comparing the group and other neighbors – it is the money which I get from my group. **And the other two? KwaWazee and family?** From KwaWazee I get the pension where from the pension I can also buy the food, buy not only the food I can buy meat, meat or fish, also sugar so that my family member they can make juice for me. Then from KwaWazee, we can also get different advises during the group meeting. Then from there we can support each other. So there is a connection between KwaWazee to my group members so that's why I decided to put five beans to KwaWazee but there is a connection between KwaWazee and in our support group. **And family?** My family, they support me after they getting the support from these three areas. When I get the money also the support from my group and from our neighbors so my family are just preparing the things which are already prepared from the different areas so they are just washing my clothes, cooking my food for me, also I can send them to go somewhere after getting the money from KwaWazee, after getting the money from the group, I can send my family member to go somewhere to buy medicine or take something which I need by that time so that is why I used only two beans for my family. **I would like to thank him and ask him one more question. I would like to ask him what could be improved in his care when he is sick. [person is thinking for a long time] It is also fine if he doesn't – if he can't think about anything.** To my side what I can think on this question – everyone can become sick in this world, none can resist the sickness but what I think if it will be improved so that they can feel more care is that, that our government to give the free treatment for all older people and not only the governmental hospital even the private hospitals because the support, the medicine which are in private hospital are more expensive comparing to the in the government. And for me, I'm a little bit closer to the private health center so even the private sectors will produce free medication to older people it will be more helpful to my life because I will just attend the health center every time when I became or when I feel not okay. So that is what I can suggest that it to be improved so that they can feel more okay.

I want to ask Thadeo, he has two grandchildren, he told us already – I would like to ask him if his grandchildren can play outside. If they are playing outside with friends. Yes, they play. **And if he compares it with the past like five years ago or whatever, could they also just go outside and play with friends?** For the previous time our children are not allowed to play with different children. They were just play in the families, maybe you have your brother, he has a children or your sister has a children so not going far they just play there. **Why?** For previous, there was these witch belief. Local belief that if you are children, is going far playing with other, people they can doing something bad to him maybe they can witch – you know witch? **Yes.** That's we were fear to allow our children to go far from our family. But nowadays we have religious, we have interaction of different people, we learn from each other. That's why we take this bad behavior from our mind so that you can now, you can

find a children from Nshamba just playing with children from a certain area together. **Can you ask him from whom did he gets this knowledge that it's not true?** There is many reason. First one, because of the school. From the school people are just meeting from each other, then from there they can know each other, this is Edimund from a certain village. This is it. So from there they can visit each other and create a relationship. That's why. And the second one is, there is different churches where every week people are meeting, then after the mess [services] they are just sharing, discussing together. So from there they know each other and all the churches are going against with the bad behaviors which is related with this witch things. So from there we know each other that okay my children can go somewhere and play each other. But not only that, there is for example KwaWazee organization there is this group of Tatutano, children they meet together, they discuss the same problem which they face then from there they can visit each other, they can discuss together, they can play together, they can – everything. Okay, when we compare for the previous time so the number of churches for the previous time when we compare to the number of churches nowadays it is a quite big - Now we have many churches in our community that's why they are a lot of reasons there which make the changes. **Please ask him how he celebrates Old People's Day. What? How does he celebrate Old People's Day? Old People's Day. First of October.** To my side I'm very proud with that day because it is my day first of all. And during this day normal our meal in my family it's must be changed maybe we have to eat rice with meat. So we have changed the meal on that day. But also I meet with different older people where we celebrate, we dance together also we are just remembering the things which we used before maybe the instrument which we were just using for dancing, you see – local dance. You see, there is local guitar which we used where we were just young. So we are just remember this and just celebrate because it is our day. And it happen once per year so **need to celebrate more because it is our day.** **Please ask him what else is he celebrating? Is there anything else what he is celebrating?** There is other dates which we celebrate. There is Christmas - also we celebrate. There is Easter. And the new year. We have to celebrate, we change our meal also sometimes we buy new clothes. You can found all the family in new clothes celebrating. **On this days?** On this days. So that also we- **Please ask him how he feels when they have one of these celebrating days like when it is Christmas, new year's, Easter or Old People's Day. How are his feelings? How does he feel on those days?** You know these special days to my life. So when I reach these day I feel more happy, comfortable because there is other people who didn't manage to reach these days maybe they passed away or they are in the hospital seriously sick but when I reach these days healthy I have to celebrate because they are special days to my life. **Can you ask him if in the past he also celebrated all these days or has there been anything different?** For previous time, for Christmas and Easter we were just celebrating few people, for those who are Christian. Not all people. But nowadays there is many number of churches, this mean that also the

number of Christian is increased compared to the previous time. So nowadays people are celebrating these – Christmas and Easter, we are many when we compare to the previous - but for the new year was not only for the government we just seen okay people are celebrating the new year not everyone who celebrated this day but nowadays we are celebrating all together and for the older days [Old People's Day], this is my second year since I started to celebrate and this we started to celebrate this from KwaWazee. It was not our culture that every first of October we have to celebrate. For me it is my second time since I joined to KwaWazee. It's when I started to celebrate her days. **My last question to him would be the new year's celebration – you just said that he is doing that like it is almost new. Why is he now celebrating that? What changed or who told him that he can also celebrate that. You know what I wanna know? I mean like how is he how did he came to the idea that he can now celebrate new year's eve?** After getting the independence it was in 1961, then our president he was just creating this political awareness, people to become together, then from there we started slowly to celebrate this new year. But it was not our culture but after getting the independence from there after getting also the political awareness from there we just slowly started to celebrate the new year so the one who established these was our first president. **Can you ask him I would like to know how he feels about the Old People's Day like is he happy that now he has one day to celebrate. What is so special about this day?** For that day I feel more happy because first as I said it is my day but also it is a day where we can address the problem which is facing older people to the government leaders because they are also invited in this celebration. Through singing, through dancing we address the message which are affecting older people to the government leaders. So that they can start to implement them, for example I remember for the previous celebration we were just singing about that it is a right for all older people to get the pension from the government and not only the organization from KwaWazee to produce the pension. We also, through singing, we are just telling this government leaders that we work the road to our nation, to our government so the pension for all older people it is our right. You see? So not only pension but also free treatment through this day we just addressing the problem which are facing us to the government so that from there they can – also we have a special speech where it is indicating different problem affecting older people. Then from there it is a way where we can address our message. **That is why I say this is my special day and we are supposed – everyone - to celebrate. Asante.**

Date of interview: 18/05/2012

Interviewer: Lisa

Name of translators: Edimund, Jovinary

Code: 1 B

Gender: female

Age	75
Gender	female
Pension	3
PSS	3
Health Training	+
Self-defense training	+
Household Members	husband, one child, three grandchildren
Tatutano	+ (3)

Can you ask for her age? I'm seventy five years old. **Can you ask her as well who is living with her in her household?** In my home place I'm living with my husband and my daughter, also three grandchildren, two are young and one is in secondary school. They are also in Tatutano groups. **When did she join KwaWazee and when did she join the mutual support group?** Now I have three years since I joined to KwaWazee but immediately when I joined to KwaWazee so it's the time when we started the training on how we can establish this group of supporting each other. So it is three years since I joined to KwaWazee and also I started -. And at my own place it is where we meet together. **She is the leader of her group?** Her husband is the secretary of the group and for her, she is cashier of the group. **Can you ask her if she did the health training or the self-defense training? Or both?** Both, we learned them. So for the self-defense - also health, I get different trainings. And next Tuesday it is day where they will meet us so that they can train us more and more about the health issues.

I would like to ask her now, what kind of care does she get when she is sick. To my side when I'm sick I normally get the support of firewood, food, water for cooking, three thousand [TSH] and my group members they visit me. Also I got only three thousand Schillings when I have the normal disease, there is no need to go to the hospital but if there is a need to go to the hospital I got ten thousand Schillings from my group members then from there I can add something so that I can go to the hospital and get treatment. **Please ask her if this has always been in the past.** For previous time

when we became sick we were just using this local medicine. But if you not become better your relatives – they have to contribute the money so that they can take you to the hospital. My relatives, they were just collecting the money so that they can support me, my husband, my brothers why own from so that they can go to the hospital. **When she compares the past and know, she told us there is a change. When did this change happen? Is there a point? A situation?** When I compare the support which I get nowadays and to the previous times it changes because - yes it was a support but it was not enough and they supported me when they found me I'm seriously sick, I'm nearly to die, so when they decided to collect this support but in our group not seriously that you are nearly to die. When you become sick they came and visit you, they ask you how do you feel. If you want to go to the hospital, they ask you, you decide yourself that okay let me go to the hospital. If you don't like to go to the hospital they just supporting you with three thousand [TSH] so that you can stay there [at home] and get different support from the group. But for the previous time it was- when they see you that you are nearly to die it's the time when they decided – okay let us help this because this is a seriously case but they were just using local medicine until they found you, now we cannot do anything more, let us take her to the hospital. But nowadays if you feel no okay, you want to go to the farmers just inform the group leaders, they visit you, they decide together and they can contribute small amounts so that you can access this medicine. Not reaching that point that you are nearly to die. **I would like to ask who contributed to that change. So who helped her that now she even says that she gets better support when she is sick? We just talk about when she feels sick. So who contributed to that change that she felt in the past not that much support then she feels now? Who contributed how much? And I would ask her to take these twenty beans to put on the pictures who of this five contributed and how much depending on how much beans she is putting on the picture.** [person puts seven beans on KwaWazee, six on the support group, 3 beans on neighbors and friends, two on myself and two on family] **Asante. Please ask her what is the reason? Why did KwaWazee contributed to that change? Why did the supporting group contribute to the change that she feels now better care when she is sick? Everyone. Family and also myself – what she contributed that she feels now that the support she is getting when she is sick is better.** Starting to my family I get support from the other areas but it is not already prepared for me. But after getting the support my family member they just preparing water so that they can help myself, preparing the tea, preparing the juice, preparing the food so they can wash my clothes – that's why I used two beans to my family. To my side, when I'm sick my responsibility is to use medicine. They submit medicine but by that time my responsibility that I have to use medicine according to the regulations that okay, I maybe have to take two tablets during the morning, in the afternoon two tablets and in the evening two tablets. To my neighbors, we are more close to my neighbors. When I become more sick, my family members they can go anytime, even during night. During the night it is

easy to my family members they can go here and ask for the support so that from here they maybe can assist me to the hospital. So that's why I used three beans, they can support me maybe when I'm seriously sick. I can get support from my neighbors to go to the hospital. Though I get the support maybe from my neighbors who can take me to the hospital anytime, when I'm comparing this to my group members from the group I get more support like firewood, water, local medicine. Also the money, I get cash from the group where I can access different things which I need to use when I'm sick. From KwaWazee first of all I get the money. And from the money which I get I can buy my clothes, I can wash my hair, I can buy even sandals, shoes so even the other people in the community, they support me because they know that I get support from KwaWazee. So KwaWazee it is connected me to other people because they know that I have something maybe one day I can support them that's why they are supporting me. I'm more connected with different people because they know that I'm registered in KwaWazee. So that's why I said that I get the big support from KwaWazee. She mentioned that when buying sandals it is like a prevention because there is some of these bacteria which can be delayed when you step on the ground, this is because of KwaWazee she is more safe. Also there is another thing she mentioned that education about health issues is also supportive to her. That she knows when she gets sick what she can do and which steps she can do competing to the family and then to the group. Please ask her what could still be improved in the care she gets when she is sick. What is missing is though we get support but it is not enough. You can 3.000 TSH from the group but you have to use maybe 10.000 or 12.000 Shillings. So there is some amount which is still missing to fulfill so that you can get helpful support. So what is missing is the knowledge into our community of this supporting each other. So if everyone will know the importance of supporting each other maybe we will have the big number of older people who can support each other then from there we can get more amount because we are many in one group. So the things which I think is missing it is the knowledge of being together so that we can support by providing the big support to different people. She mentioned something pension that also they are getting the pension it is not sufficient to manage the life. So if the pension could be increased it would be supportive to them. There is other support from the community also if we can get pension if the pension could be increased also it could be supportive in our care.

I would like to go further and ask her, one granny was saying "If learned from my granddaughter how to lead a group meeting". The granny told us that she is actually still getting knowledge from her daughter or even her granddaughter and I would like to ask her if she made similar experiences with which she said? Yes, but it's not about the leadership issues but we discuss the other things with our grandchildren. For example my granddaughter she explained to me not to eat the fat food because I'm older also to not eat much salt that's not good for my health. Also from what we learned in health program I also advise to her to not much cook the vegetables. You understand? **Yes.** So that

it can still [be] with the vitamins. Then from there we are just advising from each other but not about the leadership. **Please ask her further from whom else does she probably learn something and what else is she probably learning? Like she is learning from her granddaughter and her granddaughter is learning from her but are there other people from whom she is still learning? And if, what is she learning from them?** Another thing which I maybe learned from KwaWazee for the health program, previous we were just getting the advice from the government that you have to boil water before drinking but for we [us] as older people it is not possible to get the firewood, you see, but the knowledge which we get from KwaWazee we have this SODIS system for making safe water to drink. It not need the firewood, you see. **So we also getting the advice on how we can make body exercises so we still good healthy so to me it is the advice from the organization but also from the group.** I still need more advice from there because it is more helpful because now you see as me as a older people it is not our culture to maybe wear the trouser but you can found me wearing the trouser making the body exercise. So this is the advice from KwaWazee also from my group. **I can remember that she is the money keeper of the group. Right? Please ask her from where did she learn to do the book-keeping?** Being a cashier, it's not started these days. **Since years I was dealing with this issue in our church. I was just keeping the money for our church also we had a women group in our church. I was also a cashier.** So I was also working in the church we had a church quire singing the Latin, I can also sing it for you if you are interested, but from there we get more trainings about money keeping from KwaWazee. **From KwaWazee we get this money keeping, leadership training on how you can keep the money, the expenditures, something like that. But this not mean that I was completely known nothing about the money. I had known something on how I can keep the money of the people but also we get the book-keeping training from KwaWazee.** So this is a short history on how I started to keep the money.

Date of interview: 18/05/2012

Interviewer: Lisa

Name of translators: Edimund, Jovinary

Code: 1 C

Gender: female

Age	62
Gender	female
Pension	3
PSS	3
Health Training	+
Self-defense training	+
Household Members	one child, three grandchildren
Tatutano	+ (1)

Then I would go on to her can you ask her as well for her age? I'm sixty-two years old, I was born in 1960. **[When did you join KwaWazee and the mutual support group?]** When I joined KwaWazee I was not yet have sixty years old, I joined KwaWazee because I was living with disabled children who would not make maybe to move themselves. So I was registered in KwaWazee because I was living with children who are disabled but after reaching sixty years old it was the time when I joined to KwaWazee and now I have three years since I joined to KwaWazee and also I have three years since I joined in mutual supporting groups. **So since two years she is in KwaWazee and since two years she is also in the mutual support group?** Three years! **Three years in both? In KwaWazee –** Yes, in KwaWazee and mutual support group. **Please ask her who is living with her in her household and how many?** My husband was already passed away so I'm living with my daughter and three grandchildren. **So can you ask her if the three grandchildren take part in Tatutano?** Only one who is in standard seven she is the one who is in Tatutano group but for the other one that is the one who is disabled. She can't manage to move. One is disabled so she can't do anything. And the last one he is still young. **Please ask her if she did the health training and the self-defense training.** Yes, I have got different training on health programme also on self-defense programme. We also arranged the day where we met it will be twenty-second, so it's the day were we meet and learn more about different body exercises.

So now I have some questions to her. I would like to take another topic so that we are not running out of time. I would like to tell her a story that one granny told us when she has worries she goes and sees a friend to talk with the friend about the worries. Please ask her if she made similar experiences. Shall I repeat my question? Yes. **One granny told us in the exploration group interviews we talked about that yesterday, she told us "when I have worries, I go see my friend" and we are talking about it. That was what she was telling us. Can you remember in one of our last interviews? And I would like to ask her if she made similar experiences. What is she doing when**

she has worries? Is she also going to see her friend, her neighbor? Is she talking to her family? **That's my question.** She finished with one higher say which said there is one there is a river here around which is called "Gono" that Gono went itself and it was rules the direction itself so it's not good in your life to go you as you, you have to share not only bad things you have even the good things you have, you have to share with your friend. Okay, I have this what can I do, maybe they can direct you on the good way which you can use. For example in my life I'm just carrying my grandchildren who are disabled you see, sometimes they become seriously sick, I have to go to my friend called Cencia so that she advised me that okay she knows that I have the problems but keep this and make sure that you do everything for your grandchildren. **Though she is disabled but you get later maybe god is blessing you because you are providing the support to the disabled person.** You see, and not only that also my grandchildren maybe they misbehave sometimes I have to go to my friend and ask them what can I do so that I can maybe treat them in a good way and they become more spiritual for the good behavior instead of doing the bad behavior so in the life you can't go as you [want], you have to ask your friend, to ask your neighbor, to ask your group member what can I do on this problem and not only problems even to share the good things so that you can go in a good way. **Please ask her if in the past, if she compares now what she is just telling us and the past, has there been any in how she could talk about worries and with whom? Has there been any differences like in the past was it the same like it is now? Or was it somehow different?** For the previous time, when I was living with my husband maybe when we became misunderstanding, come to us we had our family friends where we just went and asked them okay for this problem I have to go back home because now I'm completely be affected because maybe she [he] is a drunker just beating me so but the advice which I got from my friend was okay you want to go home back but you see there is your children here who will support them? Please just keep silent so that you can support your children then from there you stay there you see. Or sometimes if my husband had something which make him stress he was just asking me my wife what can I do on this area then I was just advising him. **But when I compare that time to nowadays, nowadays I am in groups then from the group I meet with different older people who have the same problem which I have. So from there we discuss the problem which face us and we can found the solution on how we can cope with this situation.** You see. I'm just meeting with older people who already lost their husband, the same to me, I don't have the husband but from there we discuss on how we can live with our grandchildren, on how we can treat our grandchildren in a good way. So not everything to disclose to someone but from the group I can access different advise because we have the same problem which is affecting us. **That's why I can say that for previous time though I was get the advice from my friends but nowadays I get more advice because we have the same problem and from there we can discuss together on how we can cope with this bad situation which we face.** [other translator now]

I'm adding to what she explained that she is not asking on older people advise but she is also asking on the advice from the young women because she is caring the grandchildren. Also that young women have the caring for young children who are in the same age with her grandchildren. So to ask this young women it's supports her because these they have the experience with these caring young children who has the same age like mine. So what they advise me I try to do that so that I can make my grandchildren to grow. I would like that she takes the five pictures and she thinks that now she told us there is a change, she know things that she gets more advice from different people so who is responsible for this change? Who is responsible? Yes, like who is the one contributing the most to the change? I mean I understood that it is now the group but I want to see it on the pictures. That's why I'm asking again. Who is responsible that now she has more advices for worries. Please just tell her that she does not have to put on every picture beans, just that she knows. Not every picture? I mean just like him, he also didn't put beans on every picture. [granny puts 12 beans on the support group, 8 beans on neighbor and friends and none on KwaWazee, me and family] **Asante.** Please ask her for the reasons. Starting to my neighbors, as I explained already from my neighbors there is some of my friends, it is not all who we share our problems we face. So there is these younger women where I can ask them on how I can treat my grandchildren and they advise me but not only the advice which I get from my neighbors. I remember one time my house was fall down but one of our neighbors decided to keep me and my family that I can stay in his house so that later I can construct my house. So that's why I get the neighbors support me on different ways, advising me and other support. So to my group members, it is a little bit difficult to me to differentiate the group and KwaWazee. You see, in our group we manage to do different things because of KwaWazee. So first of all in our group we have a little bit the same problem we face. Then from there we discuss on how we can cope with this different problems we face but not only the group. During the meeting there is some days when we meet in our group with the people who came from KwaWazee. Then from there we can also get different advice. So that's why I decided to point this area just to give the real situation of the advice which I get when I have something in my head. The last question before we are doing the break: Can there still be anything improved in how her worries or problems are solved? Is there anything what she still would like to be so that her problems can be solved? What is missing, I have my son who is older, he is living around my community so the challenge which I face, yes we have the relation but not as a mother and a son. Sometimes I decided to go [to] someone else and not to my son for seeking advice. So this is still missing between me and my son. Instead of going to other people for the family issues I have to go to my son but there is some things which I'm missing between me and my son. That's why I was just asking her. Also she want to ask you if you can advise her. What shall her [she] do so that to make a good relationship between herself and the son? Because they are closer and when she go to ask something the son he is not lead to

support her. **How old is the son?** He is about forty years. So she is asking you maybe to help her on how way she can – **Does she have other sons or is that her only son?** For this one, only one but he is not my biological children. This is the children of my husband. The stepson. But I would like to have the good relationship with him. Instead of asking other people I have to ask him maybe for the case of advice and so on. [other translator] Keeping to the information she gave us that she is caring for grandchildren and that grandchildren is not for [from] her own children. The grandchildren of her stepson. **So she is taking care of his children?** Yes. This grandchildren who I live with, my husband had two wives. So the second wife was already passed away and the son of that wife had three children, one of them is disabled children. Then by that time the son also passed away and also the wife of the son. Then my husband said to take our grandchildren to live with them. Then after few years also my husband passed away so I decided to stay with this grandchildren. **So what is the challenge to my life is on how we can cooperate with my stepson so that we can be together, helping my grandchildren. So sometimes I become pain in my head because I'm just having lot of worries on why am I doing this on myself because there is my stepson who can maybe cooperate with my so that we can do a,b,c,d for these children.** So she is asking you maybe on how she can do. Maybe you can advise her on what she can do so that they can have a good cooperation. **[Let us do this in the break because it is not part of the interview.]**

So I would like to ask her also some questions. My question would be, she has three grandchildren and two of them can attend school, right? Because one is disabled, he probably cannot attend school. But those two grandchildren how regular they attend school. That's my question. Can you repeat the question? **How regular are they attending school? Like are they going everyday to school or are there some days where they cannot go and why. That's my question.** They attended every day. One, she is in the secondary school and one, she is in primary, standard one. So there is one week they are going during morning time and another week they are just going maybe at ten p.m. so they normal changed, this week they go during the morning maybe at one then the following they have to go at ten p.m. so it changed but this is arranged by the school. You understand. **Yes, you mean ten a.m.** Ten a.m., yes. **Can you ask her if in the past it was the same? Could her children attend school regular in the past as well?** **For previous, yes, they were schooling but sometimes they didn't attend to school. Maybe they didn't have the school shoes, school uniform, maybe we have to look on the alternatives on how we can buy this exercise book or pen but after joining to KwaWazee they get everything. So my responsibility is just to inform them you have to go to school, don't stay there because everything we have.** So that's why I can say that there is changes. For previous time it was sometimes a little bit difficult to go to the school because maybe there is no exercise book, there is no pen, so it was not easy to go to school without pen, without exercise book. But after joining to KwaWazee they get everything. Also they are in TatuTano group, they get support in their groups. So

they can go [to] school every day without any -. **If she would look on these five pictures here. Would she put all beans now on KwaWazee because of the change they made that they can now attend school regular and that they have all materials, all needs or is there probably some other involvement?** [granny puts 14 beans on KwaWazee, 6 beans on the support group and none on me, family and neighbors and friends] **Please asked her, she already said the reasons for KwaWazee, I would like to ask her the question for the support group. What did they contribute that her grandchildren can now really attend school regular?** To the group, before I joined to the group sometimes when I became sick my grandchildren were supposed to stay at home and look for me. But after joining in the group, my group members are responsible to care for me so my grandchildren are free to go to school. **And they know that other older people, they are together with my grandmother so there is no any problem.** Sometimes it will be found that the food is already prepared by group member, everything is prepared, there is water, there is firewood, everything is there so they came and just preparing the food for me. That's why I said that to the group. And another point I remember, I was supposed to pay 5.000 Schillings as a tuition fee for my grandchildren, but I had only 3.000 Schillings but when I requested the support from the group, the group supported me with 2.000 Schillings. Then from there I added to 3.000 Schillings then I paid 5.000 Schillings and my grandchildren were attending the tuition session. So that's why I said that also the group, I get the big support from the group. **My last question would be does she see still any improvement for her grandchildren to go to school? Is there still any need or is there still anything what could be changed for them to attend school? Is there still anything what she needs or what could be even better regarding school?** There is something missing. You know we grandparents, we have to pay these tuition fee, this is because our grandchildren are complaining that in the school there is some teachers missing for a certain subject like science lesson there is no teacher. So after that we have to pay fee for the tuition so that they can look other teachers instead of getting this knowledge from their school. They have to attend the other session so this is not for KwaWazee or for you but it is a problem of our government. **We have the secondary school but there is no enough teachers. You can found the school, there is only three teachers and they are all teaching maybe English, Swahili, History, Civics, but for the biology, physic and mathematics we have to look other alternatives that's why we have supposed to pay more money for looking tuition for our grandchildren. So this is still a challenge for us. We pay the school fees but at the same time we have to pay money for the tuition.** **So her grandchildren are basically going to two school? Or just someone?** Yes. Someone, private. For example, maybe I'm a teacher, I'm staying at a certain area, during evening time after school hours the student come to my house and start teach them at a certain topic so it's a little bit difficult to older people because it is not their responsibility to look the teacher. **Maybe you can ask, do they talk about this thing in the mutual support group? About this**

problem in society? Because you said it is a problem about the government. Yes, it was the end of the last year. **We had the meeting of parents at school, we discussed this that that the school must employ more teachers for the certain lesson.** They employed only two teachers but there are still not enough. So the problem is still there. But also I remember during the older day we also addressed this problem through singing that our grandchildren, we have to pay more for the tuition fee because there is no enough teachers so they are just requesting the government to employ more teachers in this secondary school. So that's only way where they were just discussing this. **But for the group not everyone in the group has children who are schooling so sometimes we can discuss and sometimes we not because not everyone who has grandchildren who is schooling so that's why it cannot be main topic in our discussion.** **You were just telling that they had a meeting of parents at school, right? Yes. Who organized that? Who initiated this meeting?** Every school has a head teacher also a chair of the boarding school so those they invited us to attend the parent meeting.

Date: 19.05.2012

Interviewer: Lara

Translator: Edmund

Code: 2A

Gender: female

Age	66
Gender	female
Pension	5
PSS	5
Health Training	+
Self-defense training	-
Household Members	2 grandchildren
Tatutano	+ (1)

Firstly, I would like to ask her what her age is, how old is she? Sixty-six. Sixty-six. And who is living with her in her household? She's living with one grandchildren - two grandchildren. And when did she start getting the pension from KwaWazee? How many years ago? Approximately. It's about five

years. **And when did she join the mutual support group?** Immediately when I joined KwaWazee. It was the time when I joined KwaWazee. **Did she join one of the following trainings: health-training or self-defense training?** Yes, about health-training, we learned about different trainings, about body-exercise, this to prepare safe water and so on. **But she didn't do the self-defense training?** No. **No, nothing else? Ok. And did her grandchildren take part in Tatutano?** Only one. **Only one? Okay. The other one is too young?** Yea. She's about three years old.

Okay. Then I would like to start with her and ask her who cares about you and how do you know that they care about you? To me I can say that KwaWazee is the one who is caring me because I get the money from KwaWazee and after getting this money I can buy – I know that it's a support to me because **after getting the money I can buy the bed sheet, food, sugar**, also I can access – though it's a small amount – but I can access health services from the money which I get, so there is no other more people who can say that they're caring me more than KwaWazee. **Okay. Maybe she can look at these, you can explain these to her, and then she can just put twenty beans on the picture which - who cares for her or who cares about her the most. And if we talk about care I don't just only mean who takes cares of her but who loves her, who cares about her in that way, you know. And she has twenty beans which she distributes on the different pictures. She's asking if she can put all the beans maybe at the... Yea, she doesn't have to put a bean everywhere. She can also leave one completely out.** [puts 11 beans on KwaWazee, 5 on support group, 4 on neighbors and friends and 0 on family] **Okay. Now can she tell us how she knows that these three care about her. Starting with my neighbors, from my neighbors for example when I'm sick they can come and visit me, they come and visit me. Sometimes they can support me with firewood, they can support me with water, or sometimes you can find my neighbor cooking the food in his own place and send her children with the food which is already prepared to me because they know that I'm sick. And also my neighbor they can inform my group members that your member is seriously sick. So from there through my neighbors I can get support from my group members because I'm connected with my neighbors more than my group members. My group members are far comparing to the neighbors where I'm living with them. Then from the group they can visit me, then I can get the support from the group like money or food. Then if I'm still sick they can inform to our leaders, they can go to the office and take the money from our savings and they can support me with some amount, then I can go to the hospital for the treatment. So that's why I said all are important in my life. And do they, besides when she is sick, do they, can she also notice that they care about her in a different way, maybe more emotionally? When she is not sick, how does she notice that they care for her? We visit each other. And what do you do?** Yea, when they visit you they can support maybe with a certain chore which you have if maybe you want to harvest, for example this time it's the season of harvesting coffee, they can ask you do you have any job so that we can assist you, then if you have they come

here for two hours just all removing the weed from the farm. Also we are just discussing together about our general life so from there it's the way where I can say that they are supporting me when I'm not sick. **And does she feel good when they are coming to visit her?** Yes, I'm happy to see your friend and your family. When you see your friends are in your house you feel more comfortable that okay, I'm not alone, I'm with other people. **And does she also visit her friends?** Yes, if you are not trust me, you can ask them! **Okay, so now I would like to know has this always been like this that she goes visit her friends, her friends come visit her. Has this always been like this?** Yes, it was like this. **Always?** Yea. **Okay. And what about the other people who care for her, like KwaWazee and the support group, has that always been like this?** Before we were in the group, maybe if you have - your loved one have passed away, they come to your house, then they visit you, they support you with water, grasses, firewood, and they cook maybe for four days. Then after finishing this they go back. That's what we are... But for supporting you maybe in term of money they didn't, we didn't. So we started this during joining KwaWazee, that was the time when we started to have this group to visit each other and supporting each other when maybe you have a certain problem concerning the health issues and so on. **Am I getting it right that before, they would only get support from other people when someone has passed away, and now it's also when they are sick and when they need money?** Yea. **Okay. And what kind of group was it before when someone had passed away? What? Who was it who would give the support when someone had passed away? Who was that?** Yea, it was the people from our community. We had these groups that if someone had a problem, maybe her children, her husband is passed away, we meet together and supporting each other. So we are people who are living around my - especially my neighbors are those who supported me in term of this situation.

There's a picture of the demonstration. How do the women feel, these women who are protesting? They feel okay because it is the day for them. They have to celebrate because they are older people but also - they are women but also they are older people and it is their day. So they are celebrating. They feel okay because it's their day. **And what do they want to achieve?** What they want to achieve is their right. They are just advocating their right through that day because now you can see on this picture people are just moving around, singing, but through singing they are addressing the message to people around the older people that maybe people must care the older people so that they can have their right. Because not only younger people have the right maybe to survive or get the support from other people but also older people have the right to live positively in the community, also to get the support from the government. So through the demonstration like this we are addressing our message of getting our rights. **So what we need to achieve is to get our rights. And have they always been doing this, demonstrations?** It was not our culture to do like this. It was when we joined to KwaWazee, that's the time when we started to celebrate, to have a

demonstration like this so that through this that's where we can address our needs to the government leaders. So it was not there before we joined to KwaWazee. She said that in her culture it is not common to do these demonstrations, right? So does that mean that in her culture or back in the days there was no means to fight for your rights, or what did they do instead of demonstrations to get their rights? Previous years, many years ago we had these chiefs in our community. So if you have something, if people want a certain, they want to advocate for the certain rights, they was supported to go to the chief and explain their problems. So from there a chief can maybe tell someone who was supposed to fulfill their needs. It was the way which we were just using like that. So she's saying that KwaWazee gave them the idea to do this demonstration but who, what, how much did KwaWazee do? Did they also organize everything or did they just give them the idea and who did everything else, to plan and implement the demonstration? Maybe she can just use this, and maybe she can just put the beans on who did how much to do the demonstration? Cause she said that KwaWazee gave them the idea and who else did something? [puts 9 beans on mutual support group, 7 on KwaWazee, 2 on family, 2 on neighbors and friends and 0 on myself] So now can she tell us what did KwaWazee do to contribute to the demonstration? For KwaWazee, KwaWazee is preparing the area where we meet, for the decoration, preparing the chairs where we are going to meet. It's arranged the things like that. Also, KwaWazee is the one who invite the government leaders on this, our day. So that's why I said, I decided to put seven beans for KwaWazee. And the support group, what did they do? For the group, we contribute the money for buying food and soda during the celebration. Also, we prepare the song which has the message of concerning about our rights, so that through singing the song we can address our problems which we are facing with. But not only that. In our group we prepare different things to present. Maybe if we are dealing with this handcraft, we prepare this and during the celebration we show them, so that for those who are interested to buy them they know that a certain group are dealing with a certain activity so that they can come and buy our things. So that is what we preparing during these days. And the family, what did they do? From my family, sometimes we agreed in our group that everyone must maybe contribute one cup of rice or one cup of white flour. So because sometimes I take this food from my family to the group, then from the group we prepare the food which we will use in the celebration. So my family are satisfied when I decided to take maybe banana from the farm or to take one cup of rice to our group. My family are satisfied with that, okay, take it because it's your day. And the neighbors and friends? For our neighbors, we also invite them to attend this, but sometimes you can ask your neighbor I'm not around, so make sure my family is safe, then you go to the celebration and you feel okay because you know that in your own place there is not any problem, no one can come and go in your house without – so you know that there is your neighbor at your home. So, on myself she didn't put any bean. Does that mean that she didn't do anything?

To my side, myself, I decided to not put any beans because I know that I'm the one who is celebrating, I'm the one who is responsible to go to our neighbors to tell them that I'm going to our days at the same time tell them to see, to control my farm by that time. Also, I'm the one who are in our group. **So it's because she's in the group, she's doing it together with the group, but nothing alone? She's not doing anything by herself?** She's in the group and also she's in KwaWazee celebrating, so that's why she decided to not put any beans. **And what was her effort in the group, like what did she do within the group? What? Within the group, what was her task?** My task in my group is maybe to contribute the amount which we agreed to everyone to contribute, to share my ideas during the preparation. Also, to cook the food because we agreed that we have to cook, so I have to participate to make sure that we are managing to celebrate our day. **Can you ask her does she think that they could make a demonstration like this without KwaWazee?** We can do it.

Date: 19.05.2012

Interviewer: Lara

Translator: Edmund

Code: 2B

Gender: female

Age	62
Gender	female
Pension	3
PSS	3
Health Training	+
Self-defense training	-
Household Members	husband, 3 grandchildren
Tatutano	- (too young)

Then we'll move on to the next one. Her age? Sixty-two. **And who is living with her in her household?** I'm living with my husband and three grandchildren. **And since when did she get the pension from KwaWazee?** This is the third year. **And when did she join the mutual support group?** She started to get the pension, that's when. **Did she take part in the health or self-defense training?**

It's only health-training. **And her grandchildren, do they take part in Tatutano?** They're still younger. **They're too young?** Yea. Ok.

I would like to ask her which people are important in her life and if she is supporting them and how? To me, I can start with my family, especially my husband is the one who is important person to my life. He's still supporting me. I can say also to my children, but not much, maybe to send them to fetch water for me and small things but for my family I can start with my husband. **Okay, so he is supporting her?** Yea but he is still explaining. **Yea, because I wanted to know if she is supporting the people that are important to her. How does she support them, how does she support her grandchildren and her husband?** If she support them? **Yea, the other way around!** Ahh. In my family or in the community? **The people that are important to her!** **The way in which I support other people, it's like maybe for my family I cultivate so that my family can get food. I also cook the food for my family. I also share my pension which I get from KwaWazee with all my family. And if my neighbor is sick I can support her or him with maybe twenty liters of water, take him firewood and maybe one kilogram of sugar and visit him, my neighbors. This is the way on how I can say that I care the other people.** **Is she proud that she is able to support the people that are important in her life?** **Yes, she's proud.** **The way they support me, it's the way on how I support them. So I know that I can support them because I know that next time or the following days they can also support me.** **So, she said now that she is able to support the people that are import in her life. Has this always been like this? Has she always been able to do this, to support these people?** **Yes, we were helping each other, though nowadays there is improvement when we compare for, to the previous days. For the previous days we were just visiting each other maybe during if your loved one passed away, they come and visit you and do some chores which you have but nowadays we get more support when we compare to the previous time.** **Now I would like her to show us why it has changed. Who has contributed to the improvement? Because now she is saying, they used to support each other but now it's even more. Why? Who has contributed to this improvement?** She's using the beans? **Yes, twenty beans.** [puts 6 beans on KwaWazee, 4 on support group, 4 on family, 3 on neighbors and friends and 3 on myself] **And now can she tell me how has KwaWazee contributed to the improvement?** **For the area of KwaWazee when first point KwaWazee brings older people together, from KwaWazee, when we started to have these mutual supporting groups, so I can say that it's the main starting point where we started to have these strong supporting groups. Also, from KwaWazee I can support other people because I get something from KwaWazee. As I explained before that the, my pension, which I get from KwaWazee, I use this, my pension, for my family. If I have nothing I can't support my family, so that's why I said that now there is improvement. Also, I get the support from my group because they are getting pension and from the pension which we get we save some amount and that amount which we save, if someone is sick they support him or her from our savings.**

But we, for previously, we didn't manage to save because we have nothing to save. That's why I can say that KwaWazee is the main starting point and I can say that it's a big reason which make changes when I compare this to the previous time. **So before KwaWazee there hasn't been something like a support group in her community?** The group was there but was only when maybe you have a problem they come, collect firewood, food and they stay there for four days, then after that they go. Only bad time, not if you, maybe you have, maybe a certain chore they can't, they didn't come to assist you on this. The work which you have and you want support, maybe that if you'd like to have another people who can assist you on a certain something like that. So when I compare this to the previous time there is changes. For the previous time we were in groups but not like this which we have nowadays. **So am I understanding it right: the group already existed before KwaWazee and they assisted each other but since KwaWazee the assistance has improved?** For the previous times they maybe assisted when you're loved ones passed away but this group which we have we visit each other if you have a certain problem they come and they can advise you. Also, if you have maybe, you want to cultivate, you want to harvest your coffee, they come and assist you to harvest your products. **And that is new since KwaWazee, right?** Yea. **Okay. And how has her family contributed to the improvement of caring for other people?** To my family: maybe of my neighbor is sick, I can cut the banana from our shamba, our farm and cut piece and take it to our neighbor. My husband can't complain because he know that I'm going to support other people. But if I know that my family is satisfied with this supporting each other. If they're not satisfied they can't allow me to cut the banana and take it to the other family. **So through that I can say that the family is supporting me to support other people. They support me. Even I can cut a piece of soap to support my neighbor. Also I can maybe take the kerosene, paraffin, from our small container which we have in our family to support the other people. Any my family member are satisfied with this. And why are they okay with that?** They have to satisfied with that 'cause they know that next day or the following days they will also, even next day, also our neighbors they can also assist our family. So that's why they are satisfied with that. That not only our neighbors, even us we can be affected with a certain problem and we can be assisted by our neighbors. **And the neighbors and friends, how have they helped to improve the care?** To my neighbors, you know, we visit each other and we discuss different things, and from there my neighbor can inform me that, you know, our friend is sick and she's in a need, she don't have food, she don't have even water. She don't have someone who can wash her clothes, you see? Then from that information which I get from my neighbor I can go there with a certain support and support other people. So because we are visiting each other, we get also advice, different advice from our neighbors and from there I can know on how I can support other people. Without visiting each other you can stay in your family without knowing that there is people who are seriously sick. So from visiting each other, it's the way on how we can say that my neighbor is supporting me and

how I can improve my care to other people. And herself, what is she contributing to the better care for each other? To my side I know that I have love to other people but I don't know if other people they know that I love them. This is a challenge to me. But I love people, I'm ready to support people but it depends according to my ability which I have but I know that I love people regardless their age, their religious, but I don't know if people they know that me, I love them.

She said that she also participated in the demonstration, and I would like to ask her if she has already participated in other demonstrations? Yes, she does other demonstrations. Okay, and what kind of?

Yes, I attended different ceremonies about this celebrations, for example there is, we had a fifty years jubilee of our church, so it was the time when we celebrated. We also, we were just singing, dancing, addressing our message in different ways. Also, we have the organization of women under the Catholic Church who also celebrated every year. So before I joined to KwaWazee I had experience of joining these celebrations in different ways.

Okay. If she can look at this picture, what is this man thinking when looking at the women? What does he think of the women? The man is asking himself how these women joined to this organization, how they have managed to join this organization, that's what he was thinking.

And then maybe, she was saying that she has already attended different demonstrations. Was it just a celebration or did they also defend their rights, advocate their rights for something? Just to celebrate. Ah, okay. What would she answer the man if he's saying how could they manage to do that? What would be her answer to him? In their celebration. No, on the picture. Cause she said that the man will think, how did these women join this organization. What would she answer him?

My answer to the man, I can say that I didn't know, maybe the one who had this idea to establish the organization was the one who know that let us register these people because they have the criterias to join in the organization.

So the one who established the organization, he know the criterias of those people who are supposed to join in the organization. You can ask her, all the other activities where they were celebrating, if she could imagine that one day when they are celebrating all these different things they could demonstrate at the same time? If they could also organize a protest within the celebration? Or does she see a need to like protest more than only once a year? She could use the other celebrations to protest as well, right? To address her rights? Yea, cause she said that she's having other celebrations with church. Does she see the need to also protest during those occasions or just celebrate? Can you repeat your question? If she sees a need to advocate for her rights more often than maybe once a year? Does she feel that this is enough or maybe she would like to do more to protect her own rights?

We are older people. And the other institutions has its vision. The KwaWazee organization, it is advocating the older's right. So through KwaWazee I believe that maybe you can address our rights, needs. But in the other celebration, for example under celebration under churches we are just addressing the things which are quiet different to older's rights, so it's a little bit difficult to say that

maybe through the other celebrations to address our rights. Okay, I just have one other question for her regarding her grandchildren, and I'd like to know how well she can teach her grandchildren the norms and values of her culture? On this question I can say that, to my grandchildren, I'm just directing her maybe on how she can cook the food, to wash the dishes, to wash her body, to behave spiritually, to go the church maybe every Sunday, to pray different, to pray to God, you see, this is what I'm trying to my grandchildren. **If she thinks about the past and now has there been a difference in how she was able to teach those things to her children?** There is a changes. When we were young we had more spirit, discipline compared to these children we live with nowadays. You can treat your children maybe to greet other people, to live in a good habit, but there is this interaction of different people. Children are learning bad things from other people, so you treat your children to behave in a good way but you can find how him behaving differently as what you trained her or him. But for us, previously, we had more discipline, enough discipline, respecting different people regardless is your parents. Every people you meet were just, we were supposed to respect for everyone and not your only parents or the other people in your community. So there is a difference if I compare this to the previous time. **How does she think this could be improved?** What I think, maybe we need to have different seminars to train these children on how they can behave in a good way, to respect the other people. So, otherwise, they can be destroyed themselves, you see. So we need to have different seminars, different trainings on how we can train them, on how they can live in a good way so that to not behave in a bad situation.

Date: 19.05.2012

Interviewer: Lara

Translator: Edmund

Code: 2C

Gender: female

Age	76
Gender	female
Pension	3
PSS	3

Health Training	+
Self-defense training	-
Household Members	husband
Tatutano	--

And how old is she? Seventy-six. **And who is living with her in her household?** My husband. Only my husband. **Okay, no kids. And since when did she get the pension?** Three years. **And since when did she join the group?** Since I join to KwaWazee. **Did she do the health or self-defense training?** Only health-training. It's about body exercise only, not self-defense.

I would like to ask her where does she interact with other people? There is in the market, in our village I can interact with other people, KwaWazee during payday I meet with many people from different areas, through our meeting, church, also visiting each other. It's where I can say that I'm interacting with other people. **Okay. And has this always been like this? Has she always been so much in interaction with other people?** I can say that, yea, it was there because, for example, going to the church, it's not started nowadays, it was there since I was born. Visiting each other, maybe for there, there is a neighbor is passed away, you have to go there just to discuss with them, okay, because she or he is in a bad mood, you have to be near with your neighbor in this situation so that you can advise them that they can cope with the situation. But also the market. The market, since I was younger there were different markets. Even our parents, there were just sending us to go to the market maybe to buy something for them. But I can say that there is improvement, or there is a development when I compare this to the previous, but now we have this mutual supporting group, it was not our system. This is, we learned from, after joining to KwaWazee. Also, to meet with a big number of older people at one time, it was not easy because nowadays, maybe during the payday, we come to KwaWazee and we meet with many, many older people but it was not there before we started to get the pension, so that from there I can say that interaction was there before but now there is changes, there is improvement if I compare this day to the previous day. **And does she value these new interactions. Does she think it's better now that she's interacting more?** Yes, I value because since I was younger I was more ... [coughing – can't understand] to meet with different people but now there is, as I said already, there is an improvement, I meet with different people and I'm very interested to meet with different people. So, I value this situation. **Why is that, that she is so interested in meeting other people? How does it make her feel to meet other people?** If you decide to stay alone you can't learn because you have to meet with other people, then from meeting, from the interaction of different people you can learn different things, for example in KwaWazee we have this different training of health training where I can learn on how I can make the body exercise, on how we can use this local medicine. Because when we meet and we discuss about the local medicine

a granny who came from a certain area, he know about the certain medicine, local medicine, and I know about the other local medicine. Then from there we share our experience about the uses of this local medicine. Then from there I can know more about, I can add the number of the local medicine to what I know. Then it's like education, you learn from other people. That's why I'm very interested to meet with other people. Also another point is it can make you to reduce the stress which you have because you can find another people has a big, big problem, more than which you have. So you can say okay, I'm not only one who have this problem. I can also, because even the other people are coping and are still surviving.

And the last question for the last person, I would like to know how the life the in her community has improved, if she thinks about the past, maybe a couple of years ago. Yea, there is changes. When we were younger, a person, any person in your community, maybe if you are misbehaving her or she can maybe punish you, even if he is not or she is not your parents. But nowadays if you can punish a child of someone he or she can take you to the police. This is, that's why there is changes, nowadays people are just living a bad manners, they don't have discipline because nowadays the child belongs to the parent and not all the community. But when, for me, when I was younger, when someone would find me misbehaving, I'm doing something which is not good, he or she can , she has the right to punish me, and there's no complaint from my parents. My parents were satisfied with this situation and we were just living in a good discipline compared to these days. **And if she thinks of the life of the older people, how has it changed?** For the older people, there is changes. Nowadays we have the opportunity to address our right, to advocate our rights, maybe through KwaWazee we can meet with different government leaders and say what the problem which face us. But when I compared this to the previous time it was difficult for older people to raise, maybe, to say anything. There were no any opportunity to address our voice or to address our problems. But nowadays there is an opportunity where we can address our things, our problems which are facing older people. So there are changes when I compare this to the previous time. **Can she maybe put the beans on where, who she thinks has contributed the most to the improvement for the older people?** [puts 5 beans on neighbors and friends, 4 on KwaWazee, 4 on mutual support group, 4 on myself and 3 on family] Okay. **So now can she tell us how these different pictures have contributed to the change, for example, how have the neighbors and friends contributed to the positive change for older people?** So from the neighbors, for the older people, you are sick, they visit you, you can bring food so that you can eat. Also, from your friends, they can – if you are sick they take information maybe to the group that your group member is seriously sick. Maybe then through the neighbors you get the support from your group. Maybe because some of my group members they are living far from my farm but through my neighbors I can ask them to go to my group chair to tell or to inform her that I'm sick. Through my neighbors, they're supporting me also, through, to get the

support from other people. Or sometimes if I'm sick and I'm admitted to the hospital no one who can maybe look for my family I can ask my neighbors to look for my family. So that's why I said that my neighbors are also contributed on, to change our or my life. **And how has herself, how has she contributed to improving her situation?** To me, I can, first of all, I am interacting with other different people. Also, I have to assist, I'm assisting, I'm helping other people in my group, so we're assisting each other. Because I'm helping others, that's why I get support if I need support from other people. Also, I follow the instructions which I got from different trainings about these body exercises, to use medicine if I'm sick. I have to follow, me as me. Also, I have to attend the different session. When I'm invited, I have to attend. So this is the things which I did for making improvement of my life. **Okay. And how have KwaWazee and the mutual support groups contributed?** Yea, I decided to put, to use, four beans on these two earlier because there is a connection: to have the group it was the idea from KwaWazee and from the group we get different support. We share our things, we exercise the body exercise which we learn from KwaWazee, and maybe if someone is sick in the group we support each other, we visit each other. So there is a connection. Because of we are in the group, this was the idea from KwaWazee, that's why I decided to use four beans for KwaWazee and four beans for the group support. **And the last one, family?** To my family, my family, for example when I'm sick, my family member they can prepare the food, washing my clothes, I can ask them to go to buy my medicine. Also, they are the ones who can inform my neighbors, and from my neighbors they can inform my group members. My family members are also important to me for improvement of my life.

Date of interview: 21/05/2012

Interviewer: Jana

Translator: Jovinary

Code: 3 A

Gender: female

Age	68
Gender	female
Pension	5
PSS	4
Health Training	+
Self-defense training	+

Household Members	2 grandchildren
Tatutano	+ (2)

First of all I´ d like to ask her how old she is? 68. **And who is living with you in your household?**

How many people? I am living with two grandchildren and third...**Sorry. Who?** And herself and two grandchildren. **Ah, ok two grandchildren. And when did she join KwaWazee?** This is the fifth years.

Ok. And when did she join the mutual support group? 4 years. **Four years, ok. Has she, is she in any training like self-defense or health training? Is she in the health training or in the self-defense training?** Yes. **Yes.** She was training in different areas. The first one it s about, that´s forming group, forming, how they can form the groups and then she went on from the group then, the second one is leadership, the third is self-defense training and the fourth is treasure, how to keep money. **Ah ok. Asante.** She was just adding to what she said about forming groups and then she learned from each the member. It is like a training that she is trained by the other members how they can live together.

Ah ok. And one last question to her would be do her grandchildren take part in Tatutano? Yes. **Yes. Both?** Yes. **Now I´ d like to show you this picture. And this granny, as you can see is a chair from a mutual support group. She looks quite self confident and proud of herself. And I´ d like to know, I´ d like to ask you “Are the people in your group like this?” And if herself maybe is like this?** Yes, the group members they are confident like that one. The reason that when they are in the group they discuss together and make solution of what they are discussing about. She is saying that if they are in the group and decide to contribute some money to support the other members they can agree each other and then support the one. And the one can feel that I have somebody to get support. **And has this always been like this? Like that they are that self-confident?** Yes. Yes. She says like that. Because they are getting food and at any time they get problem they have to ask from the group for advice. **Ok. And before she joined the group could she imagine that she has organized something like this or did she felt as self-confident before she joined the group?** I was not confident because I had many feelings and I was just very often I was crying. **Ok. But when she joined the group she felt better?** Yes, when I joined the group I felt better. And the group or just trough discussing, that make me take out the feelings I have. **Ok. Asante.** I have been afraid to be in a group and to join people but when I joined the group it opens me that I am a human being and be with other people. **How comes that she was afraid?** I had no clothes, I was dirty and my situation, my life-situation was very bad. So I think what can I do so that I can go to other people. So I was shameful for joining other people. **Has she been afraid to get less respected when she had dirty clothes?** Yes she was afraid of getting to be [not] respected by other people. This is because I had no good clothes, I am dirty and when I joined KwaWazee I get money where I can get buy soap and body oil. So when I wake up in the morning I wash myself and I also put the body oil. So I am good. And when I go to the other people they are

respecting me. They can greet me. **Ok. Asante. If you can look at the picture again. I would like to ask her what she thinks how this girl is feeling?** She is feeling ok with the reason that she has good clothes and she is clean. **I want to know if her grandchildren are like this?** Yes my grandchildren are like this because I can see that if they are together with other children they are feeling very ok and they can play together with the other children. **Has this always been like this that her children are feeling like, like good?** Yes, they are always like that that they are feeling ok and the reason why- (Jovinary: because I was just asking something else: Is it that they don't have any feelings about their parents?) She said that they have not that feelings because when they get food and they are not disturbed by the grandma they feel ok and then they feel that nothing is missing. **But we didn't want to know if they always feel well, but we want to know if in the past, maybe a couple of years ago, you know, maybe before they joined KwaWazee, (but you don't have to say that) if the grandchildren were also feeling this well?**

Yes, now I get the question. Is that before joining KwaWazee there was something missing. They had Jingers? this insect which come to the feed and stays there, so when they had that Jingers? they cannot go away and people were just advising me to buy medicine for that but I failed to buy because I didn't have enough money to buy also we were not getting satiated after food. It was difficult to myself to look after them, the food and the clothes but when I joined KwaWazee the children are in Tatutano and they are getting support and I can buy medicine for Jingers?. So we are happy like other children. Especially I can say that they are happy like the child [on the picture], they are confident like the child [on the picture]. **Ok. And I want to know now if only KwaWazee has contributed to that change that her child is feeling better or maybe different people like we show them in the pictures contributed?** [granny puts 8 beans on KwaWazee, 6 beans on support group, 6 beans on myself]. Here, starting from herself is that herself was creative to think about her grandchildren. She was just looking after food for them though it was difficult. Also it comes the idea to go to KwaWazee. This is my support. **This is before she joined?** Yes. This is before she joined. And then having idea to join KwaWazee is also supporting to her children. And when I came to KwaWazee the children started getting support. The children got the support from KwaWazee. **I joined the group and that group advises me in caring of my children.** Very good, Asante. **Now I would like to know how she had the idea to join KwaWazee?** She is explaining that the idea comes from the other older people in the village. **She heard people saying about KwaWazee and when she came back at home she slept and started thinking how she can come to KwaWazee and the next day she got the (resolution) from herself that she could come to KwaWazee to ask support.** And as soon she was registered at KwaWazee she also asked to join the group. She went to the group and from the group she is getting different ideas from the other members of the older people and also she has a feeling that the group supported her. She is feeling ok. **Though before joining KwaWazee she was the**

problem that she could not even take a tea in the morning when she in the previous day when she was drinking the tea it was just warm in her mouth so it heats her. But now she is feeling ok because she can take the tea in the morning and this makes her feel comfortable and her grandchildren.

Ok. Asante. Now I have the last question to you. It is al little bit an open question but I want to know, what are her plans or goals for the future? She is saying that concerning with the future she has a feeling of how will be the life tomorrow and what will be the life of my grandchildren. That two questions she is questioning herself. With these two questions I am planning to buy, to care my goats so that my goats can produce more and more goats. From there we can get money by selling and we can do something which is important to the life of my grandchildren and myself. And the manure from the goat my grandchildren can cultivate tomatoes where we can getting some small incomes through selling them. That is what I am planning about the future of my grandchildren and myself. And trough this I will maybe die and my grandchildren will bury me. **Did she always think about the future as much and was she always kind of planning and was she thinking that she was able to plan for the future some years ago?** She is explaining about how she get the idea of planning about the future. It is not always that she was planning about the future. Before coming here, KwaWazee, she has nothing to plan for the future. But when she joined KwaWazee she started joining the groups and in the groups they are sharing different ideas and this ideas is planning about the future.(...) That is why she said with my people here. (Jovinary: they [the other group members] advise her to put beans on neighbor, and I said don't advise her. She is concerning about herself). [granny puts 5 beans on KwaWazee ,4 beans on family, 8 beans on support group, 2 beans on myself and one bean on neighbors and friends]

Here from herself is an idea comes when she started thinking to join KwaWazee and from KwaWazee she started getting the pension and the pension she take it to her family and in her family they sit together and plan how they can use that money. They start using that money but there is a saying in Kihaya that the mind, the ideas is like fire you can go to ask to your neighbor.

You get? (Jovinary: The mind is like fire you can go to ask from your neighbor. That is intelligent you can get trained by other people so you get the idea.

So you mean like it spreads like fire? It is not expressed. It is you can ask here, here the buaia?, we have the attendance that if I don't have fire I can go to ask to my neighbor and then I can get fire to my home and cook my food. So from there, in the family, it comes to the neighbor and from the neighbors getting the idea different ideas, you are getting the pension what can you do with the pension, how do you spend the pension and from that it comes into her mind. Also in the group, within the group herself and the group members they discuss about their concerns at the moment and they discuss how will be the future. In the group she come up with the idea of buying goats and then keeping the goats so that she can generates the income.

Date of interview: 21/05/2012

Interviewer: Jana

Translator: Jovinary

Code: 3 B

Gender: female

Age	67
Gender	female
Pension	5 (?)
PSS	5 (?)
Health Training	- (only indirectly)
Self-defense training	- (only indirectly)
Household Members	3 grandchildren
Tatutano	+ (2)

Ok. I would like to ask you. How old is she? 67 .**When did she join KwaWazee?** I don't remember the years, but I can guess 5 years. **Ok. When did she join the mutual support group?** As soon we get in KwaWazee is when we started the group. **Ok. And did she take part in any training like self-defense or health?** So is not from here but those who are trained here they go home and train them about self-defense and the use of exercise and medicine. **Ok. And how many people are living in her household?** There are four. Two grandchildren and herself. **Aha. Two grandchildren, herself and?** Three grandchildren and herself. **Ok. Do her grandchildren take part in Tatutano?** Two of them. **Two of them. Why the other one is too small, or?** Yes she is small. **Ok. I'd like to ask her how lonely are the people in her group?** How lonely? **Yes, if they sometimes feel alone?** Yes, there is one in the group who is lonely. The reason is that the person is living alone in the family. **But she is never feeling alone?** Yes. She is feeling lonely at the time when she gets sick because though the group, they are going to visit her but sometimes it is difficult to know if somebody is sick in her own house. So she has to call somebody passing her house to send the message to other members of the group. **And before she joined the group? How was the problem with the loneliness then?** Yes it was very bad. She was living alone and nobody would come to support her at that time. So it was taking about three weeks, four weeks to get information to others. **And I'd like to ask her now who contributed how much to the change that it is better now. If it was only the group or maybe other who contributed to the change that she doesn't feel lonely as much as before.**

[granny puts 10 beans on KwaWazee, 3 beans on family and 7 beans on support group] **Now I'd like her to explain maybe what KwaWazee contributed, what the family, what the support group contributed.** So from KwaWazee, from KwaWazee she is getting pension and the pension contributes to her to reduce loneliness due to the fact that when she gets pension she can buy salt, food, oil and clothes and because she had nothing from this to join the other members or to be known from the other members it is difficult. Because when she goes to the shop to buy the salt and oil she can be known by the other member and she can be qualified as a customer by the shop person. And at that time loneliness decreases as she can meet with people in different areas. Also when she has the clothes she can move around and nobody can laugh at her. Another thing is that KwaWazee contributed when they come up with the idea come out to form the group and this being in the group supports her at the time she is getting sick and they are visiting each other. **And about the family, maybe?** Because the family knows that she is getting pension from KwaWazee, so those who are close to her can come to ask salt from her, they can come to visit her because they know that she can support them and also themselves when she has a problem with them go to support her. **And how much did the support group contributed to the change?** The group how it supports her is that the group itself when they are together they discuss together about different issues and those issues is that from the group they can solve. And if she gets sick the group members support her. They go to visit her. And she also visits the other members of the group. So from this it also makes the loneliness decrease. **So but she doesn't say that herself did anything that she is [feeling less lonely]?** Yes she says that she forgot to put something but that's because she is herself. We are talking about her. So she find that she cannot put something. **Now I'd like to ask her what could be improved that she is not feeling lonely?** It is difficult to say that she can do something to reduce loneliness or to be not lonely because she is living alone. Maybe because we are visiting each other and going to the group together. If she could get somebody to stay with her at her own house. **Except her children?** Yes.

I would like to continue with the second person. And I would like to know how save she feels at home and outside, around her house?

I feel more save because when I come and get money, get the pension. And from the pension I can buy food, I can buy soap and salt and we eat together with my grandchildren. Also I have a good house. My house was constructed by KwaWazee and when we are inside we feel safety because we are in a good house. Also it might be that I would already passed away if I would not get the support from KwaWazee. **Now I would like to know if she feels threat from persons outside like going to her or we heard some cases about rape and violence in some communities. I would like to know if she feels save to this. Like, you said some people go there and kill people [referring to a talk before about people being accused of being a witch might be killed during the night]. I want to know if she feels physical security.** For the moment I feel safe because my house is closer to other house and

if something happen to me I can shout so that people can come to save me. **Ok. And has this always been like this when she thinks about some years ago, maybe six or seven years ago? How was her situation then?** I have explained before that I would have already been died because previous the situation was seriously bad to me. So I do not think that I would be existing in this world. **I would like to know how she, herself protect herself from danger, like people who could harm her?** She is saying that it is difficult to make herself save from robbers. This is they have their own technique. They can come anytime and they can steel. Though I have a technique that I can use so that nobody can make me, for instance I am not going during the night, at eight pm I have to be at my home and already asleep. So something like that I am sure it can't happen to me. **And how or where did she learn that technique from or these rules?** I learned this when I am old like I am for the moment and is that when the grannies get self-defense, they train about this. When we have been in the group. **So from the self-defense she also gets some information?** Yes.

Date of interview: 21/05/2012

Interviewer: Jana

Translator: Jovinary

Code: 3 C

Gender: female

Age	?
Gender	female
Pension	4
PSS	4
Health Training	+
Self-defense training	-
Household Members	2 -3grandchildren
Tatutano	+ (3)

I'd like to ask you how old you are? I need this for the record that I do the questions. When did she join KwaWazee? 2008. **Ok. When did she join the mutual support group?** 2008. **How many people are living in her household?** Five children and herself. **Are this all her own children or are there grandchildren?** They are all my grandchildren. **Ok. Two is my own children. And the other ones?** Two is grandchildren- own children. Three, two are grandchildren and herself. We are five. **Also 2 Enkel, 2 Kinder und sie selber. Ok. Did she join any training?** She was trained about health and group

formation, also self-defense. **Asante. Do her children or grandchildren take part in Tatutano?** Three.

Ok. Asante. Now I'd like to ask her. Who does she think could be proud of her?

The older people around her and especially those who are in the group they are proud about her because she is living with the grandchildren and when the grandchildren collect firewood or fetch water and somebody from the group who has no support, who is living alone she can come and ask her grandchildren to support her to fetch water or to collect firewood for her. **And has this always**

been like this? It is not always like that because even that one who comes to ask support from her is not always, it is just one days or two, three days coming and the other days not. **Was there a change between before with the respect? Did she always get respect from the community or from the people living around her?**

The respect was not much like today when I am in KwaWazee. This is because when somebody respects you is dependant what he is intending to get from you. For instance, you don't have a soap, you don't have salt, you don't have food. You depend on him so the respect is not there. So there is less respect. He is respecting you because you are older than him but nothing he is getting from you. So the respect is not.

So would she put all her beans on KwaWazee or did anyone else contributed to the change that she gets more respect than before? Would she say that somebody else but KwaWazee contributed to the change that she gets more respect than before?

Can you repeat the question? **She said that now she entered KwaWazee she gets more respect. I want to know if it is only KwaWazee who changed it or maybe herself, or the neighbors or someone else contributed as well to the change?** [Woman is thinking a long time where to put the beans] **She doesn't have to put it somewhere else. If she said it was only KwaWazee that is fine. She doesn't have to put beans on every picture.**

She is saying that it is only, it is mostly only KwaWazee. But maybe a little bit from the group. She is saying so that maybe the group. **Ok. That is fine. She doesn't have to put the beans down. Ok. Then I move on to the next question. I would like to ask her what kind of relationship she has to her grandchildren?**

I can say that our relationship with my grandchildren is good. The reason that now they are a little bit grown up they know and they can decide what they can do. Even before I insisted them do this and this and this. When they come from school plan one can got to fetch water, another one to collect firewood and another one to make cleanness at home. So with this I think that we have a good relationship.

Though sometimes there is, that children are children, there is something, the need to remind them but now you didn't do this. But when they organize themselves and do their activities, they can go to play. **Has this always been like this or were there problems in the past?** She is saying it is not more difficult situation before, because though there were a feeling of herself that is when you are taking care of your children you think about the future of themselves and the development of the child. So I was just thinking about how I can support them. Maybe at the time they are at school I have to

provide the needs, I have to make sure that they are going to school. So this were difficult to me. But for them I can say that they don't have any bad feeling.

Jovinary: Can I ask them the questions the way around? So if we ask the children what they can tell us? **Yes, you can.** So she is saying that maybe there is one grandchild who is waking up in the morning going to school- **With maybe do you mean for example?** Yes. Maybe is for example.

He wake up to go to school but he is not getting to the school. He left in the way he is going somewhere to play. And if you ask him: Why are you not going to school? He is crying. So you can know what is the problem with him. So maybe he can tell you my grandma is bad to me. She is insisting me something like this, going to school or he is lying that I am not going to school. So the children can defend themselves about this things. Also sometimes it is happening they come from school they are supposed to go to the river but they can spend at the river a long time from three to five, about three, four hours at the river. **When they come late I discipline them. I tell them why they**

are coming late from the river and I just beat them, I can beat them because of coming late at school so they will tell you that our grandma is beating us. **Ok. But she said that there was a change like**

some years ago it was not as good as today fulfill their [grandchildren's] needs more and I try to know who contributed how much to the change that now the relationship with her children got better than before. Do you know what I mean? Because before you [Jovinary] asked your questions she said that there was a change. And now I would like to refer to the change again and ask her what are the differences between today and some years ago. How the relationship changed and who contributed how much, if it was herself or somebody else helped her that the relationship is better. [granny put the beans down on the pictures: 9 on KwaWazee, 4 on myself and 7 on neighbors and friends]

So starting with myself is that I cook food for them and I organize together with them when we are at home. But then Kwa Wazee is also supporting the relationship.

Because the children are sure with their lives. When they come at school they are sure that they will get food, they know that we are getting pension and the pension we are getting makes me strong and my children have a good feeling to me because this makes me and the children to be more close.

What they need they will ask me to support them. Also to the neighbors. Coming to the neighbors is sometimes happening for example when I am not around at home and I left the small children, the neighbors can give him food when I am not around and those who are at school when they come home the neighbors can ask them to looking out food for my goat. So this makes my relationship with the children to be good and when I find the children have learned something I have to thank them for what they have done.

Date of interview: 22/05/2012

Interviewer: Lisa

Translator: Edimund

Code: 4 A

Gender: female

Age	62
Gender	female
Pension	3
PSS	3
Health Training	+
Self-defense training	-
Household Members	Mother, two children, two grandchildren
Tatutano	-

How old are you? 62. **Who is living with you in your household?** I'm living with five people. One is my mother, two are my sons, my children, and two are my grandchildren. Only that. **When did she join KwaWazee?** Since 2007. **And when did you join the mutual support group?** It's about three years. **Did you do one of the following trainings: health training or self-defense training?** Only health training. I'm also one of the ten health animators. I'm training the other group members in our group. **Do you grandchildren take part in Tatutano?** They are not in Tatutano because they are still young and they are also living with their parents at my own place.

I would like to start with the first question. **What do you do to improve your health?** What I do is to have the food also to deal with cultivation so that I can produce enough food for my own and my family. And also to participate in these body exercises to make my body more stronger. **Is she also doing SODIS?** Yes. **Does she think that it is also good for her health?** Yes, it is safe water and all my family members are very happy to use this SODIS water because everyone is everyday asking if there is water which we have already prepared using this SODIS, so everyone is interested and sometimes when I forgotten my family members just remind me that ,Mum, you have to prepare this so that we can still have enough water in our family'. So, it's good. **Her way of improving the health with the exercises and SODIS and cultivating food, has this always been like this?** For using the food, cultivating, we did it even before. But for the health training like making safe water using SODIS, this is a new thing which we get from KwaWazee. It was not there before. **I would like to show her these**

five pictures. Please explain these once to them. And I would like to ask her, she now mentioned KwaWazee, have there been other people of those five pictures who contributed in this change how she can improve her health - about the knowledge, and how much they contributed? [Translator explains the pictures] So I would like to give her these twenty beans and ask her who contributed how much to the change that now she has more ways to improve her health? [person A puts ten beans on KwaWazee, two beans on neighbors and friends, three beans on family, five beans on support group, no beans on myself] How has each contributed to the change? Starting to my family, it [the family] is important to my life because if you are living alone it's a big problem. You can get any problem at any time and you can't get any support because you are alone. Maybe it's during the night- you are living alone - then you become sick no one who can inform your neighbors or who can buy the medicine so to live with other people in my family it's a big support. Also - even now I'm here and I feel comfortable because I see there is my family members. I know everything is okay in my family. That is for my family and I decided to put three beans. But for my group, if someone is sick or if I am sick, I can get support from my group like firewood, food, instructions about using the medicine which we get maybe from the farmers or from the hospital that ,okay, you have to take maybe two morning, two at afternoon, maybe the other in evening time'. Also getting instructions from other group members. It is also helpful for me and for having a good health. Also about health training which I got from the group. Everyone has different ability from one to another so if you are giving the instructions then sometimes you can forget but one group member can remind you that ,okay this one [exercises] you have to do like this' because you already give the instruction so from there you learn from each other. It's also a support for having a good health. Like in our group we meet twice per month so from there we learn different things from other and from the knowledge which we get in this training. For my neighbors I feel okay because we visit each other. If you are sick they come and visit you. They can also ask you which support do you need. Maybe if you do not have water in your family they can fetch water for you. If you don't have maybe enough salt or sugar they can support you small so that you can survive being at sick time. Also in emergency cases at the night, maybe you become more sick, they can carry you, there is no transport, there is no other people who can help you, but they can get you to the hospital. So they are also important people in my life. Then to KwaWazee I can say that KwaWazee is everything because I get pension which connected me to other people in my community. Also we have the group this is eight year from KwaWazee. And we have our day, first of October, where we celebrate and address the things which we have. We meet with different older people and it's reduces the stress. If you have stress healthy, maybe you have stress, but if you meet with older people you enjoy, you eat together, you drink together so from there it reduces the stress which you have. Also this group which we have and the training which we have it is the support which we get from

KwaWazee. They visit us every month, they advise us on where [how] we can improve to do more income activities so that we can improve our group at the time – we can improve our life because the income which we get from our group it is the amount we use when we are sick. We can use our income which we get from our group maybe to buy medicine and so on. That’s why I decided to put these beans – and for this picture, myself, I can’t put any beans because I’m the one who is participating everywhere.

I would like to ask her if she is able to carry out tasks that involve reading, writing and counting. Reading, writing, counting. Yes, I know. **So she can do book-keeping?** Yes. **Has this always been like this?** I had this knowledge before since I was young. **From school?** Yes, from school. I completed standard seven. **Please ask her if since she joined KwaWazee she has added to her knowledge since she joined KwaWazee? If she learned more new things? If she continued learning?** Yes, the knowledge which I use is my own. I didn’t get any training about keeping money. **If she remembers the last four weeks has there been anything what she was learning new? Is there anything what was – Besides book-keeping is there anything that she has learned other new things? From her family, from her neighbors, from her support group?** What I learned is about health. From the group - also I got the training from KwaWazee. It’s about health training. **To whom is she giving her knowledge? And which knowledge is she giving to other people?** What I always teach my group about what I learned from KwaWazee especially health training. **And her own family? Is she also giving knowledge to her family?** The same to my family. For example about this use – SODIS water. Everone knows. Even if I’m not around they can do it themselves. I train them on how they can make safe water using SODIS. So the same I teach in my group it is the same I teach in my family.

Date of interview: 22/05/2012

Interviewer: Lisa

Translator: Edimund

Code: 4 B

Gender: female

Age	71
Gender	female
Pension	5
PSS	3
Health Training	+
Self-defense training	-

Household Members	Husband, one child, one grandchild
Tatutano	-

How old are you? 71. **How is living with you in your household?** I'm living with my husband, my son and one grandchild. **When did you join KwaWazee?** It's about five years since I joined KwaWazee. **And when did you join your mutual support group?** It's about three years since I joined the support group. **Did you do one of the following trainings: health training or self-defense training?** It's about health training. **Does her grandchild take part in Tatutano?** No, she is still young.

My question is: One granny told us ,If I have worries, I go see my friend'. Have you made similar experiences? Yes, I did it. Because when I share, I disclose the problem which I have to my friend. It is also reduces the pain in my heart so it's our habit that if you have something maybe the one who is closer to you, you have to share your problem with her or with him so that he or she can assist you through advising the good ways which you can do so that you can go out or you can reduce this problem which you have in your heart. **In the past has this always been like this? Does she feel that in the past she also had like a good relationship to friends than she has now?** When I was younger if I had the worries in my heart I decided to go to the one who is older. I'm young but I got to the oldest person so that I can ask the advice concerning to the problem which I had by that time. But nowadays if I want to get the advice I have to go to the same person who has the same age to me. So the difference the ages of the advisors so that for the previous time when I was young I was maybe supposed to go to the oldest person but nowadays we are in the same age and we are getting the advice from each other. **If she compares earlier she got the advice from someone who is older than her and now she gets advice from someone who is at the same age like her, if she compares that, would she say that one of the two is better? That she is getting better advice [by one who is younger or one who is the same age]?** To get the advice from the person who is the same [age]. I'm satisfied with this. **I would like to ask her when she looks on those five groups when she was young to which person did she go to get the advice? To which group? And nowadays from which group or from which person does she get the advice? I also put this one "other" [the sixth picture which we did not use yet] because probably – what is about church for example. Please explain her. I want to know how was it when she was young to whom did she go and to whom is she going now and whom do we probably missing [showing on the picture "others"]?** To my side this is representing me, I was alone but if I had the problem in the past I was supposed to start with my family, to ask my family ,okay, I have this, what can I do'. If the family fails to advise me, they advise me to go to our neighbors who are friends and who are closer to our family. Then from our neighbor, I go there and

ask the advice about the problem or the worry which I have. So this is the way which we did before.

In the past has there been anybody else who advised her? My mother in law, only father and mother in law. **And nowadays?** If I have worries nowadays I go to my group where I can (discuss) my problem and from there I can get different advice on which I can come out from the problem which I face. **So she is not going to her friends, neighbors and her family? Just to the support group?** Sometimes I can't use only the advice which I get from my group. Sometimes I decide also to go to my neighbors to look for more advice about the problem which I have. So that's getting the advice from different areas. **Which problems does she face so that she is going to the support group and ask for advice?** This comes when you are living with an older child who has already become grown up. Then maybe you can't punish him or her by using the stick because it is grown up. So I can also share the problem which she has in my group. They advise me, you have to call him or to call her, sit with her, discuss the problem and find the solution about the problem' which she has. Also the same from my neighbors. I can also get the advice that 'okay, call him and call your two friends, sit together, discuss the problem and find the solution'. **Are there no problems than problems with the grown up children?** No.

I would like to ask her how does she celebrate Old People's Day? The way I celebrate our day, first of all I have to attend the day. I sing with other older people, we are singing the local – we dance local music, also the day, there is a chat with different people from different areas. This is how I participate in older's day. **What else is she celebrating? What other celebrations?** There is Christmas, Easter and there is a pentecost day for those who are living under catholic church. So this are the other celebration which I participate. **How does she feels when she celebrating one of all these days?** I feel happy especially during Christmas because it remains us the birth of Jesus Christ. So I feel more happy, spiritual I know that our glory Jesus was new born for our Jesus Christ. **At the celebration days, what do the specially do? Food, clothing?** During this day we normally change our food. I can buy the meat from the market. Also I can buy the new clothes for my family members so that we can be aware that we are celebrating. **The way how she is celebrating with all these special things, did that change since she joined KwaWazee?** Yes, there is an improvement for example when I receive my pension I pass in the market. I have three relatives who have already constructed their own house so I can buy half cages of meat so it's one kilogram and a half of meat, then I divide in three, then I take this half to every family so that they also feel more happy because I'm getting the – [pension] and I also tell them don't worry because I'm getting something from KwaWazee that's why I decided to give you this so if it's not KwaWazee I can't manage to give something for other relatives. Also I can buy after getting the money from KwaWazee food so that we can change the meal. So there is a changes. **At this celebration days they meet with the family and with friends to celebrate. Are there also for no special reasons like family and friends meetings to talk and to**

enjoy the time together? Christmas and the other celebrations days – they meet with the whole family and celebrate. These are like public celebration days, now everyone celebrates it. Are there any other days where they just meet? Come together to have a nice time together, just to have some company, maybe sit together in the evening, have some tea or something. If there are any joyful experiences beside the public church days? Yes, in this celebration we normally join with other people celebrate together from different areas. Or sometimes you can invite your friend to come in your family maybe if it is Christmas or Easter day you can invite your friend to come in your house and you celebrate and at evening time you go out where you can interact with other people. But just on the public holiday days? Christmas, Easter and other days? Not other days during the day they are celebrating or just meeting? Does she only see and meet her friends and family at public holidays or also on any other days? Even the other days we meet and we discuss together but for the meal we can't get special meal like we get in the special days. And have these meetings that she is seeing her friends and family besides public holidays, has that increased since she joined KwaWazee? Is she meeting them more now, now that she is joining KwaWazee? Before I joined KwaWazee I had this habit to have the interaction with other people but KwaWazee increased the number of people so I have many friends like those who are in our group so it increased the number of my friends after joining to KwaWazee. Previously where few people who know me but after joining KwaWazee many people, they know that ,okay, I'm someone who is living there' also they can support me, the way we support each other.

Date of interview: 22/05/2012

Interviewer: Lisa

Translator: Edimund

Code: 4 C

Gender: male

Age	90
Gender	male
Pension	Probably 3
PSS	Probably 3
Health Training	+
Self-defense training	-

Household Members	-
Tatutano	-

How old are you? 90. **90?** Yes. **Who is living with you in your household?** I'm living alone. **When did you join KwaWazee?** I can't remember the date when I joined to KwaWazee because there are many days since I joined to KwaWazee but I can't remember the date or the year since I joined KwaWazee. **Can he remember when he joined the mutual support group? Or probably he can say if it was the same time when he entered KwaWazee he also entered the mutual support group.** It's about four years since I joined in our mutual support group. [The other two grannies in the room are from the same group and they shake their hands like they don't agree so we ask them. One granny explains that he is about three years in the group.] **Did you do the health training?** Only health training like what exercises now he is just doing.

I would like to move on to him and ask him how easy or difficult it is to go to different places? To go to buy something, to go to see the neighbors, to go to the church probably, to go to the village – or he can even say more examples. Where is he going and how easy or how difficult is it to him?

To my side I have different problems. When I'm going to my family, to other families, where I'm living, it's not my house. I'm just staying there for the support of someone. Everytime he can say that 'go, go away from my house'. So that's a big challenge to my life. I'm not okay, I'm just thinking where can I live for the following days and I'm living alone, also this makes me to not feel okay because when I'm in the house during the night I'm just keeping silent, no one who can discuss with him. And maybe you can help me to support me to construct the house so that I can have my own house. **Okay, I have two questions. My first question would be – I'm just thinking what I'm doing first – at the moment he does not have a house. In the past did he had one? What happen with it? Or did he never have a house?** Since I was young I didn't manage to have my own house. I was just staying in the other houses paying the rent. **Before joining KwaWazee did he also rent a place in another house or what did he do?** Yes, I was paying the rent. I was just dealing with my small business, selling of grandnuts, so from there the money which I get it was just making the budget from there take small amount for the house rent. **Are there any possibilities for him to ask the support group for support or even get savings from the support group to build a house? Or is he doing is own savings from the pension that - I don't know - in a year or whatever he can probably build up like just a room or his own house?** [Person shows his paper with the savings which are hold by KwaWazee] He said yes I have the eight years starting keeping the small amount so that later I can have the big amount of money and I have the eight year to construct at least one room for me. So from the eight year this is my saving. **How much is the saving right now? 80.000?** 80.000, yes.

[question to the translator: How much is it to build a house? I ask you. We normal construct an affordable house, it's about 5 to 600.000 TSH.] And is this his own savings or the saving of the group? Own. I would like to ask them [the two other interview partners who are in the same group] if they know the problem and if they discuss the problem in the group and if they see any opportunity or any idea how to solve the problem? Is there any group support for this problem? [answer of one granny] She says that he didn't disclose this problem in our group. Though we know that where he is staying is not his own house but he didn't disclose this information in our group. And sometimes it's difficult to say ,you, we are going to help you on this, this and this' because we don't know if he was interested about this or not interested. So he didn't already disclose this information in our group though we know that where he is living is not his own house. **Please ask him for what reasons he is joining the support group if he is not telling that he has a problem?** I decided to join in the group because I'm one of the beneficiaries of KwaWazee organization so we have to be in the mutual support group. **That's why he joined because he has to? That's why he joined. Also I decided to join in this group that in small problems I can get support from the group but I didn't inform them about the problem which I have because I was thinking that they can't manage to construct a house for me. They don't have the ability to construct the house. That's why I didn't disclose this information in my group.** **Who forced him to join the support group? Or put pressure on him?** No one who forced me but after getting the pension and seeing the other people who are in the mutual support group and many of them are only who are getting the pension from KwaWazee. So I was think that, okay it is good because even me I'm getting the money from KwaWazee'. It's good to join in this group with other older people who get the pension. **So from there we can help each other in small problems.** **Please ask him if he could also save money for building a house before joining KwaWazee?** I didn't. I did manage small money and this was only to food. He is adding that he didn't know that he will reach at this age. So he was getting the money and using it for buying food and other things. **I would like to get back to my first question that was how easy or how difficult is it for you to go to different places. I want to know if it's difficult for him to walk long distances, to go to the village, to go to the neighbors, that was my first question. He did not really answer this one. Can you ask him this again? Like the mobility – how easy or difficult is the mobility for him? The difficulties which I face – now I'm older sometimes I feel some pains in my body also my eyes lower – I have the problems with my eyes. Even this small business which I deal with, I'm not sure if I will continue with it because when one month passed the power is gone down. Even now, I started to feel some pains in my body so this is difficult when I'm moving around going to our neighbors, going to the market. This is difficult.**

I would like to ask him a question. The last one. How satisfied are you with your clothes? It is like if he is happy with the clothes he is having? Do they cover him, do they keep him warm enough and

things like that. They are enough. **Has this always been like this?** It was not like this. Now I have my own business, I'm selling this grandnuts so the money which I get from my business I can manage to buy my clothes. **Did he had his business before he joined KwaWazee?** Since I was young I was dealing with my business. **And since he joined KwaWazee has there been any other improve in his clothes or was the improve already before? Was the improve because of his business or was it even better after joining KwaWazee?** Since I joined to KwaWazee there is changes. For the previous time I was maybe looking for the loan so that I can improve my business. After joining in KwaWazee I stopped this habit of using the loan of other people because I had to pay more amount which I get at the loan from other people. But after joining in KwaWazee, I managed to have enough capital for my business so there is improvement. Also I get more income from my business because of the increase of the capital because I have get the money from KwaWazee. Then from there I can manage to have more clothes compared to the previous time. **Could there still something improved for him about the clothes situation?** There is nothing.

Date: 23.05.2012

Interviewer: Lara

Translator: Levina

Code: 5A

Gender: male

Age	81
Gender	male
Pension	3
PSS	2,5
Health Training	+
Self-defense training	--
Household Members	Wife, 2 daughters, 2 grandchildren
Tatutano	- (too small)

How old is he? Eighty-one. **And how many people are living with him in his household?** Five people. **And who?** My wife, my grandchildren are two and my daughters are two. **And when did he join KwaWazee?** It is three years now. **And when did he join the mutual support group?** It is two years and a half. **Two and a half, okay.** **And did he do the health-training? Did he take part in the health training?** Yes. **And do his children take part in Tatutano?** No, they are too old. I mean his **grandchildren?** Before his two young daughters joined, but now they're already married. **Oh okay, so**

even his grandchildren are already married? No, his daughters. His grandchildren are too small. **Oh, they are too small, so they are not taking part, okay.**

If he asked his grandchildren what would they say how their lives have improved since he joined KwaWazee? But the grandchildren do not receive the money. **Yea, but still. Has there not been any impact on the grandchildren since he joined KwaWazee even though he, we know that he is the one who's receiving the money. They're happy because now they get tea and some bread, rice. So they happy. They said to babu this is good, the money is good, it helps our family.** And if he thinks about before he joined KwaWazee, the time before he joined KwaWazee and now. And what can he say who contributed the most to the fact that is grandchildren are doing better now? And then he can just put the beans on the pictures. [puts 8 beans on KwaWazee, 6 on support group, 3 on myself, 2 on family and 1 on neighbors and friends] KwaWazee contributed **before they married and go to live another life, they are getting support from KwaWazee like school materials.** So after completed Standard 7 and Form 4 it is when they go to start another life but they are getting the support from me and KwaWazee. Two grandchildren were supported by KwaWazee. **With the school support?** Yes, **the pension every month and school support.** Until they completed Standard 7 and one completed Form 4. **And then the support stops?** The life changes! **They moved out?** Yes. Okay. **And the support group? How did the support group contribute?** He didn't understand. **No, it's fine.** Maybe just one last question I can ask him. Cause he said KwaWazee contributed to improving the life of his children. But can he also say that there's something that he is doing himself that improves the life of his children? **After getting the support from KwaWazee he makes sure that he gets all he needs in his house.** Also, he talks to his grandchildren to educate them how to go with their lives. **And how does he educate them?** **teach them how to live with their neighbors, respect the other people, to do homeworks like firewood, cooking and weed the shamba.** **And has this, for him to tell them to be respectful and all those things, has that improved since he joined KwaWazee? Has there been a change in how he's raising his children or is it exactly the same or has KwaWazee made a difference?** For example, the training of health they got. **When he's back at home he usually teaches them how important water is, how to eat vegetables and fruits and the other things. So KwaWazee taught him.**

What did he do in the mutual support groups that he was not able do before? So what did he learn there? **First, he learned how to process water by using sun, SODIS, and how important water is in your body. Second, he learned about vegetables and fruits. Third, he learned how to be more close with the other people and to help each other, especially if somebody is maybe sick or with other problems. So nowadays they are more close and they visit each other even if somebody is not sick.**

Date: 23.05.2012

Interviewer: Lara
 Translator: Levina
 Code: 5B
 Gender: male

Age	74
Gender	male
Pension	5
PSS	3
Health Training	+
Self-defense training	--
Household Members	Wife, son, 4 grandchildren (three of them orphaned)
Tatutano	+

How old is he? Seventy-four years. **And who is living with him in his household?** We are seven in total. My wife, my son, and the three grandchildren. Also, the daughter, not his, she is a grandchildren but she is young. These three grandchildren are orphans. But the one who is a girl is not ... her parents are there. **It's the baby of the son?** Yes. **Okay, but also living in the household?** Yes. **Since when did he join KwaWazee?** 2007. **And the mutual support group?** 2009. **And did he take part in the health training?** Yes. **Okay. And do his grandchildren take part in Tatutano?** Yes, all three.

He told us that all his children have joined Tatutano. And I would like to know what has Tatutano changed in the life of his children? First, Tatutano teaches those children how to live by helping each other. Tatutano assisted them to be in a group, so from the group they can learn from each other, share their experiences because most of them are orphans. So Tatutano helps those children to be more happy than before. **With his own grandchildren can he see a change in behavior of his grandchildren because of Tatutano?** Yes, he can see that now there is a change because first, before joining KwaWazee, they were just going randomly, they come back late. But now when they're coming from the group or the school, they come early at home and do some works. **And has KwaWazee, just him being in KwaWazee and receiving the pension, improved the life of his children? Sorry, his grandchildren, right? I'm talking about his grandchildren when I say children. Did you also say grandchildren?** Yea. **Okay.** Yes, the pension has improved the life of the grandchildren because they are getting school materials and the money from the pension they got, it helps for food, soap and other basic needs. So then if they are at school they know, they feel happy because they know that if we come at home we will get food and we will get everything. So now they are very concentrating at school than before. **And what does he himself do to improve the life of his**

children? He usually make sure that he teach them how to overcome with the other challenges in their life and he said that maybe KwaWazee can close up so he have to find another opportunity how to live. We usually assist them and we teach them on how to keep the goats, they have the goats there at home. So usually told them how to keep the goats, to feed them, to make the shamba and other things. **So that they will have a future and they will have an income and be independent, be able to live by themselves?** Yes.

Which people are important in his life? First, the important people in his life are group members, the second is family and the third is KwaWazee, KwaWazee team. **And maybe can he tell us which people does he love? So they are important but which ones are so important that he loves them, he really cares about them?** My grandchildren who are orphans, who don't have father or mother. Also, my wife and other family members. But these ones are important, my grandchildren and my wife. **Okay. And does he support them, his loved-ones?** He cares about them by being close to them, to know what they want or they need. If they are sick I usually find medicine for them and the other needs. **If he thinks about the past has he always been able to support them so much?** I was close to them and needed to help them but I wasn't able to help them for everything because I haven't any support. From the support I got from KwaWazee I'm already helped them much more than before. **Okay. Can he just show us on these pictures who has contributed the most to that now he can care better for his loved-ones?** They're twenty? **Yes, and just distribute them.** [puts 9 beans on KwaWazee, 6 on support group, 5 on myself, 0 on family and 0 on neighbors and friends] **And now can you please tell us how has KwaWazee contributed to the improvement that he can care for his loved-ones, that he can support his loved-ones?** It is KwaWazee because the support I got from KwaWazee is the foundation of my family to be strong and to be healthy because the money I got is the money I use for basic needs and other things. Also, KwaWazee supported me to join the group because I was not aware about the groups but from KwaWazee, this is the way how I know about the importance of being in groups. **And how did the support group then again contribute to improving the care?** For example, if I'm sick the group will help my family, either by bringing the food, firewood and the medicine, also condolence. If I'm away from my home I know that the group is there and will help my family. **And himself? How does he contribute?** By using my brain and my body, my strength I help to care my family and to join them, to involve them in different things, work, and other issues concerning the family. So I put my effort to make sure that we are very close, we are trust each other, respect each other among our family. **And has he always been this strong to do that? Cause I mean having a family is also a big responsibility and has he always been able to do that the way he's doing it now?** I learned many things from the group and KwaWazee because if I focus days maybe in five or six years I will pass away so I have to make sure that my family, I will leave my family in a certain condition. **And what kind of things has he learned from KwaWazee and the group?** For

example I learn how to prepare the future life for my family by preparing the weed, by maybe have some material, capital for future, maybe to have pieces of land, to plant coffee trees which will last for twelve years. Also to make my shamba, to put goats and the other things. Also I learned that if my grandchildren or my children have more education they will do better, it will help other family member. **And is he able to provide education for all of his grandchildren?** Two of them are in primary school and one is in Form 2. I'd like to get more education but the matter behind is that I can't do it only me, but if I can get support I'd like that my grandchildren get a high education as they can. **And what kind of support would he need?** I mean the support of money. Because now if you want to have a good education you have to have money. **Yea but because he said he needs support, how does he wanna get that money? What kind of support is he picturing so that he can get the money for the school education? What does he have in mind?** For example, of KwaWazee can support me with cows, goats or money for buying pieces of land and plant trees.

Date: 23.05.2012

Interviewer: Lara

Translator: Levina

Code: 5C

Gender: male

Age	73
Gender	male
Pension	5
PSS	3
Health Training	+
Self-defense training	--
Household Members	Sister, 2 grandchildren
Tatutano	- (too small)

And him, how old is he? Seventy-three. **And who is living with him in his household?** I live with my sister and two grandchildren. **And since when did he join KwaWazee?** 2007. **And the mutual support group?** They founded together the group. **In 2009?** Yes. **Did he take part in the health-training?** Yes. **And do his children take part in Tatutano?** No, they're too small. The young one is five.

If he asked his group members, the members of the mutual support group, what would they say how their lives have improved – don't say improved, sorry – how their lives have changed since

they joined KwaWazee or since they joined the support group? The changes about the group or himself? **No, if he asked his group members how their lives changed since they joined the mutual support group, what would they say?** He said that if he can ask them they would say that **life now has improved because for the group we get training like that, for example how to use vegetables, how to make body exercise, and we console each other when you are in the group. No one can feel lonely because almost all of them have lost their children. Through the group they can talk or they can share their experience. So they'll say that now we have improved our lives. And what does he himself do to improve the lives of the others in the group?** For example himself, he is the treasury of the group. So he makes sure that all the necessary contributions have to be done by everyone to make sure those who are sick, to go and support them. So he's usually emphasizing the group to keep on those regulations and rules of the group. **And where did he learn to do the treasury?** I learned it through experience when I was appointed to be a treasury. **So because I was trustworthy they saw that I'm one who have to keep those money for the group. So they appointed him because they thought he was trustful, eh, trustworthy?** Yes, because when they want money, I usually give them their money without any excuse. So the reason why he became treasury was because the people thought he was trustworthy but not because of his skills. **His skills he only learned later on?** Yes, he learned later on. **Because you know nowadays the trustworthy is better than knowledge.**

Now from him I would like to know if in his group they have problems or conflicts within the group? I can thank God because our group is doing well. We are all very appropriate, we love each other, we do everything together, even if the member fund maybe has a problem, even if for example if my grandchildren maybe is lost, the group member can find him on the way and take him. **Okay. So they have never experienced any conflicts within the group?** Yes. Even if we follow them regularly there is no problems like other groups. **Okay. Has he heard from other groups that have had problems and what kind of problems or conflicts?** Yes, I heard one group, a neighbor group. **And what kind of problem?** Yes, one group has a problem and it is the kind of problem was that they chased one member from their group. Then she came and asked to join their group and they agreed to take her. **What was the source of the conflict in your neighbor group?** The conflict was among the neighborhood but they interacted in group. But the problem was solved. **One neighbor and another one who wasn't a member of the group have a problem. So that one talked with the chair person that you have to chase this one because I don't like her. So was the conflict about one lady wanted to join their group, she came from a different group and wanted to join their group and the other group didn't like it?** One group chased the one lady. **Oh, they chased her away?** Because they have a conflict among them. **And then she came to them?** Yes. **Okay. And do you know what kind of conflict they had, why they chased her away?** Yes. Because one member who was a group member saw one boy of his neighbor leaving the ndizi from one of the neighbor's shamba. And when they

come to ask that son why did you steal the ndizi the chair person said that it was this one who said that because he saw you but she was not supposed to say that he saw you leaving the ndizi. So that you accused the son of my friend, so I have to chase you from my group. **So they were talking bad about this one person and so they didn't want her in their group anymore because she was spreading rumor?** Yes. **And it was not true what she was saying?** Yes. **Okay. And in their group if they had a problem like this how would they solve it. In their group? Yea, if something like this occurred in their group would they also chase her away or how would they solve this problem?** For example, if it can happen we can talk to those two members who have conflict and to find the solution but not to chase her or him.

Okay, alright. Then I would just like to ask him the same question that I asked her earlier cause he also took part in the demonstration at Old People's Day, right? And I would like to ask him why did he participate in the demonstration? To be together with my older people because during the celebration I can meet Kabari people, people from Buganguzi, from Mbenge, from Mbunda and we talk with each other, 'how old are you, what do you do?' So from there we make friend. **Okay. And what did they want to achieve with the demonstration?** They want to show other people, for example young people, that even the grannies have their chance, they are the people like other people because other people don't care about those grannies. So by joining together, celebrate together, praying and do what, they can show that we are old but we are still in the world so you have to care about us. **Okay. And did he take part in any other protests before?** When Nyerere was president he joined one celebration about TANU. TANU was one part of Tanzania. Before, CCM was TANU0. So they joined, they sing, they celebrate. They want to congratulate their president because he was the one who fight for the independence of our country. **But since then, here in Nshamba area, in Kagera, he has not done a demonstration?** Maybe wedding ceremony, celebration cause there are many around here. **So what has contributed the most to the fact that he started doing the demonstrations here on older people day?** [puts 10 beans on KwaWazee, 5 on support group, 3 on family, 2 on myself and 0 on neighbors and friends] **And now can he tell us how has KwaWazee contributed to doing the demonstration?** After joining in the group, doing the monitoring, when the staff come to visit us, it is where they tell us that there is a people's day every year. So you are older people and you have to celebrate, join with other grannies in your country. So from there we decided from our group that we have to contribute some money for food and everything. So then KwaWazee said that we contribute, we will be your host, we will make the hall, we will make other things and we come to celebrate at our office. It is because of KwaWazee, before I didn't know if there is a celebration of people's day. **And the support group?** From the savings of our group we usually take some money for buy rice with soda and other things. So we cook one pot for all members of the group, for those who manage to come to the ceremony. So usually celebrate and appoint some

people to dance, to do what, cook, so the group contribute. **And how do they decide in the group who is going to the demonstration and who's cooking? Who's allowed to go there? Or do they all go?** We always come, all members, but maybe for those who are old and are very, too old, they don't come. But because we are coming from near, we are just living near. Kagazi is just here. **And the family, how did it help?** My family supports me, for example if we have got banana tree in front our shamba, they can decide you can take this and contribute to your group, so that you can have a celebration. **And do his family members know about the demonstration? Does he tell them about it and what they are doing there and what they want to achieve?** Yes. They know about the celebration. And always like the, even if they are not able to come. **And is it just the people who are beneficiaries of KwaWazee who are taking part in the demonstration or also other old people who are not from KwaWazee?** Just for all older people. For all. **And how do the old people who are not part of KwaWazee, how do they know about it?** We talk to them, we invite them. **And what is he doing himself to contribute to the demonstration?** I participate in singing, praying, find local things. I use my body, my brain and my time to come here. **If KwaWazee closed down, would they still do the celebration, demonstration at Old People's Day?** They can't. **They can't? Why not?** If our government would stand and join us we can do but if there's no support from government they can't. **So they want help from the government to say that the government is doing something wrong?** Yes. **Because he said that if the government can start to give all people pension. Because during the celebration they talk about pension and many people are those who are getting pension. It is because KwaWazee started supporting us by give us pension, it is when we know about the people's day. So if they didn't receive a pension they would not be able to implement the celebration?** For themselves the pension is which supports the people at older day because before, they didn't know anything about. The government didn't open this for them. **And what about the mutual support group? If KwaWazee closed down would the mutual support group still be there? If KwaWazee stops, the group will be there but there are these differences. Because now from the pension you get you can save the money so you have got the balance. So if KwaWazee is not there again where can we find the money for savings. And nowadays there is this banana disease, you also can't sell bitter banana. There is a problem of maybe sun and because we have nothing to produce anymore. Even the coffee now the price is still low, so we can continue with our group but in case of money and savings it will be difficult.**

Date: 23.05.2012

Interviewer: Lara

Translator: Levina

Code: 5D

Gender: female

Age	68
Gender	female
Pension	2
PSS	2
Health Training	+
Self-defense training	-
Household Members	Sister
Tatutano	--

And how old is she? Sixty-eight. **And who is living with her in her household?** I live with my sister. **And since when did she join KwaWazee?** It is two years now. **And the mutual support group since 2009?** 2009. **And did she take part in the health or self-defense training?** She took part in the health but in the self-defense not.

She also participated in the demonstration on Old People's Day, right? Mhm. **Now I would like to ask her if she has participated in other demonstrations in the past?** She participated in a celebration in Mwanza, but it is a long time. **Was it a celebration or a protest?** It was a beginning of a hospital, I don't know which hospital. **Okay, so it was more like a celebration.** Yes. **And now I would like to ask her how come that she is participating in the protest now, but she didn't do it in the past? And she can just put the beans on where she thinks what contributed the most to the fact that now she's participating in the demonstrations.** Which means by protesters? **The protest, the demonstration here. When they're not really celebrating only, but they also say 'oh we have rights we want to stand up for our rights', and how come that now she can go and stand up for her rights? Okay, maybe you can ask her first why did she take part in the demonstration on Old People's Day?** She participated in the ceremony of KwaWazee because she wanted to exchange the experience from other grannies, to see each other and to talk about other local leaders and others. **And about what did she want to exchange with other local leaders or what could they talk about?** We want to talk with local leaders because we are few grannies who are supported by KwaWazee, but others, our fellow, are not supported by KwaWazee, so we want to talk with these leaders so that they can also help our fellow grannies. **How come that she is doing this now, talking to the local leaders cause she said that she has never done something like this before? So how come that now she is doing this, talking to local leaders about improving the life of the older peoples? What made her so brave to do this?** Because she know that other older people have also issues which have no way to overcome, for example they're sick, they don't get treatment like her before KwaWazee. And also,

she is willing to see that all of the older people are supported, not only one or those who are supported by KwaWazee, but she like all of them to be supported. **Where did she get the idea to do this demonstration?** Because when I get supported by KwaWazee, I'm happy. I want even my fellow to be happy like me. So that is why I try my best to talk with local leaders so that... **But who gave her the idea that she can talk to the local leaders?** From my head. **And so now when she gets the pension, does she feel stronger or could she do something like this before she got the pension? Does she feel like this before or only with the pension she has the strong feeling that she can do it now and stand up for the rights of other people?** It is before getting the pension, that is when I felt to help my fellow grannies, older people.

I'd like to know who loves her, who cares about her? My sister and my neighbor. **And how does she know that they care about her?** I know from the things they do for me. For example when I'm sick or got a problem, then I said my neighbor come and ask and he always come. **And has this always been like this that the people who care about her are able to support her?** It is always like this because my other relatives live very far. From here to Kishanda it is very far. But it is my neighbor who can phone to my relatives that Gaudencia is sick but before phoning he can go and buy medicine for me, fetch water for me, so they love me and they care. **How come that her neighbors are able to support her so well? Is it, how old are they? How come that they can support her?** It depends on the way you live with other people. If you respect them, they will respect you. If you do things for them, also they will do for you. If you love them, they will love you. **Okay. So does she also do things for them?** I always do like this. Even today, I told them I'm going to the office, will you watch my chicken, maybe something go wrong you can do something. **Okay. And has she always been able to also support her neighbors?** I always do the same for them because maybe if my neighbor is sick I always go and clean banana for him, cook porridge or find local medicine for her. I do the same as they do for me. **And before KwaWazee was she also able to do this?** Before KwaWazee we always do like this about our neighbors but from the group it is when we joined in the group of KwaWazee we started to help each other among group members but for the neighbors we always do like this.

Date of interview: 24/05/2012

Interviewer: Jana

Translator: Levina

Code: 6 A

Gender: female

Age	61
Gender	female
Pension	4
PSS	4
Health Training	+
Self-defense training	+
Household Members	4 grandchildren
Tatutano	-

I would like to start now and I would like to ask the first question how old she is? 61. 61. Ok. Then I would like to know who is living with her in her household? We are five. Me and my grandchildren are four. Four grandchildren? Yes. Then I would like to know since when she joined KwaWazee? She don't remember. She don't remember? Maybe around about? About four years. About four years ok. And since when did she join the mutual support group? We formed our group in 2008. All of them were together. Did she do one the following training health or self-defence? Yes. Both? Yes. Both. And is any of her children in Tatutano? They are too small. How old is the youngest and how old the oldest? The youngest is 12 but he is disabled. The youngest one is 12 years old? Yes. 12 month? He is only 12 years but he can't join the group because he is disabled. Then the oldest is twelve years old? Yes the oldest is twelve years old, sorry. And the youngest? 5 years.5 Years ok. Asante sana. Now I would like to start with you again with the first person and I would like to show her this picture. And as you can see there is this granny on the picture. She is a chair of a mutual support group and she is quite self-confident and proud of herself. And I want to know what is she thinking why this person is self-confident? What is the question please? Why is this person- Because she understand things. Because she has a knowledge. Because she has a knowledge she is self-confident? Yes. I want to know if she knows persons like this chair? Yes she knows another person like this one. And who is it and what can she do that she is that self-confident? Because somebody has a knowledge maybe she is educated or not but she is strong she can stand herself or himself. That's something (beides?) And this person she is describing. Has this person always been like as self-confident and strong like today? She said that she thinks that nowadays she is more confident than before. And why? Through the training, experience sharing with other people from KwaWazee or from groups maybe somebody can expand their knowledge, get their knowledge. So she is explaining if somebody was like this after getting training and others maybe expand like this. (alles beide Farben?) Ok. Now I would like to ask her. We have got some pictures here. Maybe you can explain them to them [Revina explaining the charts]. Now I give her 20 beans and I want to know, she said that there was a change before this lady, she is thinking about, was not self-

confident but today she is self-confident. And I want to know how each of the pictures contributed to this change? She doesn't have to put beans on every picture. [granny puts 7 beans on Kwa Wazee, 8 beans on support group, 5 beans on Myself] Asante. And now I would like to ask her if she can explain what the support groups did that the person feels more self-confident than before? Because through groups you can have group-sharing experience when they are in the meeting they talk, they discuss, they exchange their experiences, their views. So through groups that one has many experiences and skills. Skills, ok. Asante. And what did KwaWazee do that she feels more self-confident? Through trainings from KwaWazee and other trainings about HIV, about health and other things. So she thinks that makes that one strong and self-confident. And what is this person herself or himself do to be more self-confident? Because she has a feeling and she want to know everything and to learn about different things from the office and she has willing to know. She went to be more. She is anxious of knowledge? Yes. She wants to expand their knowledge to different skills and she has the time when they called them to the training she came and have the training and then after the training she go back and exchange with other person. Very good. And she said that the persons they get skills from KwaWazee. And I want to know what kind of skills? Maybe health skills from health training. Also by sharing with other group members maybe during the celebration of KwaWazee she saw somebody standing and reading the poems doing what. So through this trainings and experience changing. And maybe she can answer it and maybe not. What specific skills do they learn in the support group? For example how to dig, you know we have different types of digging. Of what? Of digging. To dig the land. Ok. For example here there was a bush so you have to dig in a proper way, to plant the maize, to make mats, we have mats, I think we saw when we were visiting the group somebody know from the group, somebody know themselves. There are different skill maybe making mats, digging, how to plant spinach, how to plant tomatoes and other things. And this she can learn in the group? Yes. Now we come to you and I would like to start with the first person. I would like to know in what ways her life became different since she became the carer of her grandchildren? If her life is different and how different it is since she cares for her grandchildren? Is her life different now that she is caring for her grandchildren? Before caring for my grandchildren the life was not tough like today. Because maybe the pod of food was like this [showing small], now I have to expand because after caring the children. Because caring for the children is not- you have to be strong, find some good food and water. And because nowadays there is this banana tree diseases. So the pension I got I have to buy flour, maize flour for ugali. Ok. And now I would like to know how is the relationship to her grandchildren. Relationship? Yes how they are dealing with each other, the relationship? The relationship is good because we talk. After everyone come. Myself I am doing the work in other peoples shamba [garden] maybe or in my group. So when I come we discuss, we cook, we eat, everyone is happy. Is there anything that she would like to change in the relationship to her

grandchildren? I want to change the live and the relationship with my grandchildren to improve. Maybe to improve the life to get more, different variety of food, maybe to add clothes, they have only one shoes. So I want to improve the relationship of my grandchildren. **And how does she want to do this? Has she a plan to do so?** I am asking my god to keep me strong with my strength so that I can manage to work, to digging the shamba [garden], to plant more beans, more what so I can earn money and have enough food for our life. **Does she have the feeling that she can talk with her grandchildren about everything. Or are there topics, maybe like the loss of the parents or something that they don't want to talk about?** They are not feeling bad. They usually discuss about the death. But they say granny because you are here, we are comfortable.

Date of interview: 24/05/2012

Interviewer: Jana

Translator: Levina

Code: 6 B

Gender: female

Age	63
Gender	female
Pension	6
PSS	4
Health Training	+
Self-defense training	+
Household Members	1 grandchild
Tatutano	+ (1)

Now I would like to ask her how old she is? 63. **Who is living with her in her household?** We are two me and my grandchildren. **And since when is she joining KwaWazee?** 2006. **And since when is she in the support group?** 2008. **Did she do any of the trainings health or self-defense?** Both. Both ok. **And is her child or grandchild in Tatutano?** Yes. Ok. Ashante. **Now I would like to move to the next question and the next person. I would like to know if she can imagine situations when persons she is knowing are feeling alone?** She thinks that maybe somebody can feel alone is she has no relatives, maybe her relatives have passed away. She has no enough food and not any income. She can feel lonely. Ok. **And I would like to know what could this person do to change her loneliness?** Maybe she can advise that person to visit their neighbor and other relatives, maybe to talk and to exchange

different ideas or she can advise her to ask somebody maybe to give maybe a child or grandchild to live with. Also she can advise her to join in the mutual support groups, to go to the church. Also maybe if she know how to read and write she can advise her to read in the bible not to be alone. And now I would like to know if she is thinking that there is a difference between pensioners of KwaWazee and non-pensioners concerning the loneliness? Are people who are in KwaWazee and in the support groups less lonely or the same as persons...What does she think. It is quite different. Can she explain a little further? For those who are not KwaWazee they are not confident. They fear even to go with other people because their clothes are dirty sometimes. So they are not confident, they just hide themselves from other people. That is why they are more lonely? Yes. For those who are in KwaWazee they are less lonely because from their houses they come out. They are just alone but when they come here to KwaWazee they meet with each other people, they exchange their experience: oh my child died, my son died. Also the same to you, to that one, too. So it seems not myself, it is not only to me, also to others. So she is now or he is now not- She can't think about of the death of her only sons anymore because it is seems that it is she thinks of many people. So from there she can join to the groups, she can talk and exchange, also she gets the money, maybe she can buy what she like or he like. So the loneliness somehow go out. Ok. One last question to her. She is living with her grandchild, with one grandchild. And I want to know if the situation for her concerning loneliness has changed when she joined KwaWazee? My grandchildren is 17. 17? Yes. So after coming from school I can sit and talk, I can plan about our fun day what are we going to eat tomorrow, what can we do to change this? So if I want to go somewhere I have to tell him that tomorrow I want to go somewhere and you have to come early from school. You have to get permission from the teacher so that you can come here early and see the goats and give the goats the service. Also when he is at school I can visit my neighbor or open my radio and something like that. Or I can read in the bible when I am cooking. So the situation changed because the child is older? Yes because the child is older and because she has no any fear. She has sugar, she has everything . She has the money to buy the sugar to buy the bed linen or the radio. Asante. Now I would like to move to the next question and ask the second person how safe she is feeling at home and outside. I think I am save. Even at home and around. Ok. So she is not afraid of maybe violence or something through bad persons? No I am not afraid? Ok. And how come that is not afraid? Does she has certain techniques or something how she can feel save? Because I have been learning about self-defense for grannies. They taught us many different techniques how to overcome your enemy. So I am sure that I can defend myself. Ok. Very good. Has this always been like this that she is feeling strong and can defend herself? Or were there times when she felt insecurity? Before getting the training I was afraid. After getting the training I was not afraid again. Ok. And can she think of a person around her who is not feeling security? Is there a difference of people who are

getting the pension and training and who are getting not? They are very afraid about their live about the violence. What can they do to protect themselves? Nothing they can't protect. They are afraid and even if somebody do bad things to them they can't even speak out. In general, they are not feeling protected from the police or from officials? They don't feel that they could protect them or if something bad has happened that they can accuse them and that he is getting punished? When you want to go to get the help from the police or government you have to produce money for buying papers, for writing, for tasks, for other issues. So if you don't have money even if somebody do bad things for you, there is no way. Because she was saying that the others if they get threatened, they don't even dare to speak out. So does she dare to speak out and why? Why is she not afraid if somebody threatens her and why? It is the same they is feeling very shy. Why does she not feel shy? They feel shy to speak those things to others. But her, she doesn't feel shy? No. Because she learned, she has confidence. She knows that if she it is a way of help. To keep silence means that something can continue to be happen to you. That is why she wants to speak out? Yes. Does she think that someday people in Tanzania can achieve that there is a better security system from the police? Or that people who do bad things get punished? Is there any chance that this will happen? Yes. The government can change.

Date of interview: 24/05/2012

Interviewer: Jana

Translator: Levina

Code: 6 C

Gender: female

Age	65
Gender	female
Pension	4-5?
PSS	4
Health Training	+
Self-defense training	+
Household Members	2 grandchildren
Tatutano	+ (2)

Now I would like to ask her how old she is? 65. 65 ok. How many people are living with her in her household? Three. We are your of us. My daughter and my two grandchildren. And since when is she joining KwaWazee? [Die verstehen sich echt gut untereinander] She can't remember but the

group members said they formed the group in 2008 and they were getting the pension before. **She was getting the pension before?** Yes before forming the group. Maybe 2006, 2007 something like this. We don't know how to read and write so we don't know. **Around about is ok. Asante. Did she do any of the trainings? Health or self-defense?** Both. **Both. Ok.** And are her grandchildren in Tatutano? **Yes. Both?** [Nodding her head]. **Ok. Asante. Now I would like to move to you and the next question. I want to know from her if older people in her community are respected by the community? They are respected by the community? And what are they respected for? What is the reason that they get respected?** If you want to be respected, you have to respect yourself first. So for those who are respecting themselves even other people respecting them. Maybe people greet them if you want maybe you have got pieces of firewood you want to make it but you can't, you can ask your neighbor come and make my firewood in small pieces or come and give me one can of water but it depends. **Now I would like to know what does she think who respects her in her life. Who shows respect for her?** Please repeat the question. **She said that people can be respected if they respect others and now I would like to know, she personally, from who does she get respect?** All the people in my community respects me because they see the way I live. I am not a drunker somebody can come and ask me issues, important issues and I can advise her when they ask. Do this and do this and don't do this, this is bad. So it depends. If you respect yourself others can respect you and give you priority. **And where does she take her self-respect from? How comes that she has this self-respect?** For herself she said that when she was young she started this. When she was young and when she was married, she was talking politely with other people, she go and see other people if they have problems, so through that way of living because of that is respected herself. **Ok. Very good. And was there also a change further when she joined KwaWazee?** Before joining KwaWazee and starting getting the pension support we were just begging the money for salti, for soap from other people. But after getting the pension we are not the beggars again. **We are clean, we are smart. Even if we go to the church, if we are smart go to the church somebody can give me the space come and sit here'. Like this.** So the support from KwaWazee increased the chance to be respected. (alle 3 Farben alles?JA!ja!) **Now one last question. I want to know if she thinks that the government shows respect for elderly people in Tanzania?** She said that the government does not respect the older people because our leaders are the thieves , they do things which does not promote you to improve your life. **Ok. And what does she think could the government do to show respect? What would be necessary that they feel respected by the government?** She thinks that the government have to do things like KwaWazee do for older people. Because when they select them, they want them to change their lives. But instead of changing their lives they just think themselves and have a big stomach. So they have to change the lives of older people in all Tanzania. **Ok. Very good. And does she think that old people can achieve that the government will do so?** Yes. **Because if we are**

together, we are many people. All of us together we can. Ok. Very good. Where did she get that knowledge from, that she knows that people together they can reach something? Where comes this idea from? After getting knowledge, talking with other people, discussing our issues it is where I got this knowledge that if we are together, we can join together, we can change the government. (für alle 3 nehmen?JA!ja!) Maybe could she put the beans on who said that? She said when people talking together they get the knowledge. I want to know, where she thinks, she talked-Who gave the knowledge to her? [granny puts 4 beans on KwaWazee, 7 beans on support group, 4 beans on family and 5 beans on neighbors and friends 5] Can she maybe a little bit explain how they discuss the idea that the government should change? How do they discuss it in the family, how do they discuss it with neighbors and friends and KwaWazee and the support group? What are they saying there? Do they talk about it? For example during election times when they meet in their groups they discuss whom they have to vote. So after voting, after time, also they discuss, for those who we voted to, does he something to us, or not? So it is the time they come to discuss again. We have wrongly, we voted wrongly. Somebody did not support us. So next time I have to change. So it is because of the government or because of himself. So they discuss something like that. Ok. And also with the others? Even in the family, in the other, neighbors and friends, when they are at KwaWazee it is all the same. It is all the same topic? Yes. All the same. Asante sana. She is tired. She never talked about questions like this. Then I would like to move on to the next question and ask her what does she do to make sure that hers and her grandchildren needs are covered in the future? Because we always keep savings and through groups we learn about different issues, we share experience. Maybe if you have pieces of land somewhere you plant tree, if you have a goat or pig you keep it one day you can sell and either keep the money or buy other things, so we plan. Because we have balance here and Upendo [Zusammenschluss kleiner Gruppen] and under our small groups. So we hope that this money can help us. And has it always been like this that she can make future plans and save for the future? Before there were no things like this. This ideas it is new for us. Because maybe we were just planting the tomatoes and what (other things), after harvesting we eat it. And then after selling coffee maybe your husband gave you 20.000 TZS for buy Kitenge and Kanga, then you plan to plant other things again. So this idea of savings and balance and what is a new idea It is a new idea and I would like to know from who this idea comes from? And who contributed to the change that they now can do savings. [granny puts 10 beans on KwaWazee and 10 beans on support group] From KwaWazee and the support group. Can she maybe try to explain a little bit further how they get trained or how she takes the knowledge from KwaWazee and the support group for herself? What consequences does she take out of the learnings and the knowledge from KwaWazee and the support group? During the pension, when we came here to get the pension the staff of KwaWazee, they said that you can keep your money in your card. If one day you have a

problem you can come and take your money. So when they were visiting us through our groups they usually talk about the savings, about income and expenditure. So from there I learned that I can keep the money in the office as myself or as through group, so that the money can help me. So when we came to the meeting of the group, we discuss, this money we contribute every month, maybe 1000TZS, what can we do for this money in order that to increase the money. So we discuss and maybe we can buy coffee, we keep it then, when the price is high we sell it on high price so that we can get the money and then after at the end of the year we divide. And if she can imagine, if the pension-paying would stop, could she still do plans like this? We can continue because as you see, now we have the balance as Upendo, the big group and the small group, so although you can't improve like now but you can't go back like before. But you can improve by selling the things we sell in our groups. So we are sure that we can improve although not more like now. So without KwaWazee they also stay in the group and keep on with what they are doing? Yes.

Date of interview: 24/05/2012

Interviewer: Jana

Translator: Levina

Code: 6 D

Gender: female

Age	70
Gender	female
Pension	3 ?
PSS	4
Health Training	+
Self-defense training	+
Household Members	4 grandchildren
Tatutano	+ (2)

Now I would like to know how old she is? I am 70. **How many people are living in her household?** We are five. My grandchildren are four. **Four grandchildren?** Yes. **Since when did she join KwaWazee?** About three years. **And the support group?** We all formed the group in 2008. **Ah. So all together forming the group. And did she do any of the training?** Both. **Both ok. Are her grandchildren in Tatutano?** Two of them are in Tatutano. Two not. **Are they too small?** They are old. **Ah too old.** They are in secondary school. But they didn't like to join to groups. Of course you can't

force them. **Now I would like to ask her. I would like to show her this picture. And I want to know what does she think about this girl?** I think the child is lonely. **Lonely?** Yes maybe she has no parents or other relatives. So that is why I can say that she is looking somewhere for help. **And I want to know if she is thinking that she can meet her grandchildren's needs so they are not as lonely as maybe this girl?** Yes she tries her best to meet the needs of her grandchildren so that they can't be lonely. **And what does she do to make sure that they are not lonely?** To make them happy, to make their bed sheets where they sleep during night, to talk to them, to give them soap, enough food and to be close to them, to talk with them, to talk with different things of past things during night so that they can't be lonely anymore. **And when she thinks about some years ago could she always meet the needs of her children like today?** No. **What was different?** It is because of support of KwaWazee. **Did any of the other pictures maybe contributed that she could take better care of her children more? Could she contribute the 20 beans to whom helped her that she can take better care of her children?** [granny puts down 6 beans on KwaWazee, 7 beans on support Group and 7 beans on neighbors and friends 7] **Now I would like to know, what did the neighbors and friends that she can look after her children better now?** For example like today, I am not at home. I think I will be away for about two or three hours. But my neighbor can come and help with my children. 'Where is your grandmother? Did she leave you any food?' They say maybe no or yes. Ok come I can give you. Or somebody is sick when I am away. Neighbors and friends can help to give her tablets and other services. So that is why I said they are important for me. **And how does the support group take part of the change?** For example when I am sick or with other problems instead of stopping my grandchildren to go to school I say go to school because there is my group member will come and help me. Sometimes they bring food, water, firewood and so for those two or three days my grandchildren are able to study because there is no any need to go to find firewood because the firewood is there, the water is there. So my grandchildren congratulate me, say that bibi [grandmother] you have done essential things, very important things to join this group because it is helpful. **And the last thing KwaWazee. Can she explain how?** From the support I got from KwaWazee now I can manage to get essential needs for my grandchildren. So when now they come from the school the food is there, the heat, they wash the clothes, they wash the body. So they say Bibi we have changed nowadays. Our skin is smooth not like the past days. **And then when they go to their groups they discuss, they can play, sing. When they come back they tell me what they have been taught in their at the groups. So they sometimes get school uniform and material. Now they are happy, even me I am happy.** **And one last question in which ways does she feel proud that she can meet the needs of her grandchildren? That they are better now. How does she feel about it? How does it make her feel that she is able to provide for her grandchildren now?** I feel that I can live more years. **She wishes that she can live longer?** Yes. I wish and I pray for my god that if I can live for

many years longer to support my grandchildren. **How would she like her life to be for herself and your grandchildren in five years, in the future?** I like to improve the life of my grandchildren and me. For example now I have only two bed sheet, in five years maybe to have more bed sheet. Even the food we eat to get more fish, meat not to eat fish once a month, maybe three times per month, not to eat only daggar [dried fish]. Also my grandchildren to go to school for university education. Maybe to live save and in a comfortable way. **What is she able to do now so that she can get there?**

I wish if I could continue with my body to be in strong way. I can dig the shamba [garden], plant the different plants so I can get enough food to eat and then to sell so that I can improve the life of my grandchildren and myself. Because when you have more food, the pension I got, it is not necessary that I go and buy the food because I have more food. The others I sell and then I keep the money.

Asante sana.

Date of interview: 25/05/2012

Interviewer: Lisa

Translator: Levina

Code: 3 A

Gender: female

Age	67
Gender	female
Pension	5
PSS	3
Health Training	+
Self-defense training	+
Household Members	-
Tatutano	-

How old are you? I'm sixty-seven. **Who is living with you in your household?** I'm living alone. **When did you join KwaWazee?** About five years. **And when did she join the mutual support group?** Three years since I joined the mutual support group. **And did you do one of the following trainings: health training or self-defense training?** Yes. **Both?** Yes, both.

What kind of care do you get when you are sick; I would like to ask her. I'm frequently sick because I have got the pain in my – **In the knee?** Yes. And diabetes. **So when I'm sick the group member and my neighbor usually came to wash my clothes, to cook for me, they bring firewood, water, also care for me.** **And has this always been like this?** No. It is because we started with the group those groups under KwaWazee. **How was it before?** Before maybe if you have got two friends very close to you. One can come today and help you and the other day maybe he don't come so you have to ask another neighbor but it was very difficult. **So for her the care she is getting when she is sick improved?** Yes, improved than before because now you are sure that if I'm sick they will come and help me even if I will go to the hospital you have now any fear. **How happy is she with the service in the hospital she is getting when she is going to the hospital? How happy with the service?** Before they didn't care about us. But somehow nowadays in government hospitals when you go there and you introduce yourself that I'm older above sixty they can care you. They can say that you have no medicine, go and buy, but it depends [on] the workers, you know everyone has got different tax. **Can she explain further how it was before?** Before when we found there other people, young one, so you are just to mix with them and they push you behind. So you have to sit and wait until those are finished to be sad. So but now there is announcement there. So even if the doctor comes from his room, he saw you, you are very old, he is able to help you. **So does it mean they just take one by one? The announcement, like when you come and the next one comes and they just take you [one by one]?** We are not supposed to be in line - us grannies. **When she goes to the hospital, how is the procedure? She is going there and she is saying 'I need a doctor' and what happens then?** For example at Arubia Hospital, it is under Lydia's and government so you also have to be on line but there at the government hospitals they are not hospital they are health centers and nurseries. So the services is somehow good. **So you don't have to stand in line? If you are very sick you get first?** Yes but you have to produce your card to follow the procedure there, to go there and register yourself then they can also start to help you. **I just would like to get back to the beginning where she is saying that the care when she is sick is now better. And I would like to show her these pictures – you can please explain them to them and then I ask my question after you explained.** You can ask the question. **Who contributed how much to the change that the care is now better when she is sick?** [Granny puts 10 beans on KwaWazee, 7 beans on support group and three beans on neighbors and friends] **Please ask for the explanation why she put these beans here.** Starting from here, when neighbors and friends saw what the group do, now they are improving their services, they don't bring anything but they usually come to see you so that you can even talk to the group members to join them. **And the other two?** Because the formation of the group - the desk was from KwaWazee so KwaWazee is important when the training we got and what comes from KwaWazee. **And the mutual support group?** KwaWazee office usually teach us how to do but the group is performing or

implement by giving sugar, food and what and do everything for the sick person. **Do they need more training? Is there any other topic she would like to have training on? What the group can then perform?** Many trainings like income-generating activities, to visit and console each other even someone is not sick, to be more close and love each other. All of this is from KwaWazee. **Would she like to have more trainings from KwaWazee and if she would like to have more training on which topics?** In our group we usually make muds and other gifts but sometimes we look markets so if KwaWazee can teach us how to find market we will be happy. **How to find what?** Markets for their things they make for selling. **Does she think that she could also get this training from someone of the group? That someone of the group has the knowledge where to find markets?** Yes. **So why are they not asking the person who is in the group about this training?** No there is no one who know about it. **She is asking if KwaWazee can do training maybe for one or two group member of the group about marketing.** **I just have a question of clarity: Did she say that the neighbors now started to support her more because they want also to join the support group?** Yes. **Is that right?** Yes. **My last question would be is there still any improvement what she would like to have in the care she is getting when she is sick? Can there still be something improved in the care when she is sick?** Myself I'm satisfied what the groups are doing in carrying.

So my question to her is: To whom is she talking when she has worries or problems? My friend, I have close two friends, very close to me so when I have worries or problems I can talk to them. Also even in KwaWazee staff they are my friends. So I can also talk to them. **Is she also talking to the support group about problems?** Yes, even with my group members. Especially group leaders, so to one who can also talk to the members. **Which problems is she facing?** For example last year she was with the queries her neighbor because of this boundaries. The boundaries was supposed maybe to be her [tips on the floor] also the neighbor move some steps – **In her place?** Yes. Although from there she matches other conflicts among them. **And how did she solve the problems or the conflicts?** I went to the chairperson of the village, I tell him the problem, then we came here at the office, Jovinary and the chairperson and the neighbor came, we sit together and discuss, we also make clear about the boundaries. But these chairperson and the others, they didn't agree with the resolution. It seems that those chairperson – it was my right but I think those chairperson were beside my neighbor. **So from there KwaWazee helped me a lot.** During the meeting we wrote the minutes so KwaWazee helped me to type the minutes and produce five copies and distributed to them so that if the problem measure [comes up] again I have my support and the copies are in the office and other places. **Are there any other problems she is facing?** Other problems are sickness because as I said before I have diabetes and knee problems so KwaWazee supported me a lot. **The pension I got I usually use the money to go to the hospital.** **Before joining KwaWazee how did she solve problems or conflicts like the one with the boundary?** I was supported by the government.

Can she explain how she got the support from the government? Before joining KwaWazee the same problem was there but I go to the chairperson and with his cabinet they came and make clear about your boundaries but you have to pay them 10 to 20.000. **And now she didn't have to pay?** No, this time I didn't pay. **How come?** After realizing that they are staff member of KwaWazee. **Asante.**

Date of interview: 25/05/2012

Interviewer: Lisa

Translator: Levina

Code: 3 B

Gender: female

Age	68
Gender	female
Pension	3
PSS	3
Health Training	+
Self-defense training	+
Household Members	sister
Tatutano	-

How old are you? I'm sixty-eight. **And who is living with you in your household?** I'm living with my sister, that one [granny shows on the granny next to her] **When did you join KwaWazee?** Three years ago. **And when did she join the mutual support group?** Also three years. **Did she also do the health training and the self-defense training?** Yes.

And I would like to ask her the question if she has enough to eat and to drink nowadays? Really I am happy and I thanks very much because now I get enough food and enough drink. Even if I'm disabled but I can afford. **How was it before?** It was somehow difficult before even if we are two. My sister started to care when I was three months it is when my mother passed away. So I was born disabled with one leg. Also when my father died we lived together all of the time. Everyone has no children. But the condition about food and drink was not good. But after joining KwaWazee now we are happy that when we get money we buy maize flavor, rice and other things. **How easy or how difficult is it for her to go to different places, to go to the village, to go to see the neighbor, to go to**

the church? I'm just putting my health foot to go to the church, to see neighbors and other places during the burial, during the ceremony. I tried my best to move around. **So she can move wherever she wants to or are there any restrictions where she would like to go but she cannot?** Other places are difficult to move there, so I have to pay for the motorcycle like today I paid to the motorcycle to come here. **How far are they living?** Three kilometres. **And which places can she not reach by her own? [For] Which places does she need a motorbike?** For example from Kimurab to here Nshamba I have to hire motorcycle also when I want to go to Kabari, Kabari is another village, some about also three kilometres. So I usually move around because the church is near. **Before, has this always been like this? That she is even walking or she is taking a motorbike to go somewhere like to come here? If she thinks about some years ago.** I was able to move because I was still young. But because now I'm older and according to my problem it is not able. As I'm getting old then my leg are not fit again as you see. **And that was before it was still the same? And now it 's getting –** Before it was the same but I didn't - like this [shows how to do with two different long legs] **And now she cannot do it any more?** Yes. **And maybe just a couple of years ago? Like before she joined KwaWazee? Has there been a change since she joined KwaWazee in how fare she can move to other places?** Yes, there is many improvement. After joining KwaWazee and after selected to be a health assistant – they usually come here every month. So now I'm better. **I was not able to come here and collect my pension or to move around but after practicing exercises and drinking tea, water and use vegetables, now I have improved.** **And did she have the money for the motorcycle before KwaWazee?** We usually paid them if they come for training we paid them the transport. **Does she feel stronger now?** Yes.

I would like to move on to her and my question is what is pleasure for her? You know pleasure? You know the word? Pleasure. Like fun. Having fun, enjoying. My question is what is pleasure for her? When does she feel pleasure or fun or enjoy something? Like today, because I not always come here. My sister comes and collect the pension for me. So for example when you come for the health training and meet with other people it is the time when I enjoy also during the celebration of Old People's Day it was a very good time for me. **So for her, she enjoys interacting with other people?** Yes. Also she is very happy when she is interacting with other people. **What kind of celebrations is she doing? What does she celebrates?** For example at the church, also when maybe I have the guests, maybe for example even if you can say let us go and visit Dina [name of one of grannies in the focus group] tomorrow. **It is the time of celebrating. And what are they doing together when they have this celebration where they are going to Dina to meet?** Also she said during Christmas and Easter. **For example if I have my guest come from different place I have to invite my neighbors and they usually contribute something for me maybe beans, firewood, water, also they come to cook for the guest. Then when the guest come they come to welcome them, bring them food and everything,**

dance, sing and enjoy. Nowadays there is also even the music in the village. You can hear some music also today Dina for example their guests come to see Dina, they also even call the musician. **Before joining KwaWazee was it the same or was there anything different when they were celebrating when she gets visitors?** It is different. **What is different?** Before because I haven't enough money I was supposed to go and borrow cooking pot, plates and other things but now because I have my pot, I have everything even the house now so I don't worry even if I have guests I have my utensils which I can't use for every day. It is for the guests. So when the guests come I have to produce this. **You just said even there is a house now. Yes. Is it new that she has a house?** The house was there but it was one house like that but you now here we usually construct a small house for cooking and keeping other things and the big one is for guest and sleeping in there. So before they have only one house but now they have expanded the small one. **For cooking?** For cooking and keeping other – but it costs 7 sheet – it is somehow big. **7.000?** 7 iron sheet, the roof. So it is big. **When did she build this small house for cooking?** It is about one and a half year. The money for buying iron sheet it comes from our pension, me and my sister, we contributed, together because we are only two sisters and that place is for ours, we don't have any child, both of us. **So they have a big house and a small. In the small they are cooking and?** Yes, and keeping maybe water cans and firewood and everything. **And where are the guests sleeping? In the big house?** Yes. **With them?** Yes. So you can see many people who have that small one. **For cooking?** We call it kitchen. They have to cook in the big one and also to sleep in the big one. And keep everything in the big house. **And did they expand the big house or did they just build the cooking house? One and a half years ago when they bought the iron sheets? What did they build with it? Just the cooking house or did they also extend their own house?** They were just cooking outside but during the rain season it was a problem for them. And there were no other places for keeping maybe goat, even here goats usually keep the goats during the night in the kitchen. **Could she every imagine before joining KwaWazee that she could build this kitchen room?** They couldn't.

Date of interview: 25/05/2012

Interviewer: Lisa

Translator: Levina

Code: 3 C

Gender: female

Age	72
Gender	female
Pension	3
PSS	3
Health Training	+
Self-defense training	+
Household Members	sister
Tatutano	-

How old are you? I'm seventy-two. **The question who is living with you in a household is probably not necessary [because she is living with her sister who was interviewed before]** **When did she join KwaWazee?** We joined together with my sister, about three years. **So she also got both trainings: health training and self-defense training?** Yes.

My question is what do you do to improve your health? First I make sure that I get vegetables, I eat and have enough food and I make sure that I take enough food, I drink water, also I practice exercises and also even if I'm old but for older people sicknesses – you frequently – so when I'm sick I make sure that I go to the hospital very early. That's what I'm doing. **Has this always been like this?** No, it was not like this. **Can she explain?** All this new things I learn from KwaWazee. **But can she explain further how it was in the past?** Before I didn't know the importance of fruits, for example now we have many avocado but we didn't mind to eat it and other fruits, vegetables and drinking water. We really not drink water. And also practicing exercises – we didn't know the importance of exercises. Also drinking tea every morning because we usually go to work from morning until to twelve. And when you come we prepare the food. But now I'm taking my tea in the morning that is why I can say that my health is now improved. **What is she now more able to do? Now that her health situation has improved.** I was not able to go and fetch water but after practicing I can now take a half cane and fetch water, also to move around the village, to weed in the shamba [house/hut]. Before I was able to weed about to two hours but now I can weed for three hours. **Please get a look on these pictures. My question is who contributed how much to the change of her improved health?** [granny put 12 beans on KwaWazee, 5 beans on support group and 3 beans on neighbors and friends] **Please ask her for the reasons why she put beans on these different pictures.** KwaWazee gave me food, also educate me how to use vegetables and fruits and the different important things to do in order to improve my health. Then the group also supports me even if I'm sick. For example they bring 5.000 [TSH], they bring food, water and other things. So even if I'm sick but I'm sure that there is my fellow who will come. So these two improved – they support me very much to improve my health. **And the**

neighbors? Also there are my neighbors and friends who come and see me, bring firewood or make firewood for me, bring water and console me when I'm sick. **I have one question to the group. If she thinks back to the time when the group was formed, I would like to know how they organized themselves. How did they organize that everyone who is sick gets 5.000 [TSH]? How did they discuss this? How was the process that in the end now everybody who is sick gets 5.000 TSH?** During our meeting we discussed and agreed on each other; some said 3.000, some said 4.000 but at the end we agreed that we have to contribute 4.000 according to the prices for the things today. Also we bring sugar and other things. **Who gave them the idea that they contribute money to the person who is sick?** Our chair person, after hearing that other groups are supporting each other, so with one who come with the idea. **Was it a problem to find a solution that some were saying 3.000 TSH, some 4.000 and now they are doing 5.000?** But all our source is KwaWazee of what I have mentioned before. We all agreed each other. **Have there been any other problems in the group since the group is formed?** No. **No?** There are no problem. **If KwaWazee would stop paying the pension would the group still be there and support the group members? Does she think that the group will always last even if KwaWazee is stopping paying the pension?** **Myself, I think that if KwaWazee stops even our group can last.**

My question would be to her if she is able to carry out tasks: writing, reading and counting? If she can do these tasks? **She didn't go to school so she knows somehow counting for example the money but reading and writing no. Her father didn't take her to school.** **So she didn't get education at school. Yes. But does she learn something along the way even she didn't go to school? Has she learned new things during the course of her life?** **Yes, I learned through the life because when I'm counting one plus two I know that it is three.** **And where has she learned those things?** **My father thought me for example maybe sometimes he was able to send me to the shop so he has to tell this is 5 Schillings, this is 10 this is what.** **And is she learning something from the members of the group?** We learn many things from groups to talk to each other, to make muds and other gifts for keeping in the walls, they are usually making homecrafts things. So we learn many things, muds and I don't know how you call it in English. They are selling them and even today they said ,if - we didn't know' they will come with some.

My question would be if she thinks back ten years ago, since this ten years what was the biggest change? She said that now she can see that the life of - many things have improved then ten years ago. But I was asking in which part. **Yes. Nowadays many things have changed from local to modern. Now many people live modern life.** For example in the ten past years we didn't know even the mosquito nets but now we use mosquito nets. Also we sleep in a nice and good bed and bed sheets. We use mattresses now. The past ten years we were just find the grasses somewhere and put as mattress. **Does she contributed something herself to the change? Yes. What?** **She thinks that i have**

helped through maybe participating in community issues with joining them to the meeting. Also they were paying taxes in the past years as community member. So she thinks that these taxes maybe can contributed some to bring the changes. **Asante sana.**

Date: 26.05.2012

Interviewer: Lara

Translator: Levina

Code: 8A

Gender: male

Age	69
Gender	male
Pension	2
PSS	1,5
Health Training	+
Self-defense training	--
Household Members	-
Tatutano	- (too small)

How old is he? I'm sixty-nine. **Okay. And who is living with him in his household?** I'm living alone.

And when did he join KwaWazee? Two years now. **And when did he join the mutual support group?**

One year and a half. **And did he take part in the health training?** No.

What does he learn in the mutual support groups? He said that maybe you live in darker places, so you decide to have a torch so that you can get the light. So being in the group it is like that. He was living in dark, but now he sees. **Can he maybe explain a little further? Like how exactly did the group enlighten his life?** First, I learned how to live with people because I'm only the man in the group. **He's the only man in the group?** Yes. Also, because I live alone, when I'm sick the group help me or support me. With the support of the group also I learned about how to carry different activities because we are carrying income-generating activities in our group. We have small shop in our group. We buy things and sell them.

Who cares about him or who loves him? His neighbor. Okay. **And how does he know his neighbors care about him?** My neighbor usually supports me when I'm sick and if I'm better. So he usually cook, come and console because I live alone. But I have my children, they live far away from here. One live in Arusha, she's schooling, the other, they have their own families. **Mhm. So they are not**

there to take care of him? And has it always been like this that his neighbor cared for him? Yes, it is always like this. **And has there been a change since he joined KwaWazee in the way he gets care from his neighbors?** There is not any change before and after joining KwaWazee. I usually also send her to collect my pension when I'm sick. **The neighbor?** Yes. **Okay. And has the care that he can give to his neighbor changed since he joined KwaWazee?** Yes, there is a change because before getting pension I was always supported her in small things like firewood but now I can buy the sugar and the other things to her when she's sick.

If he looks at the picture, what do the women want to achieve? [showing picture of demonstration] He thinks that they want to join together to celebrate their day as older people. They meet to celebrate together so that they can remember one day some day we joined together and talk, sing, celebrate because it was our day.

And can you tell me where does he interact with other people? During the wedding ceremonies, in church, also in market, for example today, you can go there in Nshamba, there is many, many people moving around, talking, buying. And during the meeting of villagers. **And has he always been interacting this much?** Yes. **Has his interaction with other people changed since he joined KwaWazee?** There is a change before and after KwaWazee. **And what kind of change?** Because KwaWazee is like a door opener for me because now as I said before that I was living in dark but being in group and KwaWazee it is like a light for me. So now I saw that to stay inside myself it is not good so I have to move around to talk to people, to share experience, to get different information about the country, about our community. **Mhm. And can you explain these to all of them and then can he tell us who has contributed the most to the fact that he is now interacting with more people?** [puts 9 beans on KwaWazee, 5 on support group, 6 on neighbors and friends, 0 on family and 0 on myself] **Okay. So now can he tell us how has KwaWazee improved his interaction with other people?** KwaWazee, I get the knowledge during KwaWazee and learned about many things, so and they also gave me the support of money, so I'm confidence now. If I go everywhere I can stand up and talk about a certain issue because I'm confident. Also I'm clean, my clothes are clean because I wash my clothes, I have soap. I'm not hungry because I get enough food, so I'm strong, I can go everywhere without any fear. **And how has the mutual support group improved his interaction?** When the group supported me, when we are in group we usually give the information, receive the information from each other. Today there will be a meeting or the next week there will be a holiday or a wedding ceremony. So from the group I get different information and we decided to go somewhere to help or to see each other. Even if there is a political meeting I usually get information from the group, many information. **Okay. What kind of political meetings are those?** For example during the elections, where those leaders are coming to tell us, to beg to vote for them, they usually call for the meetings in the village. **Okay. Did he go to these meetings before the mutual support**

group informed him? Yes, because I usually also get the information from my neighbor, that is why I decided to put the beans here, my friends and my neighbor. **Can he just tell us more how his neighbors and friends help him to interact?** Information about meeting and different ceremony, I get it from neighbors and friends and we usually accompany each other. **Maybe some can come to your house and ask you 'Do you have the information about something?'** You said 'No, so are we supposed to go?' So you decide to go together.

Date: 26.05.2012

Interviewer: Lara

Translator: Levina

Code: 8B

Gender: female

Age	62
Gender	female
Pension	3,5
PSS	3,5
Health Training	+
Self-defense training	+
Household Members	Mother, 4 children
Tatutano	+ (1)

How old is she? I'm sixty-two. **And who is living with her in her household?** I live with my mom and my four children. We are six. **Her children or her grandchildren?** Children! **Okay. When did she join KwaWazee?** About three years and a half. **And the mutual support group?** 2008. Okay. **And did she take part in the health training or in the self-defense training?** Yes, both.

Even the child of this one are the part of Tatutano and self-defense for girls. **So her children are still pretty young or how old is the child who's taking part?** This one represents her mother. **Oh, then it makes sense.** But also she has a problem. Her husband chased her away, he was disabled. Her husband chased her away with the children. So now she's livig to her mother's house. So that is why we decided also to put her in KwaWazee before the age. **So she's also receiving a pension?** No. **And the mother is sixty-two?** About ninety. The children of that one receive the pension on the part of their grandmother. **And how old is her child who is taking part in Tatutano?** The one she is in Form

four, about eighteen. The second is in Form one, two are in Form one, so they are about sixteen, seventeen years.

Can I ask her something about the group, or who is actually taking part in the group? Her grandmother or her? Her. She is taking part in the group, okay. Then I can ask her if they have problems or conflicts in the group? We are just moving well up to now. And does she know about other groups who have had problems or conflicts? Yes. One group from Kimuro, they usually quarrel, they don't understand each other and there was a time when they decided to separate the group in two parts. One part decided to keep the goats, one side decided to keep the pigs. So that group had problems because they could not decide, they did not have the same opinion, maybe, about things? Yes, they have the different opinion, so they usually not understand each other. For example, there are pictures we use in the exercise, when we practice exercise, we usually give the picture to groups. So when the representative take those pictures to the group the chairperson said, the chair person does not represent the group in health issues but when the one take the picture to the group, the chair person said that I have to hold this picture so that to the right take this and... So how come that in their group they don't have such problems? We thank God because we are all listen to each other, respect to each other. So I think we are going well. We sit together. If the chairperson call the meeting we all respond, we listen to her and we discuss about our group. So you're saying that they listen to the chairperson, and they decide. How do they do it that they all decide the same thing, what is their method? During the group meeting some, everyone come with different ideas, so we discuss and choose the better ideas and what can we afford because we are grannies. For example, for the case of small shop we have now, one bring the ideas and we discuss. And because I live with girls we decided maybe we can use these girls to go and find materials for us so that we can start the small shop in our group. So if someone come with the idea we just discuss and then come up with the decision. And this group that she mentioned that split up, the group that split up, is it working better now that they split up or are they still having conflicts? And why does she think is it working now? Now the group is better because there was a meeting of resolution, they sit and solve the problems.

I would like to know in which cultural and religious activities she participates? I participate like other community members in religious activities like cleaning the church, give the service to the pastors. Also in my community we have this mutual support groups during the burial ceremony, so we even participate. Maybe if there is a burial you can go there and cook, drink water, console others. And is that the mutual support group from KwaWazee or different groups? Different groups. Different groups for burials and then they also organize themselves. And has this always been like this if she thinks back maybe five to ten years, has she been participating in as many religious and cultural activities? There is not any change. It was always like this before.

What were they doing there? [showing picture of demonstration] When we came here in the morning we have to walk around the street as you see and holding our announcement papers for the community and other leaders, so it's a happy day for us because we meet together, we discuss, we enjoy, so we are very proud about that day. **And what do they discuss? How can we improve without going back. Improve what?** We just thank KwaWazee, first we thank KwaWazee for the support, also discuss about our fellow who are not getting support and how can we improve our lives after KwaWazee. **Mhm. And has she done something like this, like demonstrations, has she done this before? Before she started celebrating Old People's Day? Has she done other different demonstrations in the past?** I had, confirmation, also wedding ceremonies. **Can she now tell us with the beans who of these pictures has contributed the most to her taking part in the demonstration on Old People's Day?** [puts 10 on KwaWazee, 7 on support group, 3 on family, 0 on neighbors and friends and 0 on myself] **Okay. And now can she tell us how has KwaWazee contributed?** From the pension I got and my children and my mother I can afford many needs, for example I can wash clothes, eat and have enough food. So I'm happy and even my family is happy, so I'm able to go to celebrate with my fellow community members and others because I'm not worry again. If you have feelings you can't do anything, you stay at home and feel lonely. **If you what?** If you have feelings, if you are under stress, you can't celebrate with the others, but when you are happy, you are happy and you feel to go to celebrate with the others. So KwaWazee makes me to be happy. **And the support group?** Also the group makes me to be happy because I interact with each other in the group, we talk, we share information, where can we go today, there is a ceremony there, we can go and celebrate and come at home. So I'm happy because even the group, I participate well in the group and group members, they are all together, so we share many things and we get many information from each other. **And the family? How did it contribute to the demonstration?** Because I'm comfortable with my family and we sit together and discuss. Also, we also agreed where can we now go because I have my girls, they can say that 'Mom, go there, it's your day, we will be here cooking and do anything.' So we communicate and participate together. So I'm happy, even if I am away, I'm sure that everything will be going well. **And where did the idea come from to do this demonstration?** The idea comes from KwaWazee. We always not following the information because the older people's day is usually announced in radios, in TVs, so it was the idea come from KwaWazee because they are the ones who get to any information through the radio and TV. Before, we didn't know that there is the day for older people. **Okay. And she said that during the Old People's Day they come together and they discuss how they can improve the lives of the elderly people? So what ideas do they come up with, what did they discuss? How can they improve the life of the older people?** We discuss how to improve our activities of income-generating and those things which KwaWazee implemented to us, education of how to keep goats, how to health exercise and

the other things. So we usually emphasize ourselves that we have to keep on with these things. Okay. And also I'd like to ask her what rights does she have as a citizen of Tanzania? She said that she has the right to live free, independently and to hold the capital she has, no one is supposed to grab the capital from each other, and to walk everywhere, to do what you want to do. Mhm. And how does she know that she has those rights? One day she participated in the training of human rights, land law and other trainings here at KwaWazee. And that's where she learned about her rights or did she know them before? No.

Date: 26.05.2012
 Interviewer: Lara
 Translator: Levina
 Code: 8C
 Gender: female

Age	65
Gender	female
Pension	4
PSS	4
Health Training	+
Self-defense training	+
Household Members	3 grandchildren
Tatutano	+ (1)

How old is she? Sixty-five. **And who is living with her in her household?** I live with my three grandchildren. **And when did she join KwaWazee?** 2008. **And the mutual support group?** Also 2008. **And did she take part in the health training or self-defense training?** Yes, both. **And do her grandchildren take part in Tatutano?** Only one, others are small.

She told me that she has three grandchildren. And I would like to know how well can she teach her grandchildren cultural norms and values? The oldest is in Standard 7, after coming from school and eat the food, I usually, we plan on the week, what are we going to do in the shamba and other activities around our home, so it is like a routine. So I say today you are going to do this, this and this. Also the small one, today you are going to fetch water, today you are going to weed the shamba. So I educate them those things, how to live, how to respect other people. For example if some come to visit me when I'm not around, it has to take coffee, to respect her and to take coffee to give her or

him. And if she thinks about a couple of years back has this been the same or was there a change?

The past years? **Yea, maybe five years back or ten years back.** There's a difference. **And what kind of difference?**

One part of education, the past five years the children were not able to go to school in case you force them, wake up and go to school. Some were going to school but they just play in the bush and come back. But nowadays children like to go to school. How come now they like to go to school? Because now many children **recognized** that so those who live better lives are those who get education. So they try their best to get high education so that they can live better lives, be rich, have a car, motorcycle. **What does she think is the reason that they realized this now?** For example, neighbors for those who have educated their children, after getting the work they come back with money, and things they contract, better houses for their parents, so they see, huh, so somebody schooling she came with money, with bags, with what. Yes, so it is those who area around the village.

So does she see a change in the way she can educate her children since she has joined KwaWazee?

Yes. **And what kind of change?** For example, past years, they are just waking up and go to school without even taking tea or water, but now after realizing that the water is important, when I make SODIS water, I usually make sure that every morning before going to school they have to take one glass of water and when they are back they have to, they get tea. **So also through learning in our group and KwaWazee I realized that children have to be close, you have to be close with your, maybe, grandchildren or my children and not let them go everywhere every time they want.** **Now she's saying that now they can have tea and water before school so that helps but if she thinks more about the way that she can educate her children, how has that changed as well, or just the way in which she provides things for her children, or also maybe the way in which they listen to her, they respect her, has that also changed?** **There is a change cause now the children respects more their grandmothers and grandfathers because even if they are, maybe they have been in the group meeting, after coming back the children usually ask them, how was the meeting, what did you learn there? And because they know that we got the money, from the money we buy pens, exercise books, so they respect us.**

I would like to ask who loves her? My neighbor and my siblings. **And is she able to support them?**

Yes, even now I support them. So everyone tries his best or her best. **In the morning to know how, you wake up, how was the night, how do you do, where are you going today, are you going to work at the shamba? So they usually go to each other to get information and to know how somebody is doing.** **And has she always been able to do this?** Yes. **For example, maybe something happens, one of us maybe is away, you have to know somebody is not here today, so maybe they go to another shamba and maybe do something bad for our neighbor, so you have to be sure that, make sure that everything is good.** **And if she thinks about before she joined KwaWazee, is there a change in the**

way she can care for and support her loved-ones? There is not any change. Even if they are not getting the pension but they are not jealous for me.

I would like to ask her if she asked her group members how their lives have changed since they joined KwaWazee what would they say? They can say that their lives have improved because they have many things which they don't have before during KwaWazee. We go to the pension every month, we meet with different people during the payday, people from Kabare, Nshamba, and we exchange ideas, experiences. For example, there is this we call local stores, we constructed local stores for our member, not all of them, but some. So they can say that KwaWazee gave us food, gave us goat, we keep goat now, also have a clear place for cooking, we have tanks of water and many things. Mhm, okay. So she mentioned a lot of things that have improved since she became a member of KwaWazee. And now I would like her to show us which of the pictures have contributed the most to the change? [puts 13 on KwaWazee, 6 on support group, 1 on myself, 0 on family and 0 on neighbors and friends] So can she say what exactly KwaWazee has done to improve the life of the older people? You know if you are older you are not able to earn an income because you are not strong again, you can't work. So after getting support from KwaWazee the older people manage to buy sugar, to buy soap, clothes, medicine and other things to get enough food and drink. So that is why I decided to put many beans for KwaWazee. And the support group? After getting to KwaWazee we have now improved and we started different systems, for example we are now more close. During the group meeting we discuss, we share experience, we decided to visit somebody even if he's not sick, only if he's got any challenge. You can't stay two days without visiting your group member, without knowing the information, getting any information concerning him or her. So we are like siblings now. And herself? What has she done to improve the life of the older people? Myself, I'm a chairperson of my group, so I usually make sure that I put my effort that my group can improve, so I advise grannies, I am a health member committee. Also, I learned self-defense, even if other grannies are not in KwaWazee but I try my best to give them the knowledge I have. And where did she get this knowledge that she is now giving on to other members? I usually talk to my fellow grannies how important it is to use vegetables, fruits, drink water. Also about the will-writing about the future life. So I usually talk together that even if you are older you can walk around the shamba, you can go and visit your, so that not to stay at one place for a long time. Can you ask her how did she become chair of her group? I was appointed with my group member. Mhm. And how did they appoint her? How does it work, how does it go? When we formed our group the staff of KwaWazee was there, so we asked the group member who do you think will be our chairperson, so they raised their hand and appointed me. Then other were asked if they are okay with me, they said yes, so they raise up their hand. So they counted who has raised their hand. Yes. And now if she thinks about the life of her grandchildren, has there also been a change? If she would ask her grandchildren now

how their lives have changed since she joined KwaWazee, what would they say? They can say that now we have improved because we have three to four bed sheet, we sometimes get fish or dagga, we get soap, exercise book, shoes, sweater and shoes and other school material. Even if we come from the school we are not worry about food. And can she show us also for the children who is responsible for this positive change? [puts 6 beans on KwaWazee, 8 on support group, 6 on myself, 0 on family and 0 on neighbors and friends] So how has KwaWazee contributed to the improvement of her children's life? KwaWazee contributed by supporting school materials and also the pension because it could be hard for me to afford these things for my grandchildren. Mhm. Does KwaWazee provide school material besides the pension? Yes, every year we support uniform, shoes, exercise books, and for secondary school we pay school fees. And the support group? For example if my grandchildren is sick or has a problem and maybe I have no money or other thing I go to the group and the group support me. Even if I'm not around maybe somebody chase them at school, maybe they want something, the child can come to the group member and told her that we need something, then they can give her. Okay. And herself, what does she do to improve the lives of her children? One of my grandchildren, both of her parents died and the two, their father also died. So I make sure I put my effort to see that all of my grandchildren improve their lives, I cook for them, I care them, about school, about the clothes, how do they live in the future so that is why I have goats and I make sure I cultivate something in my land so that I get enough food. Maybe if there is a problem I can sell one of my goat in order to make sure that my grandchildren improve. Okay, and this improvement of her grandchildren, how does she think will this affect their future? Cause she's saying that the life of her grandchildren has improved and how will this affect or influence the future of her grandchildren, what does she think? They can be ready for their lives because if they manage to complete their education and go for higher education with the support of KwaWazee I think that they manage to carry out their lives.

Date of interview: 28/05/2012

Interviewer: Jana

Translator: Levina

Code: 9 A

Gender: male

Age	78
Gender	male
Pension	4

PSS	4
Health Training	-
Self-defense training	-
Household Members	1 grandchild
Tatutano	-

Now I would like to start. And I would ask the first person how old he is. 78. Then I would like to know who is living with him in his household? They are two. Only his grandchildren and himself. When did he join KwaWazee? 2008. And when did he join the mutual support group? 2008. Did he do the health training? No. Is his grandchild in Tatutano? No. He is not in Tatutano. He is also not getting the pension. Because his parents are still alive? Yes. How old is his grandchild? 12 years. 12 years ok. Now I would like to show him this picture. And as you can see there is a chair of a mutual support group and she is looking self-confident and strong. And I want to know if he knows a person like this? Repeat the question please. If he knows a woman who is strong like this? Or a person strong like this? Yes I know a person who is like this. And the person he is thinking about. Why is she or he self-confident? He said that from god he got confident. Are people in his group self-confident? Yes. Yes. And why? They are able to get, to implement those things we taught them from KwaWazee. And what kind of things? For example the better use of our pension money, the being in the group doing the income-generating activities. And he himself, is he self-confident? Yes. Yes. Yes I am self-confident. And has this always been like this? Was he always as self-confident? It was not be like this because before getting the pension, many of the time I was under stress, thinking what will I go to get soap. If there is a burial in the village I am supposed to contribute the money or Nzndizi [cooking banana] but where I am going to get the money. But after getting the pension now I am feeling ok. So I can do what I wanted to do without any disturbants. Ok. Asante sana. Ok. I would like to continue now and I would like to ask the first person again. What does he think, who could be proud of him? Who could be proud of him and why? Yes, there are persons who can be proud of him. Who? Yes, who? Which person is proud of him? Somebody is proud about him or he is proud about somebody? Somebody is proud about somebody. My neighbor, my friend. Maybe people who met with him, group members, friends and neighbors. And why are they proud of him? The way you live in your life, if you respect yourself, you are smart, you have got income or materials (2./3/4.?) (NEIN, hat ja nix mit shelter zu tun) like big land, cows or goats and be firm with your banana tree and coffee tree. So he said that somebody is proud of him. And is he proud that he can care for his grandchildren? Yes, he can because if you love the children, your grandchildren, when you get maybe pension you take for them you don't like to eat yourself, like to divide with themselves. For example sometimes I live with my grandchildren, but sometimes their parents have no money for

exercise book and pen but I usually gave him the money for to buy this. So they say that my grandfather is, I am proud of him because he usually support me. And has it always been like this that he can support his grandchild? No because if you have nothing you can't do. Now I would like to ask him maybe to show who contributed to the change that he can now care better for his grandchildren. [grandfather puts down 10 beans on KwaWazee, 2 beans on support Group, 6 beans on myself, and 2 beans on Family] You can continue now. And can he explain a little bit how each one contributed that he can now care better for his children and therefore he is more proud? Starting from KwaWazee he said that because the money he got as a pension which makes him to be proud because he is smart, he can have something, capital, like goat and pig. So people are proud of him. He can stand and talk with other people. Also he can use the money to support his grandchildren. Ok. And the other ones? Here, myself I contributed, for others to be proud of me, because the money I save or keep in my pocket. If there is a burial all the times in the community, I used that money to contribute, so that I am not supposed to go and beg for my son or other community members or my neighbors and friends. Yes because I have my own money. (auch?) JA, wegen nicht mehr betteln! Ok. Very good. And the support group? For those community members who know that I am in the group and when we go to see somebody and to support him if he is sick or during the burial. They said that ah somebody, they are in the groups and they can support others. So they are proud of us. The group makes me to be proud. Also if somebody can meet you see that you are proud you are in the group and the group makes this and this, it is good. Ok. And the last one? The family? As I said before that I am not usually disturbing my family, but I am begging everything from them every time, so after the raising that I can manage to do things from me. They said that they are proud of me. Now I would like to ask him again. I want to know what does he make to make sure that his and his grandchildren's needs are covered in the future? Please repeat the question? What can he do to make sure that his own and the grandchildren's needs are covered in the future? I make sure that and I emphasize my children, my grandchildren to go to school. That they can get high education if they wishes. Maybe if not, I also have to teach him different ways or approaches maybe farming, cultivating, farming, so if he can fail to school he is able to do some other works. (auch 14). And where did he learn cultivating and things like this? Where did he get the knowledge from? From my parents. Asante.

Date of interview: 28/05/2012

Interviewer: Jana

Translator: Levina

Code: 9 B

Gender: male

Age	76
Gender	male
Pension	4
PSS	4
Health Training	-
Self-defense training	-
Household Members	3 grandchildren
Tatutano	+ (2)

Now I come to the next person. How old is he? 76 years old. **Who is living with him in his household?** My wife, three grandchildren, my son and his wife. His son and his daughter in law have no children. **Have no children? So the grandchildren are not from them?** They are not from them. Their parents are there but they are not living there, they just go away. **Ok. And when did he join KwaWazee?** Four years now. **And when did he join the mutual support group?** After getting the pension he also registered in the group. **And did he also do the health training?** No. **No.** The group did not do the health training. **Is not taking part in the health?** Yes. **Ok.** Because we started with 20 groups. **Are the grandchildren who are living with him in Tatutano?** Only two. **The other one is too small?** Too small. Yes. **Ok. Asante.** Only two get the pension. **And why are only two getting the pension?** Revina: We don't always take care of the children. **Ok. I would like to move to the next question, to him. And I want to know if there are situations when persons he is knowing are feeling alone?** Yes I know person. **And in what situations are they feeling alone?** For example if he is a man he has no piece of land, has no wife, has no money, so he is poor. **And what is he thinking could the person do that he is not anymore lonely?** If somebody is able to do work or he is strong, he can do work in other place, maybe in the shamba [garden; land around the house] of some people then he can get money he can maybe buy his own land or find someone to live with maybe the owner and find other alternatives. **And does he think that there is a difference between pensioners and not-pensioners concerning loneliness?** He saying yes. **And why?** For example there are women who live without the husband. But because they can the pension they can afford to get their basic needs. But for those who have no pension and they have no husband they have to work as day-labor or they have nothing. So there is a different for those who get the pension and those who not get the pension. **And why are people who are getting the pension less lonely?** Because they use the money from the pension to send somebody to fetch water, also they are not under emotion. **Sorry, what are**

they not? Under emotion. **Under stress?** Yes under stress. Also many of them are in groups, so through groups they can share, exchange experience with other group members. **So he is thinking that the groups helping to be less lonely?** The group help somebody to be less lonely because during the meeting you interact with different people. Also you get friends from the group. So even there is no time of meeting you can go and visit your friend. You are not dirty, you are clean, your clothes are clean. Yes. **So he himself, is he also feeling less lonely because of the group?** Yes. For example when I am sick the group come and visit me and support me. When there is a burial, maybe my relative passed away the group also come, visit me. So from that I feel that I am less lonely. **Ok. Asante Sana.** Also during the interaction of group meeting I meet with my friend and we share, we discuss and we exchange ideas. **Thank you very much. Now I would like to ask the second person. I want to show him this picture and I want to know what is he thinking about this girl?** He think that the child is lonely. **Lonely?** So he is waiting for somebody to help him. **Why could she be lonely? What could be the reason? What does he think?** He thinks that maybe that the child lived with maybe grandmother, grandfather. So her parents are not there again. So he is asking herself that what will be my future. Maybe if my mother was there and would love me then they care me and those who I live with. **Ok. And I want to know if he thinks that his own grandchildren are sometimes thinking about those things? Because he told us that his son and his wife are not the parent of his grandchildren. Are the grandchildren of him missing their own parents sometimes? My grandchildren I think they don't do like as this one because when she- they say that you are there my grandfather, my grandmother is there. Maybe someday my mother will come and see us. But they go to school, they have food, they eat, they play, so I can't say that there is time when they are sad for thinking about their mother and father.** **Ok. So can he tell us how the relationship to his grandchildren is? How they are dealing with each other?** They usually asking me, when are you going to get the pension this month? So when I come here to collect my pension he says that our grandfather will come with meat, with mandazi, so they are happy because I care about them. And from the pension they give me, because two of them also get the pension, I bought for them school materials and they go to school. **When they come, so now is the time of collecting coffee, so when they come we work together in the shamba [garden], they help me, maybe some small things they can do. So we are living a happy live. We play together as grandfather and grandchildren, they always do the house.** **Ok. If he is thinking about the time before they were getting the pension. Was there a change? There is a change. Yes? What changed or how was it before?** They were not happy very much with me because there is the time where I went to the market after coming back they ran after me and said 'why don't you bring us mandazi?'. I said I have no money. So they looks very sad. Also during the meal, when you eat the mandazi without meat or fish. They were very sad. But now after getting the pension when I come from the market or to collect my pension they ran after me

and take those things which I have bought. So they are happy. Now I would like to ask him. What he does to make sure that his own and his family's needs are covered in the future? Does he have savings or which income generating activities is he doing? I have the goat now. But still I am waiting for KwaWazee to give me another two. I have only one, the group now gave me one goat already. So he expect two from KwaWazee. Also I have five chicken in my house, like the goats, I can sell them also when I get problem. Also I have a pieces of land which is not planting and generating. I want to plant trees this year. And if he is thinking about some years ago, was he also able to plan for the future? Yes I had cows and goats before. That save me to care for my children. Where did he get the cows from? Or when? I bought it. Those days it was 200.270 TZS. And is there a change? Can he now do more savings than before? Also in the past I used to keep the savings but also it saved me to educate my children. And now I try my best to save.

Date of interview: 28/05/2012

Interviewer: Jana

Translator: Levina

Code: 9 C

Gender: female

Age	61
Gender	female
Pension	6
PSS	6
Health Training	-
Self-defense training	+
Household Members	4 grandchildren
Tatutano	-

Now I would like to come to her and ask her how old she is? Born in 1951. So 61. Who is living with her in her household? We are seven. My daughter, my son and my grandchildren. And since when did she join KwaWazee? For six years now. And the mutual support group? She joined KwaWazee for six years now, when did she join the support group? Also six years. And did she do any training like self-defense or health? Self-Defense only. Self-defense ok. Is any of her grandchildren in Tatutano? They are too small. Too small ok. Asante Sana. Also one son is disabled. No I would like to move to her and ask her if older people in her community are respected? Not all of them are

respected. **Who is respected and who is not? What is the difference between them?** For example myself I am a widow. **Sorry?** A Widow. So there are some people who come and try to grab my property because I live alone. I have no husband. So if they respect me, they would not come to grab my property like land and other things. **And the other ones who are getting respect? What for are they respected?** **If your life is better. Maybe you are smart, you wash your clothes, you have (no) money, you don't like to go and make something for him, for her. So they will respect you.** **Is she thinking that there is a difference of pensioners and non-pensioners in her community?** Yes. There is a difference. **And why?** **For example if they meet somebody with dirty clothes, she is not smart. They said that this one is a wizard. A wizard?** Yes. **They say that because of the way you look like.** **And she herself, is she feeling more respect than before? Some years ago?** Yes, there is a difference. **And can she show us? Can you maybe explain the pictures to them? And can she show us who contributed to the change that she is now getting more respect?** [granny puts 9 beans on KwaWazee, 3 beans on support group, 3 beans on myself, and 5 beans on family] **You told her, that I want to know who contributed? Yes. She doesn't have to put beans on every picture. Yes I told her. Asante Sana. Now I want to ask her what KwaWazee does, that she is now feeling more respected?** **Before KwaWazee I was living in other, in the house of some people. I was renting. But after the pension I started to save small, small money. Then from there also my knowledge was, I expanded the knowledge. So I tried to construct my own house where I am living now.** **And what did the support group do that she is now getting more respect?** **I am the chairperson of the group. So in our group we usually contribute the money, we have like a revolving fund, maybe one month we contribute, we divide in two, maybe 7000TZS for this one 5000TZS for this one, so from that money I can also do my own things.** **So this makes me to be respected also for other community members who saw that we met, we discuss, some day we go to see somebody. They respect us. What does the family do that she-?** **Because if you are not respected by your family member, also other people will not respect you. But because my family, we live well in our family, we love each other, we participate in all things. So they don't say bad things to me and other people. So that is why I said that the family contributed to me to be respected in the community.** **But the family respected her always or was there also a change when she got the pension?** **After getting the pension also the right to respect increased.** **Increased?** Yes. **And what did she herself do?** **I work very hard so that my family live a better life. Also myself I am not a drunker one. I love other people. So, I make sure that I don't have any conflict with community members.** **And is she thinking that the respect for her or that people show respect for her could be even improved? Could be better than today?** Yes. **Ok. And can she explain a little bit further how or what for?** **If I can expand my income, maybe construct a very, very good house. Maybe have a motorcycle. So the high, you live better in your life, the more people respect you.** **And what can she do now so that she is getting there?** **For example from the pension**

you get, you have to make sure that you save small, small money. Or you keep goats, chicken, pigs, so that one day you can sell those chicks and pigs and you earn income and can expand your life. Ok. Asante. Maybe just one last question to her. How does she know that this is how she can increase her respect, that other people respect her? Because she said to get more income and those things. How does she know how she can get more respect? The trainings and the learnings I got from KwaWazee when they visit our groups because you have income-generating activities the project is another group but also emphasize us also to develop ourselves. Ok. Asante. Now I would like to move to the next question and the next person. And I want to know how safe does she feel at home and outside? Around my house I can feel that I am safe. Yes, but outside I am not safe because there are some people around, some of them are my neighbors who tried very much to grab my pieces of land. So we have a conflict for a long time. And what could, can she or was she able to do to solve this problem? Or is this problem still there? The conflict is still there but I try my best to go to those who know the rules. So that they call them and discuss. They usually ask them why do you want to grab the pieces of land from that one because she is a widow. And who is it who knows the rules? Who knows the rules? There are those who work for the land rules. There are committees around. There are some people who selected to solve the problem with the issue of land of the people. And if she is thinking about physical violence. Some people go there and steel or beat people, bad things like this. How is she able to protect herself against violence, not thinking about the land things, but about physical violence? Because I learned many techniques how to defend myself. Because I am the one who is participating in self-defense for bibis [grandmothers]. We are learning different techniques maybe to protect yourself by having a knife during night close on your bed. When we hear something you can defend yourself. Or maybe we make, I don't know how you call it, we do it in the food, piri piri [chili paste], so they told them to prepare it and to put it in a bottle. So if somebody, if you are in any calm you can open that throw it in his eyes. Then you can make and horrify that people. To make noise that to make noise in around with voice that somebody can hear you in a short of time. Because they have taught many things how to defend some of them wants to kicking, to put hand here [in front of face and head], you can't harm your face. And how was it before she learned self-defense training? Before learning about this self-defense issues normally we usually keep the big knives under the bed. So maybe if somebody comes to you, you are sleeping but you just wake up and somebody is standing near you, you have to take that blanket maybe somebody is my enemy no I also have to take this close to him and then take my kanga and [showing to put a kanga around the head of the 'enemy']. Does the self-defense make her feel safer than before the techniques with the knives? Is she feeling more secure with the self-defense training? Yes, now I am feeling very safe because we are taught many things for example when you close your door during night you have to put something which make noise. If somebody push your

door you can hear now that something is not going well, so wake up and start. **And what could be improved so that she feels save outside? Because before she told us that is her house she feels quite save but outside not. So we want to know, what could be improved that she feels save all the time?** I think it is those what it is. I have to be there and to improve this and this, to communicate with the (law) system for a solution. **So that also the land problem can be solved?** Yes because if you take them to the law they can't disturb me anymore. Now after the death of my husband, they usually cut a pieces of land, this is belongs for the son, this belongs for that, so everyone has got a pieces of land. So there a some grand members who want to grab this pieces of land of my son and they said that it must not be like that. So when we call those committees, they came and sit, then you put the boundaries, they wrote new records then the problem- now they come next month to sit with granny members and me and my son. So that we putting the boundaries and get the solution about the land. **Does she have to pay for the help of those people from the committee?** Yes. **Is it a lot of money?** It is around thirty thousand. When you go there to open the case you pay ten thousand and when they promise you that we will come at a certain date you have to contribute maybe ten thousand. **And where does she take the money from?** From the pension I got from KwaWazee we produce money, maybe to have a small, small projects. As I told you before that I keep the goat, the pigs so that you- also you can keep your savings there but it is not necessary that you take all the money during the payday. Because you can take a small amount of money and leave some on your card because the record is there. **How does she know that she has to go to the committee to solve the land problem?** The (disguise) [idea] I got from KwaWazee during the training concerning land law and human rights. Before we know that there is a court but we were not able even to go there. We fear the police, we fear to meet the police and other people. But now, after getting the training, we know that there are some committee dealing with land issues. Also the court can save you in a matter like this. **Asante. Now one last question to her. I want to know what she likes her live to be like herself and her grandchildren in maybe five years? What does she like her life to be then?** She would like to construct a big and comfortable house, she would like to maybe have a bicycle, maybe that the grandchildren can use the basket to fetch water, go to the shamba [garden], go to the center and buy something. She would like the family to have mattress, enough mattress and sleep well. Have many bed sheets and blankets. So that they have money in their account, save money enough money. That is what she wishes that my life in five years could be. **So what is she doing now to get there?** She is making sure that the children must go to school and have a education. Also from the goat she keep she wants to reproduce more goats so that she can sell some and keep the money to do, maybe to construct a house or to have other things around the house. **Was she always able to plan like this and to have goals when she thinks about some years ago? Was she always able to make plans?** Past days I used to do small, small things, business like

selling small mandazi or we call bara bara? here around, also some juice from bitter banana. But I couldn't get much money so that I can save. Those money was really to care my family.

Date of interview: 29/05/2012

Translator: Levina

Interviewer: Jana

Code: 10 A

Gender: female

Age	62
Gender	female
Pension	9
PSS	8
Health Training	+
Self-defense training	+
Household Members	1 grandchild
Tatutano	+ (1)

I want to know how old is she? I'm sixty-two. **Mhm. And who is living with her in her household?** Two. Me and my grandchildren. **And since when did she join KwaWazee?** I think they are the first one. 2003. **And since when is she in the support group?** 2004. **And did she had any of the trainings like self-defense or health?** Yes, both. **Both, okay. And is her grandchild in Tatutano?** He's a leader. **I want to know if there are any problems within the groups or are there conflicts within the group, things they don't agree?** Yes, maybe there are sometimes conflicts but we usually solved the conflict. **What kind of conflicts? What do they discuss about?** As human being you can't live for a long time without any quarrel so sometimes somebody say bad things to you or do things that is not good for you, but you can also keep quiet for a long time then you resolve it. **And are there certain techniques or do they talk to each other? What are they doing to solve the problem if there is one?** There's not any techniques to resolve but somebody can maybe correct herself that I do bad things to her, so let me change the way. **Ah, okay. And before she joined the mutual support group, what kind of conflicts did she have maybe in the community?** Yes, as I said before, as a human being even if it is your siblings, you can't live for a long time without any quarrel. Even in the community there are sometimes, you can quarrel with somebody over the boundaries or about the children, maybe children play and they harm things to you, so... **And how do you solve the problems in the**

community? Are there – yesterday we heard there are certain leaders or people you can call or how do you solve them? We usually go to the chairperson, the village chair person, so he's the one who have to sit with you and listen to both sides, so also resolve the conflict. If it is above his power maybe he can send you to the police or to the court. Mhm, very good. And is she thinking that there is a difference between solving conflicts in the community and solving conflicts in the group? There is a difference. For those who are in groups maybe some call the staff from KwaWazee and come to listen to them and try to help them to resolve their conflict. And is she thinking that before she joined, or since she joined the mutual support group, is there a difference how she can solve problems, if she thinks about some years ago and now? Yes. Since I joined the mutual support groups I have the knowledge to know where I can start if I have a problem, for example, one day somebody tried to rape us, to rape me. So I came to the police through village chairperson, then to the police, then they sent me to Rubi Hospital to check. So I got the knowledge after joining the group. She said that in the mutual support groups if they have a conflict then at some point they will go to KwaWazee staff to ask for advice, right? But how do they solve problems just within the groups, just with them, without involving KwaWazee staff? Because when you are in one group you are like a sibling, so you have to sit together and resolve the conflict among you. So even those one who have maybe caused a conflict have to listen and change himself. They talk about the conflicts, right? Yes.

Shall we continue? Yes. I'd like to ask her how she likes her life to be for herself and her children in five years of time. What are her future plans? How would she like her life to be? She is planning to prepare the life of her grandchildren, he grandchildren he is (at home) he is now in form three? Yes I form three, so he is planning maybe in five years he can buy a motorcycle for her, for his grandchildren because maybe he can fail to continue with high education, so that he can use the motorcycle to build his own life. For herself she thinks that she can live more than five years. Ok. And what is she able to do now so that this will happen? That she gets there? I have my pieces of land far from my home and I bought it a long time ago, so I want to sell this pieces of land. Ah. She wants to sell it? Yes. And now I would like to know was she always able to make future plans? Or if she thinks about some years ago was she also thinking about the future? How was it? It was not always like this because I have just learn a few years ago. And who contributed to the change that she now can do future plans? Who changed it? [woman puts down ...beans on ...] Asante sana. And now I would like to explain a little bit how much everybody, what everybody did that she now can do future plans? Starting with my family, we sit together with my siblings and we discuss after the arising that when some people dies other relative members they usually grab the property and don't give them to the real person. So we decided that, we discuss and they advised me that you have to sell your property and maybe use your money for other basic needs or you can buy other things for

your grandchildren. **Ok.** As I said before we started the group in 2004 and it was a pilot area that group. PSS, I don't know if you remember the first day they told you about PSS, before coming to PSS light. **So their group was one, the first group was them. So from there they learned many things about the violence, about the conflict of land, many things they taught and they have their books at their home. So from there, she learned that I have to plan for my future.** **Very good. Asante. And she herself? What did she?** **I can't realize that, maybe KwaWazee can be maybe stop so I have to plan for my grandchildren. So I am just asking myself what can I do for my grandchildren?** **Ok.** **About saving I learned from KwaWazee during different meeting and trainings. Because I can't (arise) that if you maybe got 1000, you have to keep 500 and to use 500 because you don't know in the coming day maybe one day you can be sick or grandchildren can be sick so you have to keep the money for other needs.** **Yes.** **Very good. Ok. Asante sana.**

Date of interview: 29/05/2012

Translator: Levina

Interviewer: Jana

Code: 10 B

Gender: female

Age	61
Gender	female
Pension	9
PSS	8
Health Training	+
Self-defense training	+
Household Members	2 children, 1 grandchild
Tatutano	+ (1)

Now I'd like to ask the second person how old she is? Sixty-one. **Mhm.** **And who is living with her in her household?** My children are two and one is my grandchildren. **And since when is she in KwaWazee?** 2003. **Mhm.** **And the support group?** 2004. **And did she also had any of the trainings, self-defense or health?** Yes, both. And I'm the one who represents the group in health. **Ah, she's representing.** **Very good.** **And is her grandchild in Tatutano?** Yes.

In what kind of cultural or religious activities is she participating? **I usually participate in mutual support groups in the village which are not under KwaWazee. Also, in the religious, we have also groups. We usually go to church, participate maybe to clean the church, to weed the shamba which**

belongs to the church, and during the day mass. So I usually participate in different activities under religious. And can she maybe explain a little further what are the differences in the groups, maybe not only they belong to the church, they belong to the communities. What are the activities they are doing? In mutual support under villages, we usually, if somebody has a burial or a wedding ceremony, we have to contribute the money, we have the pocket, we have the treasure, we have to find some money which we are giving according to the constitution, we have to find the firewood, water, grasses or mats and go to the one who has a problem or has a wedding. We cook, we do everything for her. Also, we have to sit with her about four to five days. Every day you have to wake up and go there to sit with her. If it is a burial you have to be close with her so that she can't feel sad or alone. And where did they get the knowledge from how to do the treasure works maybe and something in the mutual support groups which is not under KwaWazee? During the meeting of our groups, we discuss that if maybe somebody has a burial, it is not easy to go to everyone and say that you have to collect TSH 1000 in a short time, it is too hard because maybe somebody has no money by that time. So we decided that we have to contribute money and where are we going to keep that money? So we decided to select the treasury. But we usually select those who are trustworthy. Yes. Not everyone can keep money, it is hard to keep money. And if she – in the church what are the activities there? Also we, if somebody has a burial or a wedding we contribute the money and go there and give him the money but we don't cook and don't do everything. But also during the celebration in the church, maybe there's Christmas or what, we have to go there to clean the places, to weed, to make sure that the environment is clean. Yes. Also usually have some times to celebrate the woman days and the religious. We even wear the uniform, Kanga and Kitenge, we go to the sale if there is a celebration in our church. And if she is thinking about the three groups she's participating: the church, the mutual support group under KwaWazee and the other mutual support group. Is she thinking those groups are giving her support? Yes, all group supports me. Mhm. Is there a difference in support, which group - maybe is one group better than the other or are there differences? There is a difference in support in all three groups. And what would she say is the most important thing that she's getting from the groups and from which group is she getting the most important support? It is KwaWazee group, which is under KwaWazee. And why? When I'm sick the group members at the time are there to help me and to support me. For example after three or two days when I maybe, if I maybe – Sorry? When I'm sick they come to help me. So after three or two days if I'm not improving they have to make sure that I go to the medicine or I go to the hospital or maybe if there is a season maybe of planting beans, they come and plant for me when I'm sick. If my children, grandchildren are at school they come to cook for me, to wash the clothes and to do everything until I'm better. I see. And would she say that maybe the knowledge that she's getting from the mutual support group under KwaWazee is influencing the activities in the other groups?

Can she maybe do more in the other groups now what she learned in the support group? She's saying yes, there is a knowledge she got from groups under KwaWazee can influence other groups. In what ways? [Interruption, granny 10D is arriving late] For example, the exercise we learned at KwaWazee. Because we are all old, older people, so we have the same problem about health. So one day we meet with one of my other groups, we are complaining about the back ache. Because we have been taughting about the back exercise, so I told her to come to my house one day and I taught her. After three days she came and said that 'now I'm better'. Also we have been taught, teaching them about the importance of drinking water. That is important for them, especially morning times. We also emphasize them to have savings, not only to save the money to support somebody. To have savings which can be, which can support them maybe during the end of the year or to start small project like [?] and others. Very good. And does she know if the persons from the other group already starting to do so or? She said that one group have started to sell small fish called daggar. One more thing: Can you please ask her since she joined KwaWazee has there been a change in the way she can contribute to other groups or to the church? Especially for the case of exercises. What she means is with money maybe? Since she get the pension, if she can contribute more to other groups? With money. From getting the pension I have now contributing the other groups without any complaints. I managed to contribute all the needs to different support groups. So before she received the pension it was different? It was difficult because I was to go to, maybe to do some work to other, to somebody's shamba so that they can pay me and I go to sell this, yes. And when you are late to contribute the money they penalty you, you have to pay twice. And it used to happen to her? One day my son died. But those two mutual support groups, they didn't contribute something to me because there are some needs before the burial of my son which I didn't complete, so they didn't contribute. So it's like a punish to me.

Now we come to her again. How safe is she feeling at home and outside? At home I am not really feeling safe because my house is not in a good condition and because my son was schooling. Now he has completed form six. So the money, I was used, the money from the pension to save my son. So I didn't manage to construct my house. Nowadays, there is a tendency of raping older woman. So I am not feeling really save although I learned techniques from self-defense but somehow I feel. What does she think can she do to protect herself? For example if somebody wants to hurt you maybe in the way you are working, the first technique you can use is to make noise loudly, so that people can hear you and come to save you. And if he maybe comes inside the house during the night we have been taught different- using piri piri [chili paste] in the bottle or using to keep the knives near the bed. Also to put things which make noise near the door during the night, yes. And where did she learn it? From KwaWazee. She is talking about the techniques of using the hand protecting your head. And what could be improved that they feel more save? What could be better? Does she want

to have more training or what does she think could help her that she is feeling more save? If she doesn't think of anything she doesn't have to say so. She is just trying to say that maybe somebody who come to hurt you, you can know him. That maybe he is a rich man you have no way to compete with him. Maybe if you say that somebody you fear that they do bad things to your family. **So if he is harming her and he is a rich man it is hard to accuse him or what is she saying? Did I get it right? Maybe you can't compete with him, you have no money.** And is she thinking that she can maybe call the police or could any of the public institutions or leader help her with this problem? **Yes I can use and follow the approach to the police or other government institutions around the community.** And this will help her or-? **They can help but 50/50.** What is the problem with the police? [traut sich nicht] **Government, leaders always, if you go there to complain about something. If somebody has money he goes there and give the money to the leader so that he keeps secret the things. Yes. That's a big problem.** **Then you keep going there 'you come today, you come the day after tomorrow', then one month, tow months. Thing is over. Nothing is happening?** Yes. **Maybe they can say that old woman she is mad. And they can change you, they change some bad names to you, bad things so that you can't get your right.** **Ok. Asante.**

Date of interview: 29/05/2012

Translator: Levina

Interviewer: Jana

Code: 10 C

Gender: female

Age	64
Gender	female
Pension	2
PSS	2
Health Training	+
Self-defense training	+
Household Members	3 grandchildren
Tatutano	+ (1)

How old is she? I'm sixty-four. **And who is living with her in her household?** Three grandchildren. **Okay. And since when is she in KwaWazee?** 2010. **2010, okay. And when did she join the mutual**

support group? Also 2010. **And did she have any of the trainings?** Yes, both. **Both, very good. And is any of her children in Tatutano?** All of them.

Okay now we come to the third person and I want to know how old her grandchildren are. The one has ten years old, eight years old and seven years. **So they are already at school, right?** Yes, the oldest is in standard three, the other is in standard one and the smallest is in day-care center. **Very good, and I want to know how regularly her grandchildren attending at school?** Every day. **Every day?** Okay. **And how well are they performing? Do they have difficulties or are they good or what is she thinking how well are they performing?** They are all performing well. **All performing well?** Okay. **And has this been always like this that they could attend school regularly and that they could perform well?** It was not always been like this. After they get support from KwaWazee they have now improved. **What were the problems before? What kind of problems were there so they could not attend regularly?** Because I was not able to manage to get all the school materials and other basic needs like food because I have small piece of shamba. **Okay. And she said that KwaWazee and the pension contributed to the change but I want to know maybe some other person contributed to the change and I want to show her these pictures, maybe you can explain it to her and then we do the same procedure than last time. If there are others she can also say who else. [person but beans]** Asante. **Now I would like to know how each the pictures contributed to the change that her children can attend better at school now. [interruption because of the payment of our daily tea]** KwaWazee – first of all is food. **Food?** Yes. All basic needs which I have in my house I got in from – **So I'm now not under stress again because I was begging everything from other people. The second thing I can thank KwaWazee, I was living in a very bad house. If it rain, it rain on me. During night I have to wake up and see it. But she has to explain how does it influence that her children are better at school now. How KwaWazee influenced that they are attending more often at school and they perform better at school now. Because if you have food, you get enough fish, you get soap and clothes, even you, you feel better to send even your children to school because they are not dirty. So when she is feeling better and they are more safe in the house and so on, that's better for the children at school? Yes, because KwaWazee was construct the house for her. Ah, okay. They construct the water tank for me because my children are small and we are usually walk very far to fetch water. But now even if they are coming from school they do other jobs around because I do have water near the house. Okay. Also school materials, exercise books, shoes, sweater and other things I got from KwaWazee. Okay. And what did maybe she herself do? The group contributed for example if somebody needs exercise book and I have no money at that time I can go to the group and borrow some money then after getting the pension I give back the money. Okay, very good. And the neighbors and friends? They usually support me in case of food. Yes, if somebody can realize that maybe I have no food they bring food for my grandchildren. And does it happen since she**

joined KwaWazee that she has no food? Does it still happen? She is not – regular but sometimes, maybe sometimes the money I got from the pension I used to buy maybe mattress. When they make an investment. Yes. And the family? For example the aunt of my grandchildren she usually come and see them and bring exercise book and soap. Okay, very good. And she herself, what did she do that now her grandchildren can attend more often at school and they are better? In case of money, we usually contribute two hundred per week to school, food, porridge. The usually take porridge at school. For example, all about the care of my grandchildren always need because there is no father or mother. My grandchildren, they are too small so to wash their clothes, to care about them, to cook for them. All the same things. Yes. Okay, and what is she thinking what could still be improved that her grandchildren can perform better maybe? The [] food is still a problem. Okay, asante.

Now we come to the next person and I'd like to know how well can she teach her grandchildren cultural norms and values? We usually do during the evening times when we sit around the fire, we are cooking, there are some, like, it is like maybe a song we sing but through the song we teach somebody dancing or- Ah. There is a message in the song? Yes. A message or we tell them a story, long time ago there were many do like this, like this but it comes to be like this, then from there you teach them that if you do like this it will be like this for you. This is bad this is good so you have to follow this and do this. So you usually every day even our parents long time ago but nowadays, now there is a change. There is a change? What kind of change? Many parents now don't sit with their children around the fire and taught them things. But usually the bibis [grandmothers] have been sitting around the fire with our grandmother and grandfathers and tell us a story. And what is the content of the story? What is important? What she wants to learn the children? What should they learn? What is she thinking? What is important that they have to know? To respect people, to do work, to participate in different work, to teach them to be close in religious, to respect god, also to not to steal other people's property and not to say bad things to people to accuse people. Yes. Ok. I want to know if she can teach her grandchildren anything she learned from the support group or from KwaWazee? For example the use of water. The knowledge I got from KwaWazee and the group, the use of vegetables, fruits, also the exercises. When is usually wear my trouser at home and start to do my exercise they come around to me and start laughing at me. Also they do the same as I do. Very good and if she thinks the other way around can her children also teach her something because they know maybe new things from school or something. Can they also teach her something? They sing songs for me what they learn at school. They usually show me their exercise book. Also I just to show them you have to do this, you have to do this. Also they tell me stories from the school. Also even me I told them the stories from the past. So they tell them the stories from the school? Yes. What they learned, what their teacher taught them to do. Yes. For example now they are teaching about HIV at school. So when they come back also they told me about HIV, how to

protect herself. So when I realize that there is some passage where they don't understand I can also advise them. Here you have to do this, here they mean this, here they mean this. So if the children doesn't understand at school she can also teach them? Yes. According what they tell her, because she know better than them. And since she joined KwaWazee, has there been a change in how well she can teach her children cultural norms and values? Yes, there is a change. What kind of change? In the case of respecting people. 'Shikamo' when they wake up they have to greet me 'Shikamo bibi'. Also if they meet other people, the guest come to see me, they have to come and greet them and then continue with their work. This is what she learned from KwaWazee? Yes. Ok. This has changes since she received the pension? So before she got pension she didn't greet her 'Shikamo' and all this, or? Before I didn't care about the respect of children whether they greet me or not, I was not aware. Ok. Asante.

Date of interview: 29/05/2012

Translator: Levina

Interviewer: Jana

Code: 10 D

Gender: female

Age	76
Gender	female
Pension	9
PSS	8
Health Training	+
Self-defense training	+
Household Members	-
Tatutano	-

Now I would like to ask the first person. Maybe we start with the age. How old is she? 76. And who is living with her in her household? Myself. Oh, she is living by herself? Yes. Okay. And since when is she in KwaWazee? We joined together in 2003. It is a long time. And since when is she in the mutual support group? 2004. I want to know if she had any of the trainings? Yes. Both trainings? Yes.

I want to know from her what is she learning in the group and how did what she is learning there changed her life. To be close with your fellow. When I joined my group I didn't know how to help each other if somebody is sick. For example I have been sick they helped me. And problems of the

group helped me a lot so I learn from my fellow that even if them are under problems you can go and solve them. And are there other places where she can learn or where she can participate or meet with other people? Are there different supports expect the mutual support group? There is mutual support groups under villages which are not under KwaWazee also religious groups. We usually meet, if you can invite them, maybe say that 'I want to weed my shamba but I have not time or I'm sick' they can come and help you. Sometimes you have to pay them small amount of money or wait until the end of the year if there are some contribution which you have been contributing all the year and you want also to divide, they can take the money that the look for. Okay, asante.

Now I would like to come to her again. That is the last question. I want to know- One granny told us 'if I have worries I go and see my friend'. And I want to know what can she do if she has worries? I have been living in feeling, because they tried to rape me two times. Then they killed my neighbor, the older woman who was living near my house, so from that time I was not able to sleep in my house again. I have to go to some other neighbors to sleep in their house during the night then I come back the morning. But I have also BP [blood pressure] this caused me to live in a terrible life. But now I can thank god that one boy who is in from two from my neighbor house he started to come and sleep at my house to company me. So what is she doing if she has worries? She is going to her neighbors or what is she is doing-? I usually go to my neighbors and also them they come at my house to talk with me. Even in my groups, they come with water, with firewood or for example that one usually send her grandchildren to come and play at my house during the day. When they come from school she usually send them 'go and see her, go and play for a moment than come back'. So that she does not feel too lonely? Yes. I don't feel very lonely. And if she thinks about some years ago. What was she doing then when she had worries? Was there anybody? I was living with my siblings, my brother and my sister, so if I was in worries, I was able to change ideas with them. But after they died that is when the problem increased to me. And now, when the boy from the neighborhood is sleeping at her home is she feeling more save now? Yes. Now I can sleep during night. And what could be improved that she is feeling really save? What must happen that she is feeling better than today? I don't know, if the boy will continue to come and, so if I can get somebody to live with him forever. Yes. Asante sana.