

“We can only see the top of the mountain”



A study of social workers' approach to their work with disabled children in Moshi, Tanzania

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Handed in on the 5th of August 2013

Resume

Dette er et feltstudie af social arbejders praksis i en institution for børn med handicap i Moshi, Tanzania. Formålet var at undersøge socialarbejdernes tilgange i praksis og analysere hvordan disse tilgange er påvirket af strukturelle, kulturelle og diskursive faktorer. Feltstudiet er baseret på et kritisk realistisk standpunkt, der er med til at fremstille handicappede børns situation i Tanzania som et komplekst socialt problem. For at undersøge feltet Honneth's teori om anerkendelse og Bourdieu's teori om kulturel kapital er bleven inddraget. Allardt's behovs teori er inddraget i Studiets empiri er bleven samlet igennem observationer under deltagelse i feltet og kvalitative interviews med to socialarbejder. Empirien er blevet analyseret på baggrund af Norman Faircloughs kritiske diskursanalyse. Endvidere er analysen præget af den kritiske realistiske position.

Socialarbejdernes tilgange i deres praksis indebar bl.a. at følge børn til behandlinger på hospitalet eller hjælpe dem i form af medicin. Socialarbejderne anvendte den amerikanske metode Gentle Teaching som et grundlag for deres arbejde med børnene. Gentle Teaching metoden fokuserer især på kærlighed og omsorg. Endvidere har organisationen en familieindsats, der indebar mikro kredit lån til forældrene for at købe redskaber for børnene eller at starte deres egen virksomhed. De strukturelle udfordringer i Tanzania har påvirket social arbejders praksis idet fattigdom og manglende støtte fra staten er en udfordring for familierne, som social arbejderne prøver at tage hånd om i deres praksis. Religionen spillede en stor rolle i hele kommunen. Socialarbejdernes arbejde er baseret på en religiøs tilgang i det projektet er startet fra kirken. På den anden side spiller religionen en rolle i hvordan mennesker med handicap opfattes. Socialarbejdernes praksis har været præget af at nogle forældre kan opfatte et barn med handicap som en straf fra Gud. Dette have bl.a. konsekvenser som omsorgssvigt. Tilgangene i det sociale arbejde var derfor også præget af at lære forældrene menneskerettighederne. Diskursivt er socialt arbejders arbejde bl.a. præget af vestlige diskurser, som fx menneskerettighederne og Gentle Teaching metoden. Diskurserne er bleven diskuteret ift deres opretholdende eller transformerende effekt.

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Cover picture, Source: Rebecca Ferbuyt

Acknowledgments

The origin for this study came from an internship in the Occupational Therapy Department of the Mnazi Moja Hospital in Zanzibar, Tanzania in 2011. The internship was part of my education to be an occupational therapist at University College Nordjylland. This education allowed me to understand the resources and limitations people with disabilities experience in their everyday life activities and to implement interventions based on that knowledge. Even though my education included learning about society's structures, I was interested in getting an even deeper knowledge of society and the role it plays for people with disabilities. Further study in the master's program of social work at Aalborg University gave me that deeper knowledge, and this report is a result of my two years of study. My interest in the situation of disabled people in Tanzania predated starting my master's thesis. Due to the encouragement of my supervisor Kjeld Høgsbro and discussions with Abdul Hamid Ally Mbaye, I was able to realize this project. Furthermore, discussion with Rebecca Ferbuyt helped the study progress. I would also like to thank the children, their parents and the employees of the organization in Moshi, Tanzania, who allowed me to be a part of their daily lives and who participated in this study.

Aalborg, the 5th of August, 2013:

Structure of the study

This study has seven chapters outlined below:

Chapter 1 comprises an introduction to the field of the study. Furthermore, it describes the issue that is the basis for this study. This description is followed by a glossary of the relevant terms to clarify the issue. Finally, the chapter includes a description of the purpose of the study and a literature review.

Chapter 2 contains a review of the scientific position in this study. The critical realistic position will be outlined, and its role in the study's choices of methods and theories will be explained. In addition, the significance of the critical realistic position with regard to the analysis will be described.

Chapter 3 describes the methods used in this study. It contains a description of the field study, which is the method used to investigate the issue. It also comprises a description of how data were collected, ethical considerations that were made and a review of the method used for the data analysis.

Chapter 4 includes descriptions of Bourdieu's cultural capital and Honneth's theory of recognition.

Chapter 5 contains the discourse analysis of the data in this study. The chapter is divided into the three stages of the discourse analysis: the text analysis, the discursive practice and the social practice.

Chapter 6 is the conclusion of the analysis, which seeks to answer the issue of this study.

Chapter 7 describes the ideas for further studies in the field.

1. Introduction

Dominant Western theories

There is little knowledge about disability which exists in the majority of the world. Western theories, studies and discourses about disability are dominant in the field, which results in a main focus on industrialized countries and their ideological, theoretical, historical and cultural assumptions (Grech, 2009). The social model of disability is an example of a Western-constructed theory about disability. The social model of disability stems from the criticism of an able-bodied society. In the 1970s the Union of the Physical Impaired Against Segregation (UPIAS) in Britain criticized how society disables people with impairments through social and environmental barriers. People with impairments have been excluded and isolated from full participation in society due to these barriers, which disabled them. The social model of disability makes a clear distinction between impairment and disability. While impairment is explained from the medical perspective, disability is explained as the oppressive relationship between people with impairments and the rest of the society (Thomas, 2007).

The social model of disability has been criticized for ignoring religious beliefs, even though these are a fundamental constituent of people's social and embodied reality and can be a source for discrimination. In East Africa three different beliefs about the cause of disability are prevalent: (1) traditional animism that holds that the cause of disability is a punishment for bad deeds or the result of witchcraft exercised by other people, (2) Christian fatalism that explains disability as God's will and (3) medical determinist beliefs that accept the explanations of modern medicine as the cause of disability. Kisanji describes in his study how the majority of tribal elders in Tanzania believe that disabilities are caused by God's will or witchcraft, while teachers believe that disability is caused by disease (Kisanji, 1995b).

The social model of disability is further criticized for abandoning the concept of impairment. People from non-Western countries often depend on hard physical labor for their livelihood and are confronted with barriers to meeting the most basic human needs (Grech,

2009). Another critique about the social model of disability is that disability activists in the North already have the essential personal aid they need and can therefore prioritize their struggle for social rights, while countries in the South still struggle with the lack of assistive equipment (Albert, 2004).

A Northern view on Southern countries

Western literature and literature written by or on behalf of charitable organizations about the situation of disabled people in developing countries has been criticized as describing the situation very negatively, e.g. that people with disabilities are hidden or even killed by family members (Kisanji, 1995). Ingstad, who doesn't deny that abuse and neglect happens, argues that we don't present single cases of child abuse as the typical example for child care in industrialized countries, so we shouldn't do that in developing countries either. She points out the problems that are attached to this statement; it can breed arrogance in modern rehabilitation workers, therefore perhaps blurring their vision to the reality that families are trying their best to help their disabled family members, and it can furthermore serve as an excuse for the government to hide the facts about general poverty and the lack of health care (Ingstad, 2001). Several researchers show that the created myth of negative attitudes in developing countries isn't true; they don't deny that there are also negative attitudes, but the picture is more varied than that. A research about attitudes toward a mental health program and management in two regions in Tanzania shows a marked complexity about people's attitudes toward different conditions (Ingstadt, 2001).

Travelling theories and strategies

One consequence of the dominant Western theories and strategies about disability has resulted from a direct export of these theories and strategies (Grech, 2009). Payne describes three reasons why it can be difficult to apply social work coming from a Western context to another context: (1) the value and cultural bases could be incompatible, (2) societies face different problems and issues and (3) there are concerns about cultural imperialism when applying social work from a different context (1997).

In Botswana the concept of what is good for people with disabilities was first imported from England and Germany and later from Norway and Sweden. The concept of disability did not fit with the local concepts, and as a consequence local social organizations and the recipients were blamed for the programs' failures (Ingstad, 2001). Another example can be seen in the history of education in Tanzania, which shows how both normal and special schools have been established by church organizations, often as residential schools. These schools started to isolate children with special needs from their own societies. There is no written record about how people with disabilities were taught in their societies in pre-colonial Tanzania, but Groenwegen (as cited in Tungaraza, 1994) comments that traditional education in Africa has not been appreciated for the integrated approach it took to people with special needs. Kisanji even argues that the principles of indigenous customary education would go a long way towards equalization of opportunities and inclusive education. Indigenous customary education can be described as having been a process of socialization with formal and informal learning that occurred at any time and to which everyone in the community had access. The methods it utilized were tied to religious or spiritual beliefs drawn from the physical, natural or social environment, and the knowledge and skills imparted needed to be essential and relevant to society. Furthermore, education took place in the community and children were not sent away from the community to learn (Kisanji, 1998).

An attempt has been made to address the problems of disability cross-culturally, and a worldwide model has been created. Community-based rehabilitation (CBR) was developed by the WHO in 1976 and was planned especially for developing countries. The concepts of integration and normalization in CBR were influenced by a debate about the concepts that had been going on in Scandinavian countries since the 1960s and were therefore closely linked to the ideology of the welfare state and the concept of equal rights. CBR also failed in its first applications (Ingstad, 2001). CBR was criticized for trying to erase or suppress contextual differences, local perspectives, cultures and histories of the community, as well as for its top-down imposition of knowledge and techniques (Grech, 2009). The definition of

CBR was renewed in 1994 to make it more sensitive to local culture, political and socioeconomic conditions, rather than just focusing on implementing a new model (Ingstad, 2001).

Tanzania

For my thesis I travelled to Moshi, a town in Tanzania, to take a closer look at the work being done with disabled people. Moshi is a town in the Kilimanjaro region, situated on the lower slopes of Mt. Kilimanjaro.

The Municipal Council is divided into 21 wards and is the smallest Municipal Council in terms of area coverage (<http://www.moshimc.go.tz>). Its population was estimated at 182,292 in 2012 (National Bureau of Statistics & Office of Chief Government Statistician, 2013).

For my research I contacted an organization with centers for children with mental impairments. The concept of the organization was brought to Moshi by a bishop from Tanzania who travelled to the USA and saw the organization's program. The NGO was started in 2008 in Moshi.

I worked at one of 11 centers in Moshi for two weeks. My aim was to get a deeper knowledge of the field of disability in a Southern country by studying the approaches that social workers use in their practice in their work with disabled children. I was also interested in the influence of Western discourses about disability in the practices and furthermore their structural and cultural influences on the social workers' practice.

Payne argues that the contexts of social work, e.g. clients and agencies, are constructed by the society in which it is performed. People in different contexts create the social work through a shared reality of a set of social relations. Theories about social work are produced in the context where it occurs; on the other hand, they also influence the contexts because theories affect what people do and say in social work (Payne, 1997). Before studying the professionals in Tanzania I collected existing knowledge about the situation of people with disabilities and their families.

In Tanzania discrimination against people with disabilities has been prohibited since the 1977 constitution (Korpinen, 2009). The International Year of the Disabled (IYDP) in 1981 helped to make people and the government in Tanzania more aware of the needs of people with disability, and this awareness may have led to the first school for children with intellectual disabilities in 1982. But because of the economic problems in Tanzania, it has been a problem to provide adequate facilities and materials necessary for the education of people with disabilities. Most services provided for disabled people are in urban areas, while most of Tanzania's population still lives in rural areas. Furthermore, there is a lack of professionals like social workers, nurse's teachers and rehabilitation officers (Tungaraza, 1994). There are numbers of laws, policies and standards for people with disabilities in Tanzania. These laws include the right to vocational training, decent work and basic services. Another law provides and designates responsibilities of caring for disabled persons to the family, relatives, local government, central government and non-governmental organizations (Korpinen, 2009). But even though all these policies are codified they are rarely implemented. The main issues standing in the way of realizing disability policies are the lack of resources, and prioritization of rights to social security. Furthermore deficiencies in the enforcement of these rights are standing in the way of realizing those (Mchomvu et al., 2002). In Denmark social law provides support for the child and the family. The family has to be compensated for the child's disability as much as possible. Families can get economical support for lost income and for treatments for the child e.g. physiotherapy. Furthermore, there are several ways to get relief in everyday life, e.g. institutions or foster homes that take care of the children for one day or longer (Knigge, 2007).

Family life and disability

Literature about sub-Saharan Africa shows that disabled people are cared for by their family members (Stone-Mac Donald, 2012). One study from Moshi, Tanzania, interviewed parents of children with disabilities. Parents and caregivers experienced objective challenges, like the huge amount of time needed to care for the child, the physical impact of carrying a child who can't walk and financial challenges for necessities like food, diapers, clothes, shelter and medical care. Some of the parents lost their job after having a child with disabilities

because of the time they needed to take care of the child (McNally & Mannan, 2013). Challenges regarding work have also been reported by parents of children with autism in Denmark. These families describe how their economical situation is influenced by the child's disability in the form of extra expenses, possible income decrease and the reduced possibility of taking jobs that are in conflict with the parents' need to be available for the child. The labor market's demands can be too high to accommodate having a child with disabilities. Families' social possibilities can also be affected as a result of reduced contact with other people (Høgsbro, 2007).

In the Tanzanian study, families in Tanzania experienced stigma through discrimination and rejection. Some participants experienced a lack of support leading to isolation and pity, as when they told other people of having a child with a disability and the reaction was a feeling of sorrow. Positive experiences included the child's progress in terms of independence and ability to accomplish certain tasks. Families who were forthcoming about their child's disability reported feeling as though they had earned the respect of others, in comparison to caregivers who hid their children inside the house. Happiness was reported when the children were at home interacting with the family. The major needs identified were financial help in the form of sponsors and loans, which was needed for supplies. The study also identified beliefs in God and spirituality as coping mechanisms. Moreover, the centers for the children were seen as a big support (McNally & Mannan, 2013). In Africa, community rehabilitation programs and religious organizations help families with healthcare and food (Stone Mac-Donald, 2012).

The social problem

The social problem that is the foundation for this study is the situation of disabled children and their families in Southern countries, in this case Tanzania. A social problem can be defined as *"an alleged situation that is incompatible with the values of a significant number of people who agree that action is needed to alter the situation"* (Rubington & Weinberg, 2011).

Issue

Which approaches do the social workers use in their practice regarding children with mental impairments in Moshi, Tanzania? And how do the structural, cultural and discursive contexts influence the social workers' approaches?

The issue I am concerned with in my research is divided in two questions. The first question is the explorative part of this study, where I am seeking to understand and outline the approaches of the social workers. The second question has a theoretical perspective. This part of my issue contains the assumption that the social workers' practice is influenced by discursive, structural and cultural components. This creates the basis for the argument that further knowledge is needed about disability in countries of the South, and dominant Northern theories can't simply be accepted as universal and therefore be exported to the South without critical reflection.

Key concepts

Approaches

An approach to a practice expresses values and ways of perceiving the world. Approaches allow for the possibility to think structurally about a phenomenon. Furthermore, it is possible to understand a phenomenon differently through different approaches. An approach gives an explanation about a practice in a structured form and leads to certain principles and activities, which create consequences in practice (Payne, 2005). The term "approach" in this study therefore includes how the social workers perceive the situation of the children, which values they express and the principles and activities they utilize in their practice based on their perception.

Social workers

Social workers "[...] promote social change, problem solving in human relationships and the empowerment and liberation of people to enhance well-being" (Buchanan, 2008, p.15). In my research the professionals working in the center were not educated as traditional social workers like we know in Denmark or other countries. But for the study I chose to aggregate

the professionals working in the organization under the term “social worker” since their tasks can be compared to the description above.

Mental impairments

Since there are not enough institutions for children with disabilities in general, the center for children with mental impairments serves children with all kinds of impairments. The children often have both physical and mental impairments. A mental impairment is defined as “*a disorder characterized by the intellectual defect, as manifested by diminished cognitive, interpersonal, social and vocational effectiveness*” (The Free Dictionary, 2012). Furthermore, in this study it is important to make a distinction between the terms *impairment* and *disability*. Impairment refers to a defect of the bodily functions, while disability refers to the disadvantages and restrictions of activity that are caused by the organization of the society and that therefore exclude people with impairments (Barnes & Mercer, 2010).

The structural, cultural and discursive context

Culture is a complex phenomenon. Culture is the idea of shared meanings. Members of a culture interact and communicate through these meanings. The meanings involve beliefs, values and norms that shape rules of behaviour. Furthermore culture also refers to material forms e.g. ceremonial objects, foods and clothing (Dyck, 1998). In this study structure refers to the structure in society. The social structure is constituted of positions e.g. rules, duties and rights. These positions are taken by actors like groups or individuals. Positions can give power, resources or limitations (Buch-Hansen & Nielsen, 2008). The discursive context is the use of language that is seen as a social practice more than an individual activity or just a simple reflection of the situation. Discourse is a way of acting and representing (Fairclough, 1992).

Northern and Southern countries

In this study the term “Northern countries” or “the North” will be used as a synonym for the terms Western countries, the West, developed countries, and the developed world. Likewise, the term “Southern countries” or “the South” will be used as a synonym for non-

Western countries, developing countries, the developing world, and third world countries. A conscious decision has been made about the use of the chosen terms since “North” and “South” seem to be more neutral terms according to my own perception.

Relevance of the study

Based on my own observations many NGOs are established in Southern countries by e.g. the church, social or healthcare professionals. Based on the example of Botswana described in the introduction (Grech, 2009), the assumption can be made that some NGOs are trying to fully import Northern discourses and ideas about solving the social problems they face in a Southern country. This study tries to paint a picture of the complexity of the problems. The study is relevant for social workers because there is an increasing interest in professional developments in other countries (Midgley, 1990). Midgley even argues that social workers in industrialized countries can learn from countries in the South (1990). Furthermore, there is also an interest in Danish organizations for disabled people in developing countries. Danske Handicaporganisationer (DH) is active in funding and participating in projects for disabled people in e.g. Uganda (Reiff, 2007).

Literature

In the process of searching for literature for the study I focused on terms like “developing countries”, “disability” and “poverty”. The main articles used in the introduction were Shaun Grech’s “Disability, poverty and development” and Benedicte Ingstadt’s article “Disability in the developing world”. From this article I used snowballing to find additional relevant literature. Through snowballing I found Joseph Kisanji’s article “Attitudes and beliefs about disability in Tanzania” in Shaun Grech’s article. For literature recommendations I also focused on how often different authors were mentioned. For the literature about disability in Tanzania I browsed the homepage of *The African Journal of Disability* and the *International Journal of Disability, Development and Education*. From the Aalborg Universitets Bibliotek (AUB) homepage I used different databases to search for scientific articles, namely Google Scholar and Social Service Abstracts, which led me to SAGE Journals. The following table is an overview of the databases and the hits.

Database	Keywords	Hits
Google Scholar	Disability AND developing countries	689 000 hits
	Disability AND religion AND Tanzania	6050 hits
	Disability AND poverty	352 000 hits
	Community based rehabilitation AND Tanzania	1 320 hits
Social Service Abstracts	Disability AND developing countries	53 hits
	Disability AND Tanzania	7 hits
	Community based rehabilitation AND Tanzania	1 hit

SAGE Journals	Disability AND Tanzania	7 hits
	Disability AND developing countries	20 hits
	Community based rehabilitation AND Tanzania	15 hits

Google Scholar produced many results, but after reading the first 3-5 pages of headlines I realized that most of the articles were irrelevant for the study and I tried to change the keywords. After searching the other databases and journal homepages I read all article headlines since there were fewer hits. I divided the literature into categories of relevant and irrelevant. The abstracts of the articles categorized as relevant were read through and then again categorized as relevant or irrelevant.

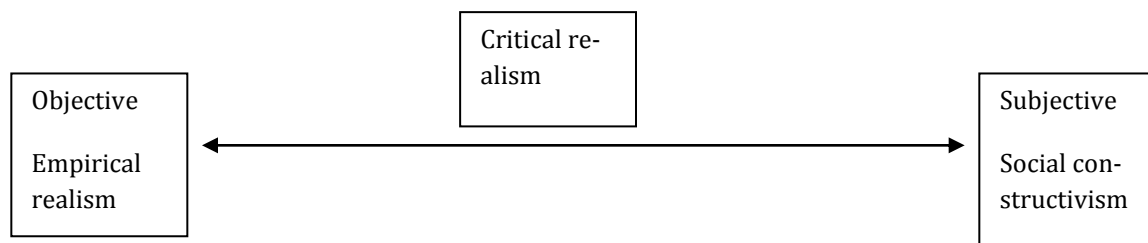
2. Scientific position

The scientific position in my research is a critical realistic position. The position determines the way reality is understood in this study and how it is recognized. Here I start to outline how social problems are seen from a critical realistic perspective. To outline the key aspects I describe the difference of seeing social problems from a critical realistic position and a social constructivist position. Afterwards I describe critical realism in more detail and outline the influence that the position has on this study.

Critical realism

Social problems are viewed very differently from a critical realistic and a social constructivist point of view. The realistic perspective of a social problem is that it is an objective describable problem that needs an explanation. In a realistic approach the work starts from an existing social problem and attempts to explain why and how the social problem exists. The constructivist perspective questions the existence of a social problem in the first place. The focus in a constructivist analysis of a problem lies in how certain circumstances come to be defined or constructed as a social problem. Realists search for an objective truth while constructivists deny the possibility of an objective truth (Andersen, 2007). These different perspectives are also called subjective and objective perspectives. They might appear as complete opposites, but it is important to point out that the critical realistic position has a moderate objective perspective, which means that reality combines both objective and subjective aspects. Fig.1 gives an overview of the position of critical realism between an objective and a subjective position.

Fig. 1 The position of critical realism



In my study I see the situation of disabled children in Tanzania as a real existing problem, and I do not question the situation's existence. Furthermore, I seek to understand how this problem is approached from the social workers' perspective and how cultural and structural factors influence their work. So the subjective perceptions of the social work and objective existing structural and cultural aspects combine both the objective and subjective perspectives. In the following section I give a more detailed introduction to critical realism.

Two perspectives on knowledge

Roy Bhaskar developed the critical realistic position as an answer to the crisis of positivism (Buch-Hansen & Nielsen, 2008). Bhaskar describes knowledge from two points of view: *the transitive object of knowledge* and the *intransitive object of knowledge*. The transitive object of knowledge is knowledge produced by men in a social activity, so it is a social product (Bhaskar, 1975). It can include e.g. theories, models, terms and descriptions that exist at a given time. Furthermore, Bhaskar sees science as a dynamic process and a social activity, so the produced knowledge is an agent that in turn produces new knowledge. The transitive object of knowledge is the epistemology of the critical realistic position (Buch-Hansen & Nielsen, 2008). The intransitive object of knowledge is knowledge about things which are not produced by man at all. Therefore, the objects of knowledge don't depend on human activity (Bhaskar, 1975). It is the insistence that an object of knowledge exists independently from human beings' knowledge about it that makes critical realism a realistic theory. This way of seeing knowledge was a breaking point from the empirical realistic perspective that human beings and their perception and construction are the center for everything. This view on the objects of knowledge is critical realism's ontology (Buch-Hansen & Nielsen, 2008).

Critical realism favors ontology over epistemology because the existence of an object is seen as more important than knowledge of the object. Moreover, from a critical realistic point of view, reducing ontology to epistemology is criticized. This view rejects the idea that questions and statements about being can always be reduced to a question about our knowledge and discourses about being. Critical realism also rejects the reduction of questions about knowledge to questions about being, i.e. the idea that knowledge directly comes

from being and thus that reality is as easy to read as an open book (Buch-Hansen & Nielsen, 2008).

Reality's three domains

Critical realism has a thesis about that reality consists of three domains (see fig. 2).

Figure 2. The three domains in critical realism

Domain of empirical	our experiences and observations
Domain of actual	events and phenomenon's
Domain of real	structures, mechanisms, causal potentials, tendencies

(Buch-Hansen & Nielsen, 2007, p.24)

The empirical and the actual domains are the two domains that empirical realists use to understand the world. Bashkar added the third domain, the domain of the real, consisting of the indirect observable structures and mechanisms that under certain circumstances support and cause events and phenomena inside the domain of actual. The three domains can't be reduced to each other. Phenomena, events, experiences and observations are just the top of the mountain, so an observation can't be the criterion for existence. That means that experiences and observations do not necessarily give us a real picture of a phenomenon because they might not show how things are really related with each other. Thus the focus shifts from the observable phenomena to the underlying structures and mechanisms that cause or support these phenomena (Buch-Hansen & Nielsen, 2007).

Objects, structures and mechanisms

In critical realism there exists a differentiated reality, meaning that reality consists of objects with very different causal potential and dispositions. The structures of the objects give them their different causal potentials and dispositions. But just because an object has a causal potential, it doesn't mean that this potential necessarily becomes activated on the domain of the actual. That depends on the circumstances in a certain context. The ways that structured objects function are through mechanisms, and whether an object's causal poten-

tial becomes activated depends partly on other objects' mechanisms. So in the domain of the real there are always a high number of active mechanisms that activate, block or modify each other's consequences. The relation between mechanisms and their consequences is therefore contingent and never determined in advance. So the domain of the actual and the result of a phenomenon are therefore a very complex result of the sum of the mechanisms' effects on each other. For critical realists, reality consists of open systems, meaning that empirical regularities do not happen spontaneously, and causal laws are only tendencies, which have an influence on the domain whether they are experienced by human beings or not (Buch-Hansen & Nielsen, 2007).

Hierarchy and emergence

In the critical realistic position, mechanisms and structures are in a hierarchy. Higher levels in the hierarchy are based on lower levels. There are endless levels in the world; this is why it isn't possible to find the ultimate level in the hierarchy. Furthermore, there are also discussions about which levels are in the hierarchy. Buch-Hansen and Nielsen explain four hierarchical levels in their book, with social reality on the highest level (2007). Social reality is required by the biological, chemical and, most essentially, the physical level. This hierarchy is more meaningful than a hierarchy where social reality is the lowest level and the physical level is the highest, since the physical level can exist without the social level. It is important to point out that it is not the goal of critical realism to reduce social phenomena to physical laws. It is more the opposite, since combined mechanisms on lower levels generate mechanisms on higher levels. These higher levels have casual potentials that mechanisms in the lower levels don't have. This is why it isn't possible to explain the higher levels in terms of the lower levels. This relationship between the levels is called emergence (Buch-Hansen & Nielsen, 2007).

Critical realism and the choice of methods and theory

The methods applied in the study are influenced by the critical realistic position. In a critical realistic approach, there is a critical view on quantitative methods to explain phenomena, but there is also a critical view on pure subjective assumptions to explain a given phenomenon. But according to critical realism, subjective intentions can't be ignored when we

are trying to understand society (Andersen, 2007). The method applied in the study uses qualitative interviews and observations that give a picture of reality through subjective perceptions. The subjective perceptions are combined with a discourse analysis to see the underlying discursive structures, and the analysis focuses on structural and cultural influence of these perceptions.

From a critical realistic position reality never can be understood, categorized or analysed without theoretical terms. Social relations and structures can only be understood by theoretical terms. It is therefore essential in a critical realistic study to develop the language with which we want to understand and analyze social reality. The theory is what provides the knowledge of fundamental structures and mechanisms (Andersen, 2007). For this study Honneth's theory of recognition, Bourdieu's cultural capital and Allardt's theory of needs have been chosen to understand the field. Furthermore, critical discourse analysis (CDA) provides the terms needed to interpret the collected data.

Critical realism and the analysis of this study

For the concrete analysis of this study, the critical realistic position necessitates a created hypothesis regarding which mechanisms and structures are relevant to explain the social workers' approaches to disability in their practice.

In a realistic analysis strategy, abduction and retroduction are the two main processes of reasoning. Abductive reasoning is about interpretation and recontextualization. Observations are interpreted in a new way by explaining them from a new point of view. From a critical realistic perspective the focus in abductive reasoning is on the structures and mechanisms behind the empirical data. The researcher has to be creative in introducing new ideas to understand the empirical data. Retroduction is linked closely to abductive reasoning. Retroduction refers to the thinking processes needed to transcend the empirical observations to arrive at the generative mechanism behind the data (Andersen, 2007).

3. Methods

This chapter contains a description of the field study method. The methods used collecting my data and the ethical considerations are also outlined in this chapter. The last part of this chapter includes the description of the method for the data analysis.

Field study

The research method of this project is a qualitative field study. In a field study the researcher is a part of the lives of the people who are being studied. The researcher is a participant and direct witness to other people's lives. The reason to perform a field study is because the researcher becomes an instrument of research and in this way can see, feel and analytically articulate the aspects of social life. In fact, it is the epistemological foundation of field studies that accurate knowledge about social life can only be achieved through direct experience (Lofland & Lofland, 1995). I chose the field study method to get a wide picture of the professionals working in institutions with children with disabilities. This method allowed me to see the professionals interacting with the children in their daily working environment, and to combine the knowledge from formal interviews with the professionals with data from the participatory observation and informal interviews. A field can partly be compared to a game; it is not consciously constructed like a game with explicit rules, but it is founded on norms and regularities. The actors in the field fight for a reward as in a game, and they have to participate because they are invested in the field. The existence of the investment in the field and the field itself are often not consciously recognized the participant (Bordieu & Wacquant, 1996).

The pre-fieldwork phase

There are different starting points for research; the common rationale for ethnographic studies is a lack of detailed knowledge of a phenomenon or from incomplete or dissatisfying accounts of some phenomenon found in the literature (Hamersley & Atkinson, 2007). One starting point for this research was the lack of detailed knowledge about professionals' working methods in institutions for children with disabilities in Tanzania or Africa in general. Another starting point was dissatisfaction with the literature's primary focus on peo-

ple with disabilities in Northern settings, and the therefore exported discourses about disability to Southern countries, and the assumption that from a Northern point of view developing countries in general have a negative attitude towards people with disabilities.

Data collection

Participant observation

Participant observation is a process in which the investigator establishes a long term relationship with the observed people in their natural settings to get a scientific understanding for their associations. One part of the participant observation is intensive interviewing; the goal is to get rich detailed material that can be used for qualitative analysis. The intensive interview seeks to discover the participant's experience of a certain situation. Participant observation and intensive interviewing are often sharply distinguished, but many anthropologists make it clear that participant observation in other cultures involves intensive interviewing (Lofland & Lofland, 1997). In my study I participated in the work in the center for two weeks and wrote keywords down during my work. When it was possible I asked questions during and shortly after an observation to get a better understanding of the social workers' understanding of the situation.

Field notes

One way to preserve mental notes during observation is jotted notes. Jotted notes are keywords, phrases or quotes. Jotted notes help to refresh the memory while writing field notes. These jotted notes can be elaborated, e.g. in breaks or on the way home, before writing the full field notes (Lofland & Lofland, 1995). During my fieldwork I carried a little notebook to make jotted notes of my observations. The mental notes and jotted notes are not full field notes until they have been converted into a running log of observations. The practical aspects about writing field notes is that they have to be written as soon as possible after observation, ideally by the morning after the observation at the latest. Approximately the same amount of time spent observing should be spent on writing the field notes (Lofland & Lofland, 1995). After each day of observations I wrote my field notes in the evening. My field notes basically consisted of a chronological log of what was happening in

the setting and to me, the observer. As Lofland and Lofland describe, it is important to try to capture raw behavior during the observations. It can help to draw up a plan of the setting in the field notes showing the placement of people and object in a scene (Lofland & Lofland, 1995). I marked participants' descriptions and their own analytic ideas, as Lofland and Lofland suggest, so that they were not counted as observations (1995). Working on the field paper can make analytic ideas and interference appear to the researcher, e.g. how things are patterned. Lofland and Lofland point out that ideas can be farfetched or obvious, but they should still be included in the field notes (1995).

Semi-structured interview

The interview guide outlines the topics and can contain carefully worded questions. For the semi-structured interview, the guide represents the outlined topic with suggestions for questions (Kvale, 1996). A thematically-produced semi-structured interview guide was used in this study. As Kvale describes, the questions in the thematic interview guide relate to the topic of the interview, to the theoretical conceptions and to the subsequent analysis (1996). The interview guide in this study was therefore divided in three parts: theory, topic and question. The suggestions for the questions were formulated based on the background of the chosen theory linked with the topic.

The interviews took place in a different culture with participants from a different culture. According to Kvale it is difficult to consciously be aware of how many cultural aspects influence the relationship between the interviewer and the participant (2009). The interviewer needs time to get an insight in the culture and learn some verbal and nonverbal aspects that can have an impact on the interview situation (Kvale, 2009). In order to get a better understanding and knowledge of the people, I conducted my interviews at the end of my two weeks' participation in the work. Furthermore, I already had some knowledge of the Tanzanian culture because of an earlier journey to Tanzania. One observation I considered important for my interview was the very calm and slow way of talking I observed in general in Moshi. In the interview situation I tried to adapt to this way of talking because talking fast and loud might have been considered as rude, and could have had an impact on

the conversation. I interviewed the participants in English, which may have caused problems based on differences in the use and understanding of the language (Kvale, 2009).

Transcription

For the transcription of an interview there are a few choices to make, such as who should transcribe the interview (Kvale, 1996). In this study the material was transcribed by me (the researcher). The choice to do so was because the interviews were conducted in English, and neither the researcher nor the participants were native English speakers, a situation that could have an impact on pronunciation and therefore the understanding of the interview. Furthermore, transcribing his own interviews can give the researcher an insight into his interview style (Kvale, 2009). Another choice according to transcription is the style. There are no rules for transcription but there should be explicit guidelines for the transcription style (Kvale, 1996). In this study the interviews were transcribed based on the following guidelines:

- The whole interview has been transcribed.
- The interviewer is indicated with “I” and the respondent with “R”.
- Pauses are indicated with the terms “long pause” or “short pause”.
- Emotional expressions are indicated with parentheses ().
- Expressions like “yes”, “ok” or “hmm” uttered by the interviewer during a respondent’s answer are included only when they are essential to understand the content of the interview.

One ethical issue was the protection of the confidentiality of the respondents and of persons mentioned in the interview, which is why all persons named or interviewed have been anonymized in the transcription.

Ethical considerations

Recruitment procedures

The institution was found and contacted through a paramount organization. I wrote a letter of information, which was sent to the institutions. In the letter the institution was informed about the purpose of the research and asked if observation and interviews would be possible during the fieldwork.

When I was doing the actual fieldwork I found out that only two women were working everyday in the center I was placed in. One was the leader of the center, and the other woman was there to assist her; I interviewed them together. The thought behind this was that during the actual fieldwork I observed that the assistant had difficulty understanding English, and since I don't speak Swahili, a one-on-one interview would have been difficult. To give her the chance to participate I interviewed them together. Through the center I got in touch with their managers and one of the founders of the 11 centers from the organisation. I interviewed one of the managers as well to collect more data.

Informed consent

The participants were informed about the purpose of the research. They were reminded of their right to withdraw and that the interviews would be anonymous. The participants were required to sign a consent form before the interview. The participants were asked if they wanted a copy of the consent form.

Role of the researcher

The course of naturalistic research is hard to control. It is about getting along with the self and the members. Lofland and Lofland describe four common situations of emotional stress (1997). One of them is the impulse to help, the wish to provide some assistance to the people who are being studied (Lofland & Lofland, 1997). In the center I was confronted with the lack of resources for medicine, food or clothes every day. The leader of the center asked me to help to pay for medicine for a girl that was coming to the center. So that it would not affect my data, I tried to keep a balance between accepting the reality in Moshi while still helping out in the situation. The other factors that increased the impulse to help

were the malnutrition of the children and the situation some of them faced in their homes. To help to cope with the situation I talked to another volunteer about what we saw, and we discussed situations we had observed. That helped to focus on the overall goal of my presence, which was to collect my data and start to get a deeper understanding of the professionals' work in this situation (Lofland & Lofland, 1997).

Quality of the research

Reliability and validity are two criteria used to assess the quality of a research. In a quantitative tradition these terms are seen as important criteria. However, in the qualitative tradition the relevance and possibility of applying these terms is a matter of debate. Therefore, different approaches to create relevant terms for qualitative research have been created but are still widely discussed. Even though different approaches have been created, researchers still believe that qualitative research is judged by criteria associated to validity and reliability. Hammersley proposes an approach that lies midway between the preference to adapt the criteria for quantitative research and to adapt alternative criteria (as cited in Bryman, 2012). To evaluate my research I chose Hammersley's definition of validity, which is that the empirical account must be plausible and credible. For Hammersley there is an external reality that the researcher can access; however, the researcher can't reflect the reality of the social world because the researcher is engaged in representations and constructions of the world. He further argues that we can't be certain about the truth of an account because we don't have direct access to the reality it's based on. Hence to evaluate validity, claims of truth have to be judged based on the adequacy of the evidence that supports them (as cited in Bryman, 2012).

My study was a two weeks' field study with participating observations, field notes and follow-up interviews in the end. It can be argued that the evidence is adequate because of my prolonged participation in the social practice. My prolonged participation gave me time during the research to evaluate concepts over and over again and therefore to get a deeper insight and higher level of congruence between concept and observation. It is debatable, though, whether the participation was long enough, since the social practice I participated in was in a different cultural context and the understanding of a culture can take long time.

But here I also would like to refer to the hermeneutic circle and the never-ending process of collecting knowledge about a phenomenon (Højberg, 2004), whereby the duration of the phase to collect evidence is never enough since there is always more to discover. I defer to the reader to evaluate whether the arguments I make to explain the data are plausible or not.

Another quality criterion for the research I wish to discuss is external validity. Generalizations of research results represent a problem for qualitative studies, often because of their size (Bryman, 2012). However, I would also like to point out that because of the scientific position, it is not my aim to generalise my research. In critical realism, generative mechanisms are a fundamental concept to understand events. The complex results of different mechanisms' combined effects create these events (Buch- Hansen & Nielsen, 2011). Therefore no two social situations can be predicted to be the same, and so generalizing the results wouldn't help. In critical realism this is referred to by the term *tendencies* (ibid.).

Reliability is also a difficult criterion to meet with qualitative research since social settings are always changing. LeCompte and Goetz argue that to replicate an ethnographic study the researcher needs to adopt a similar role (as cited in Bryman, 2012). However, they also point out that what will be seen and heard by the researcher will never be the same (Bryman, 2012). Again I would like to argue from the scientific position that reliability, understood as the ability to replicate the study, is not relevant from a critical realistic position because of the complex nature of events (Andersen, 2007). Therefore, this study attempts to create procedural transparency rather than reliability. To create transparency there are detailed descriptions of the methods used to collect the data. Furthermore, it is the description of the social settings chosen and the description of the role as a researcher that gives an insight into the research process.

Method for data analysis

I will use Norman Fairclough's critical discourse analysis (CDA) to analyze the collected data. The researcher's role in CDA is to transcend the discourse and to analyze what people really mean with things they say or to analyze the reality underlying the discourse. The aim

is to work with what has been said in order to investigate which patterns exist in the statements and which social consequences different discursive presentations have (Jørgensen & Phillips, 1999).

Critical discourse analysis

One of the reasons to use CDA is that discourse theory can complement the critical realistic position with knowledge about how to expose power relations and how discursive and social practices can have a real effect (Andersen, 2007).

In the introduction of Norman Fairclough's book *Kritisk diskursanalyse-en tekstsamling*, Elisabeth Halskov Jensen describes the openness to use CDA (Halskov Jensen, 2008). At the same time she explains that the research questions that are explored with this method and theory all have a left-oriented humanistic approach. The intent then is to generate and create critical social research (Fairclough, 2008).

Discourse

For Fairclough CDA is both a method and a theory. Fairclough's use of the term "discourse" refers to the oral or written use of language. He describes this as a narrow use of the term since discourse in social science refers to a broader understanding. For Fairclough the term "discourse" includes the understanding of the use of language as a social practice. That means that discourse is a way of acting and interacting with the world, as well as a way of representing the world. This is the understanding from linguistic philosophy where the focus lies on the individual. Furthermore, it contains the dialectic relationship between discourse (social practices) and social structures. Discourse is formed and limited by/from social structures on all levels, e.g. class and other relations in the society, relations specific for institutions like education, classification systems, and norms and conventions that are discursive or non-discursive. However, discourse is also a social constituent and has constructive effects. It contributes to constructing social identities, subjective positions and all types of the self. It helps construct social relations between people, and it helps to construct systems of knowledge and meaning (Fairclough, 2008).

To analyze discourse three dimensions of discourse should be covered:

- Text that includes speech, writing, visual image or a combination of these
- The discursive practice that involves the production and consumption of the text
- The social practice to which the communicative event belongs

(Fairclough, 2008)

Discursive practice

Discursive practice constructs meanings of the world, social subjects, social relations and also power relations. Discursive practice refers to how a text is produced and consumed. One way to analyze discursive practice is to look closer at the **intertextuality** and **interdiscursivity**. Interdiscursivity can be seen as a part of intertextuality. It is the concept by which discourses and genres are articulated together and the boundaries of the discourse change within the discourse and between different orders of discourse. The order of discourse is the sum of the types of discourses (genres and discourses) that are used in a social domain (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002). Different discourses within a text can be identified by thinking of a discourse as a representation of a particular part of the world and the different perspectives by which this part can be represented (Fairclough, 2003).

Looking for intertextuality requires focusing on how texts draw upon external texts, incorporating or recontextualizing other texts and dialogue with other texts. The obvious ways are citations of other texts, also called manifest intertextuality (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002). But there are also less obvious instances of intertextuality to look for. Fairclough links **assumptions** together with intertextuality. People make assumptions and presuppositions when they speak or write, and so the texts make assumptions because what is said in a text is said against the unsaid, which is something taken for granted. In contrast to intertextuality, assumptions are generally attributed or attributable to specific texts. Another important difference between these two concepts is that intertextuality introduces difference because it brings other voices to the text, while assumption reduces difference because it is based on common ground (Fairclough, 2003).

For social interaction **difference** is fundamental because difference is central to three elements that create social interaction. The three elements that create social interaction as suggested by Giddens are (1) interactions constitution of meaning, (2) its constitution as a moral order and (3) its constitution as an operation of relations of power. If an interaction is meaningful, it has to be negotiated, and the norms in an interaction are interpreted differently by social actors. Power is unequally available to different social actors, so the transformative capacity of an action and the capability to secure outcomes of an action differ between social agents (Giddens, 1993).

Hegemony and intertextuality are two important concepts to combine. Intertextuality that refers to a text's productivity and makes it possible to transform prior texts needs to be combined with a theory about power because productivity is not unlimited to people in society. The combination of these two concepts makes it possible to chart possibilities and limitations for intertextual processes within a particular hegemony and states of hegemonic struggle. Furthermore, it makes it possible to conceptualize intertextual processes, processes of contesting and processes of restructuring orders of discourse as hegemonic struggle in discourse. These struggles have effects on, and are affected by hegemonic struggle in the wider sense (Fairclough, 1992).

Text

Text analysis provides a picture of how texts treat events and social relations, and how they construct reality, social identities and social relations as a result (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002). There are several tools to analyze texts and for my research I have chosen those that appear most relevant according to my research question.

Modality is about how people commit themselves to what they say when they are making statements, asking questions or making demands or offers. It is a relationship between speaker and representations (Fairclough, 2003). There are different modality choices such as truth, where the speaker commits himself totally to the statement. Another modality could be giving permission, where the speaker gives permission to the receiver (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002). These choices can be seen as a part of the process of texturising self iden-

tivity and social identity. Closely related to modality is **transitivity**, where the focus lies in how events and processes are linked to objects and subjects in a text. The link between events, subjects and objects helps in investigating the different ideological consequences they can have (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002). The two main types of processes in transitivity are relational processes, where the verb marks a relationship between participants, and action processes, where an agent acts upon a goal (Fairclough, 1992).

Social practice

Fairclough defines social practice “[...] as articulations of different types of social elements which are associated with particular areas of social life [...]” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 25). Social practice articulates discourse together with non-discoursal elements. Non-discoursal elements can be actions and interactions, social relations, persons with beliefs and attitudes, the material world and discourse. Still, it is hard to divide discourse and social practice into two separate categories since discourse can be found in the social practice in three main ways: genres (ways of acting), discourses (ways of representing) and styles (ways of being). The ways to interact can be speaking or writing, e.g. an interview. Ways of presenting are always discoursal. Different discourses can represent the same part of the world, just from different perspectives. The ways of being can be discoursal alongside bodily behavior and help to constitute particular social or personal identities (Fairclough, 2003). These three ways of identifying discourse are separated for the purpose of the analysis. They are different in how they detect discourse in social practice but they still have a dialectic relation to each other. The way a person represents a part of the world is expressed in a particular way of acting and relating and is influenced by how the person identifies himself (Fairclough, 2003).

After analyzing the text and the discursive practice, the social practice to which they belong has to be analyzed (Phillipsen & Jørgensen, 2002). The general objective in analyzing the social practice is to specify its nature, of which the discursive practice is a part. This explanation is the basis for the discursive practice, which affects the social practice. In the social practice the social matrix of discourse has to be described (Fairclough, 1992). The social matrix of discourse comprises the non-discursive elements, social and cultural relations

and the structures that constitute the context for the discursive practice. These elements can't be addressed by the discourse analysis, and therefore other theories have to be drawn into this part of the analysis. Furthermore, the orders of discourse and the discursive practice have to be explored. What networks does the discursive practice belong to (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002)? What are the effects of reproducing or transforming orders of discourse on the social practice to which it contributes (Fairclough, 1992)?

Ideology

Fairclough makes three important claims about ideology. Ideology has material existence in institutions' practices as material forms of ideology. Ideology has an identity-creating effect on a subject. Fairclough wants to understand ideology as significations/constructions of reality that are somehow a part of different dimensions of discursive practices' form/meaning. And ideology contributes to production, reproduction and transformation of dominance relations (Fairclough, 2008). Production and reproduction of domain relation happens when ideologies in the discursive practice become naturalized and come to be regarded as common sense. But ideologies can be transformed by ideological struggle, which can be seen a dimension in the discursive practice that shows a struggle to reshape the discursive practice and the ideologies within it. If there are contrasting discursive practices to be found in a particular domain, there is a high possibility that part of the contrast is ideological (Fairclough, 1992).

Ideology is a property of structures and events, and finding a satisfactory account of dialectic between structures and events is problematic. Fairclough views ideology located in structures and events. In structures ideology is located in e.g. orders of discourse, that constitute the outcome of past events and the conditions for current events, and in events because they reproduce and transform their conditioning structures. People are not always aware of their own ideological dimensions in their practice because ideologies can be naturalized. Because of that it can be difficult for people to see that their normal practice might have an ideological investment. For Fairclough subjects are ideologically positioned, but they are also capable of acting creatively and making their own connections between the

diverse practices and ideologies to which they are exposed. It depends on social conditions, e.g. relative stability of a domain, whether the subject is acting creatively or has more of an ideological effect. Fairclough also points out that he doesn't recognize all discourses as having an ideological investment, at least not to the same degree (1992).

Hegemony

Fairclough defines hegemony as *"leadership as much as domination across the economic, political, cultural and ideological domains of a society"* (1992). Hegemony is focused on the constant struggle around points of great instability between classes and blocs. The hegemonic struggle takes economic, political or ideological form; it is about constructing, sustaining or fracturing alliances and relations of domination or subordination. The struggles take place in institutions of civil society like education or families (Fairclough, 1992).

Discourse theory and critical realism

The scientific position of the study is a critical realistic position. CDA is often used in a social constructivist position. Therefore I will describe the relationship between critical realism and critical discourse analysis here.

Discourse theory can be combined with critical realism to give the realistic perspective ideas of how knowledge is produced and how meaning is constructed. It can further help to discover power relations and then show how discourses and social practices produce real consequences. This makes it possible to understand how structures in society are reproduced through ideology and discourse (Andersen, 2007).

4. Theory

This chapter focuses on two theories used to collect my data in the fieldwork: firstly, the theory of recognition from Axel Honneth, and secondly, the theory about cultural capital from Pierre Bourdieu. Furthermore, a third theory, Allardt's "Theory of Needs", follows.

Recognition

In my research I used the theory of recognition from Axel Honneth. The theory is a normative theory of society that methodically argues that unequal relations in society exist for some reasons (Honneth, 2006). The theory was used in my observations and interviews to gain more insight about the families' societies and the professionals' relations to the children. Closer examination of the relations should help to achieve more knowledge about the professionals' approaches to disability. Juul argues that the concept of recognition and judgment is fruitful for the critical analysis of professional practice of all social work. The concept of recognition gives an ethical perspective and is skeptical of standardized methods (Juul, 2009).

For Honneth the starting point for a normative theory about society has to be in terms of the formal conditions in which people live together while being able to recognize their own selves (Juul & Bransholm Pedersen, 2012). Honneth's understanding of recognition is influenced by Hegel's and Mead's understanding of recognition. Both Hegel and Mead see the theory about recognition as a conflict model. Through a social group's moral motivated struggle to implement extended boundaries for mutual recognition, institutional and cultural, normative change in society can occur. Social struggle helps to shape structure through society's moral development. Hegel and Mead divide the relations where recognition happens into three divisions: love, rights and social appreciation. The three relations are seen as stages developing the individual's autonomy, so the self respect of the individual grows with the mutual recognition in the different stages (Honneth, 1992). As Søren Juul argues in his article, love is too personal in the perspective of social work (2009). But during my research the children's relationship to their parents played an important role for the professionals' work, so I decided to include all three of Honneth's relations of recognition.

Love

Love isn't used in the romantic understanding of the term. Rather, it's used to describe the primary relations in families, e.g. children's relations to their parents (Honneth, 2006). The primary relations are the relations where a subject can learn about his own values and resources and can see how he is received and recognized. Love and friendship are emotional recognitions that give a subject the possibility to express and respect himself, and with that, the possibility to participate in close relations and in relations within society (Willig, 2006).

Rights

We need to know which normative duties we have to others in order to experience ourselves as beings with rights. First, from the perspective of "the other person", we understand what duties we have to others. Hegel's understanding of rights is a modern understanding of the concept that all human beings are free and equal. The recognition of rights, for Hegel, can only exist if the society recognizes the individuals' rights and values (Honneth, 1994) so that an equal juridical treatment can exist (Juul, 2009).

Social appreciation

Social appreciation is about individual prestige and recognition. It's the relationship to the group or the society where an individual's participation and engagement are recognized. An individual participates in a society where he can recognize himself and receives recognition for his individual contribution to the society. If a person is recognized for his contribution to society, he can accept himself as a part of society with solidarity (Jørgensen, 2006).

The three forms of disrespect

Hegel and Mead don't explicitly describe the ways recognition can be challenged, so Honneth describes three forms of disrespect in contrast to the three forms of recognition. The form of disrespect for the relation of love is physical violence, which results in a moral disrespect because the individual questions the continuum of love and becomes aware of

not being recognized. The second form of disrespect is linked to the relation of rights. To belong to certain groups in a society, e.g. to be disabled, can lead to deprivation of full moral accountability. The person loses his status as an equal, as well as the right to participate equally in public decisions.

The third form of disrespect is stigma, which ranges from a very subtle form to strong forms. This disrespect is shown toward certain lifestyles and ways of perceiving reality that are considered to be lesser lifestyles and are not recognized as proper ways of living. This kind of disrespect destroys a person's self-confidence and devalues the individual (Højlund & Juul, 2005).

Cultural capital

Bourdieu's symbolic capital refers to the resources and sources that give influence and power. Through symbolic capital, Bourdieu tries to dissolve the border between the economic and non-economic (Järvinen, 2007). Social agents try to get access to the capital and control it. Bourdieu's terms "habitus" and "field" are linked closely to capital, and together they form the principles for his theory about practice (Wilkens, 2011). Capital is used to conceptualize social power relations. It is not possible to observe capital itself, but it is possible to observe and register different social characteristics and the possession of these characteristics that can work as capital in a specific field. Power relations in a field decide and define what is seen as capital (Hammerslev et al., 2009)

Bourdieu defines four different kinds of capital: economic, social and cultural capital, and symbolic capital that the other three forms of capital can turn into when they are legitimized as a resource (Wilken, 2006). A form of capital turns into symbolic capital when a particular characteristic is seen by social agents that have the same understanding of the characteristics and can ascribe it a value and recognize it (Bourdieu, 2007). So in empirical studies about cultural capital, it is the field that decides what works as cultural capital, and therefore how cultural capital is defined is different for every empirical study (Hammerslev et al., 2009). In the same way that economical capital can't work if it isn't connected to the economic field, cultural competencies can't be used as cultural capital unless they are a part of the objective relations between the economic production system and the producer's production system. The producer's production system in the case of the cultural capital is the relation between the educational system and the families (Bourdieu, 2007).

Societies that don't have a script system to record cultural resources or an educational system can only conserve cultural resources through incorporation. The incorporation of cultural resources is very important because if the resources are not incorporated by another social agent, the particular resource will disappear with the social agent that possesses the resource. Script systems made it possible to accumulate culture that until then was conserved only through incorporation and restricted by memory. Script systems and educational systems also monopolized symbolic resources like religion, philosophy, art and sci-

ence by monopolizing the way these resources are accessible, e.g. writing, reading and other decoding techniques (Bourdieu, 2007). The educational system grants the same cultural skills to everyone who receives the same title through their education. The owners of a title can be measured by it, and those who don't hold a title can be measured against people who hold one. Through titles the educational system creates a common market for all cultural skills and guarantees that cultural capital gains economical value (Bourdieu, 2007).

Cultural capital is divided into three forms: the physical form, the objective form and the institutionalized form. The physical form of cultural capital is closely linked to Bourdieu's term "habitus". Habitus is the understanding that human beings' perception of reality, including their choices and actions, is generated by the internalized dispositions to feel, think and act in certain ways. These dispositions are internalized throughout life under certain social circumstances. Cultural capital is purchased through socialization and encased as dispositions in habitus. The physical form of cultural capital is the ability to sense certain values and goods and the ability to express this sense physically, mentally and socially. Physical cultural capital is primarily contained within the family and includes manners of talking and tastes. The objective form of cultural capital is materials like paintings, musical instruments or books. This form of capital can be attained by owning e.g. books but also by consuming and appreciating these materials without owning them. The last form of cultural capital is the institutionalized form that includes grades, academic titles and other titles achieved through education (Wilkens, 2011).

Allardt's "theory of needs"

The Northern study of welfare has been influenced by the Finnish sociologist Eric Allardt. Allardt's point of view is that welfare should be analyzed both with objective data and subjective data. Welfare is defined as a situation influenced by material, economic, social and psychological security for individuals and groups. For Allardt it is essential to take a look at relations of love and care and not just material needs. This gave the term "welfare" a wider perspective, and Allardt expressed this perspective in three terms: "to have", "to love" and "to be".

"To have" is the need related to material and impersonal resources, e.g. income, work, health and education.

"To love" is the need related to love, friendship and solidarity, e.g. family.

"To be" is the need related to self realization, e.g. personal prestige.

"To love" is different from the other two categories because it is about interaction with other individuals. "To have" and "to be" are more focused on individual goals and resources.

To study welfare and people's needs, Allardt makes a distinction between happiness and welfare. Welfare is based on need, and the extent of welfare is defined by the satisfaction of the need, while happiness refers to perceptions and experiences, which means that it can be defined by how happy people feel. The other distinction Allardt makes is between life standard and life quality. Life standard is measured by material and impersonal resources that are available to manage and control life circumstances. Life quality is measured by needs that are not defined by material resources. It's important to point out that Allardt means that life quality and life standard can be measured both objectively and subjectively. This connection between the terms can be seen in the table below (Elm Larsen, 2007).

Figure 3. *Allardt's figure*

	Welfare	Happiness
Life standard	Needs satisfied by material resources	The subjective perception of one's material and external life circumstances
Life quality	Needs satisfied by relations to other human beings, society and nature	The subjective perception of relations to other human beings, society and nature

(Source: Allardt, 1975)

Allardt explains that needs are related to welfare and wishes are related to happiness. It is harder for people who are living under tough circumstances to define what they wish for in a changing situation. His argument relies on the assumption that people (tend to) measure themselves against others in the same situation, but the group isn't that big. He argues that it is even harder to determine needs, and to base welfare politics on needs would always include a valuation of what is good and what is bad. This leads to welfare being based on values, but those values in turn have to be based on present social phenomena. Therefore, by studying people's pursuit of welfare, it should be possible to evaluate the needs and values that are central to welfare. Thus, the needs of a society aren't a list of universal needs that can be used in every context. Rather, they vary depending on the economic, social, cultural and symbolic context (ibid.).

Allardt has been criticized for his connection between subjective and objective satisfaction of needs. Studies of welfare have not shown a connection between subjective and objective indicators for welfare. Thomas Højrup argues that the connection of subjective and objective life circumstances is problematic because human beings have different lifestyles (Højrup, 2010). He distinguishes between "to live" and "life circumstances". The circumstances that must exist in order to live a life with meaning are different from lifestyle to lifestyle and are valued differently. A certain lifestyle presupposes that certain structural

conditions are realized, and the circumstances that create a life with meaning are different for each lifestyle (Elm Larsen, 2007).

Allardt in this study

Honneth's theory of recognition and Allardt's theory of needs have several points in common. Allardt's terms "to love" and "to be" are similar to Honneth's relation of love and relation of social appreciation. The difference between Honneth and Allardt is that Honneth has a normative perspective on these relations, and his theory is appropriate for analyzing the struggle for recognition in society. Allardt adds the term "welfare" to these relations, and his term "to have" provides another dimension by which to understand the needs of human beings. The inspiration of how to use Allardt's theory in this study came from an article written by pedagogical students that travelled to Kenya to work in an orphanage (Jespersen et al. 2011). The study applied the theory by focusing on how the three categories "to love", "to have" and "to be" are prioritized according to each other. This perspective is an especially interesting choice for African countries since the category "to have" is generally challenged by the lack of resources.

5. Analysis

This chapter contains a discourse analysis of four different texts I produced for my study. Two formal interviews were conducted with two social workers; they are referred to as I1 and I2 in the analysis. The third text is the field notes recorded during my stay, and they are referred to as EN (ethnographic note). The chapter is divided in three parts: the text analysis, discursive practice and the social practice.

Text Analysis

The analysis of the text focuses on the choice of words the social workers use to describe the children and the parents. Furthermore, it focuses on modality and the unsaid, which can lie implicitly in the said.

[...] there are so many things that have changed just in these couple of years and how families see their own children and interact with them. So in the beginning it was just about making the family realize that the childrens do have rights, they deserve to see the sun sometimes. They, you know, can choose they want this food, that food, and you know, they have preferences. And so you start slowly on a low level, and then some have developed really far, some are still not that far at all, but still better than the children had it before. (I2)

In this excerpt, the social worker shows high affinity by using modally auxiliary verbs like **have changed**, **do have rights**, **[do] deserve to see**, **can choose** in the description of the children. The social worker describes the children as a group of people that “do have rights” and “deserve to see the sun” and can make choices themselves. This description of the children contains an ideal social identity for the children from the organization’s perspective. Furthermore, this description of the children gives them a more independent and recognized role.

In this excerpt these descriptions reveal much about the unsaid. The unsaid can be understood from the words “making the family realize”, which implies that the families didn’t see that the children had rights. The high affinity in the description of the children’s rights could be defined as an ideology that seeks to transform the dominant relationship between

the parents and their children, as well as seeking equality for the children in the society. Fairclough defines ideology as meanings and constructions of reality that are built in different dimensions of discourse and that contributes to production, reproduction and transformation of dominant relations (Fairclough, 2008). The discourse about rights draws interdiscursively on the human rights discourse. Human rights were adopted by the UN General Assembly on 10 December 1948. They were an answer to the cruelties of the Second World War (<http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/hr law.shtml>).

The relationship between the parents and their children is described in more detail in the following excerpts:

R: For starting with water, as I told you that most parents, they didn't give them water because they think that they are going to peepee on their pants, and they say, "Ahh, we don't have water to wash our clothes, we don't have soap," so they didn't give them water. (I1)

[...] But then, the mother didn't want to do it. Then I see that if I didn't take John or Tim to the center, then they are going to die. Because their mother is just locking them inside. (I1)

Like Will's mother, most of the time she don't want to give Will food, she wants Will to die. This is what we learned. So every time we have to go to that home, on Wednesday and sometimes on Saturday or Sunday. We just do go there without she knows. When she sees us, ohh she is coming. So she start, because when you go there, one day when I go there I knock the door, and Will is wet everywhere up to the head. (I1)

[...] if you go out into the villages, children that are born with disabilities are still killed. Most of the times they are killed within the first year because the parents can't take care of them [...]. (I2)

In these excerpts the social worker in I1 shows a high affinity by using verbs like *didn't*, *are going to*, *want to*. Furthermore, the subject is explicit in the social worker's descriptions of

what has to be done for the children, e.g. *we have to go*. The high affinity shows how the social worker identifies herself with the role to fight for the children's rights.

The excerpts show the role of the parents as well. The parents of the children are often connected to activities that can be defined as child abuse: *they didn't give them water, Their mother is just locking them inside, she don't want to give Will food, she wants Will to die*. The social worker's description of the parents shows some kind of mistrust in the relationship between the social workers and the parents. The social workers have to, e.g., check on the children to ensure they are not closed in by themselves and that they have food.

Based on the description of the parents' and the social workers' activities, the children can be identified as victims that depend on help from people other than their own family. But it is important to point out that the parents are described as victims as well:

And then along with the parent meeting and the parent committees they themselves find strength in another, and they share their stories [...] (I2)

They can sit down, they can talk, and they can say, "Well, we were scared too, but we found this and this and this, these options and it does help us [...]" (I2)

The parents are described as a group that needs to find *strength*; they are *scared* when they have a child with disabilities. Comparing the situation of the parents in Moshi with parents of disabled children in Denmark, similarities can be drawn. A Danish article about parents of disabled children states that having a disabled child puts the parents into crisis, which can be defined as a situation where the usual patterns of behavior don't apply. This forces the parents to find new ways of thinking and acting. It also puts the parents into a situation they didn't choose themselves (Thomassen, 2009). The same applies for the parents in Moshi; they find themselves in a situation they didn't expect and they didn't choose. Furthermore, an assumption can be made that in some cases, the parents in Moshi are even more unprepared for the situation because in Denmark there are several technological methods to diagnose impairments of the embryo before giving birth. Based on my own observations the technological possibilities in Tanzania are fewer and are not accessible for

everyone. This gives the parents in Moshi no time to think about the situation before the child is born. Also, access to information about different disabilities is lower in Tanzania, and the system does not provide services for the parents to cope with the situation.

Despite facing the crisis of having a disabled child, the parents are also described as *poor*. This description makes them victims of structural components. Parents are in some cases not able to take care of their children.

For the big challenge is that most of the parents they are poor. They don't have maybe food or clothes or whatever. And most of them they just stay in one room. It's one room, it's the kitchen, it's the bedroom, it's the dining. So most of the children is hard for them to survive (I1).

The social worker describes the consequences of being poor for some of the parents, like the lack of material, e.g. food and clothes, and the very small area of living. This description indicates that the malnutrition of the children, which was connected to child abuse in the earlier excerpt, not always is a chosen action of the parents. They lack essential goods, which increases the risk of the children lacking essential goods. Furthermore, the health of the children is influenced by the low living standard of the families. The parents have control over some actions regarding their children, but there are also underlying factors that are out of their control.

Another distinction that can be made is between the role of men and women.

And also when most of the mans, husbands, when they see that you have a disabled they run away. So this is the mother have to work with the children. Because they say maybe it's from your tribe, it's not me, this is from your parents, so most of men they run away. So you can see that, when they come here it's only the mothers bringing them (I1).

The women especially are described as victims of the situation, while the fathers are described as running away and blaming the women for having a disabled child. The different descriptions of the parents – that they are both connected to activities of child abuse and

are also seen as victims of poverty – show the complexity of the situation. This makes it impossible to give a causal explanation of the children's situation.

Even though the social identity of the parents is the role of the victim, the social worker still expresses the wish to change that identity into a more independent role and a more active role in interaction with their children.

We don't want to make them dependent on the organization, but we want them to find each other to help and improve and that's like building a caring community. And they will have themselves and build a solid foundation to stand on. And then they are supported, with the micro-credit and the centers and everything. But it has to come from them. (I2)

So we go the home visits to see all skills we teach the parents, are they using it or they just leave it. Ja this is the purpose of our visit. (I1)

The social worker states clearly that they **don't want** to make the parents depend on the organization. They want the parents to have a more self-creating role in their own life through the help of other parents in the community. Furthermore, they expect the parents to take a more active role in the treatment of their children.

The social workers themselves also reveal their identity through the way they describe their interactions with the children and the parents.

we provide healthcare for all of our children, and we want them to stay healthy and have long and good lives (I2)

we want to make them one community that they can rely on. (I2)

we want to make integration (I1)

we have we go to police, and say that this mother is not doing good for Will (I1)

So we go the home visits to see, all skills we teach the parents are they using it or they just leave it. (I1)

In all the excerpts there is a high affinity, shown by verbs like *have to* and the explicit subject. The subject “we” could refer to the organization, which also shows the loyalty of the social workers to the organization. The ideology of human rights builds the foundation for the social workers to address the problems faced by children with disabilities. It gives the social workers an identity as advocates for the children’s rights. They have a duty to secure the rights and also to make the children’s lives better according to the human rights by applying these rights in the family lives and in the community.

Summing up

The text analysis shows that the social actors are divided in three different groups with different social identities. But they are all a part of a social struggle. The organizations, represented by the social workers, struggle to create a better life for children with disabilities and advocate for the children with their ideology of human rights. The parents are opponents of the organization in this struggle because they have to change their actions regarding their children so the children’s situation can improve. But at the same time, the social workers also describe the parents, and especially the women, as victims of the structure and their situation, which shows that there are components that are out of control for the parents and influence the children’s situation. So the social workers also recognize the parents’ struggles in society. This makes the parents and the organization allies in the wider social struggle. The wider social struggle is against structural problems such as poverty. The text analysis also shows that changing the role of both the parents and the children from victims into a more independent role is an objective of the organization. The comparative discussion about the parents’ identity shows that there is a reason to assume that parents of disabled children in Tanzania, like parents in Denmark, also go through a crisis when they have a disabled child. The difference in their situations lies more in the possibilities for dealing with the crisis and the support from the government.

Discursive practice

The discursive practice focuses on the discourses about disability and how social workers approach the work in the center with the children.

Discourses about disability

The text analysis already leads to a discourse about disability as a human rights issue. The social workers made it clear that disability and the understanding of disability is a social matter by describing how the children have rights which should be respected. This could relate to the social model of disability. The focus in both of the following excerpts is on the medical explanation of disability, but the approaches in their practice are not focused only on the physical impairments. The approaches to their work, which are analyzed below, are focused on the children's situation in society as well.

Medical discourse

They told us sometimes it's when there are too drunker, they can get disabled (children), and sometimes when they have a labor pain for long time, so the children can, they may miss the oxygen, so they may have a disabled. (I1)

The social worker is referring to the training she received for her work in the center. She explains different causes that can lead to disability by using the medical model of disability that explains disability as a result of a medical condition and disability itself as a medical condition (Kampmann, 2007).

I: How are you explaining the disability to the parents or in the work, also to the professionals you educate. How is it explained?

I: But then I mean, the first contact they would make would of course be at the hospital. They are the ones who would medically explain the disability. (I2)

The medical understanding of disability is also referred to by the social worker in the second interview. The medical understanding of disability is commonly used in rehabilitation interventions, with a focus on the individual's impairments. It has been criticized for classifying disability as a deviation. Furthermore, it has also been criticized for ignoring factors like psychology, society and the individual (Kampmann, 2007).

Religious punishment discourse

Yeah, for the parents, when they see the disabled, they know that this is the... It's like God as a, what you call it. That maybe someone do something which is not so good, so God start to beat him through his children. This is how most of the parents understand. Then like me or Susan. We are working here. If some of us have a disabled children, they say "They they didn't do good thing for the children, so now God is beating them." So if I have a disabled child now, if I have a pregnant and when I deliver a disabled child, they say "Ahh, you see, they didn't do good for the children. So this is how they got it, see. God has already beaten them." (Laughing) (I1)

Because the problem here they think that, ahh [short break] to be a disabled is just like a curse, ahh, like something with maybe you do something bad then God beat you through the children. So they don't allow the children to come to play with them ja. (I1)

The social worker here assumes that the parents and the community understand disability as a course of Good. This assumption could be defined as an ideology. However, Fairclough argues that it's a classic argument that religious assumptions are ideological and that it needs more than a text analysis to make a plausible argument that the beliefs are sustaining relations of power (2003). I argue that the consequences of religious beliefs sustain power relations and therefore can be categorized as ideology. In the same excerpt of the interview the social worker points out that a consequence of religious belief is that disabled children are not allowed to play with children in the center, so they are directly excluded from society. Furthermore, she describes how some parents think that helping disabled children will result in a punishment from God. These two consequences might not be the only factors affecting disabled people's position in society, but they are components in producing and reproducing the oppressed position of the children.

To get a wider understanding of the discursive practice, the link between intertextuality and hegemony here could be interesting. The productivity of texts is not accessible for everyone in society (Fairclough, 1992). The discursive practice of the parents can be influ-

enced by their limited access to diverse discourses about disability. The limitations for the parents can be e.g. illiteracy and limited access to education. The social workers draw on theories from a Western context, and they have more opportunities to access the texts they draw upon.

Social workers discourses about their practice

In this section I outline which discourses the social workers are drawing on to talk about their approach to their work.

The religious discourse

I say yes, why not me, if God give me a good children and I as I self I am working myself, I can walk, I can do anything, then who can help this children. (I1)

Yeah it's really hard, then I say God help me to continue to work with the children. I like it, my work. (I1)

After giving the children water Ann is singing a song with the children. The song is a religious song, a line in the song is "Asante Sana Jesu", which means thank you Jesus. Ann is singing to every single child by saying their names in the song. After the song she explains that the song is about going to school. (EN)

One of the social workers approaches her work from a religious perspective. She sees the purpose of her work from a religious point of view, and at the same time she seeks strength to do her work in her religion. Furthermore, she uses religion in her work with the children. Compared to the religious punishment discourse, religion in the community can be stigmatizing for the children, but at the same time religion is justification for helping the children, and it is even the church which initiated the establishment of the organization's centers. Furthermore, this discussion shows that religion in Tanzania in general has a big influence on people's lives.

The good life discourse

So we provide healthcare for all of our children, and we want them to stay healthy and have long and good lives. And the second part is that of course we want to provide therapy at the centers, and let them develop as far as they possibly can, and become as good as they can. And hopefully send, I mean the ultimate goal would be to send every one of them to vocational training and find a sustainable job for everyone, something that they can do for the rest of their lives. That is not really realistic at the moment, but it's on its way, but yeah that's it: therapy and healthcare. (I2)

The social worker is drawing on a good-life discourse that includes therapy and healthcare for the children with the ultimate goal for the children to get jobs as adults and provide for themselves so as to be independent. The discourse about the good life can be positioned against the unsaid in this quotation, namely that the children are not able to get access to adequate healthcare and therapy without the organization and that they are still a group excluded from society. The goal that the children grow up and get a job, which she herself says is “*not realistic at the moment, but it's on its way [...]*”, can be seen as an idealistic discourse.

The family discourse

I mean the families are a big part of our work. We have parents committees, we have parent meetings, we have parent cooperatives, and depending on how involved the parents wishes to be, they can be involved more or less of course. But all of them have to be involved. Before they send a child to the center they have to sign a paper that says, “If asked I am willing to volunteer at the centers, help out in chores and take care of the other children too, if and when I have time.” And the parents get introduced to everyone else at the center. They have a meeting with the pastor, and we are really trying to involve everyone in that, in the centers and in the outreach program and within the community too. (I2)

And then along with the parent meeting and the parent committees, they themselves find strength in another, and they share their stories and they go, "Well, I did this now and I find a new business here, and I can go to town and I can sell clothes." And so it's really... We don't want to make them dependent on the organization, but we want them to find each other to help and improve, and that's like building a caring community. And they will have themselves and build a solid foundation to stand on. And then they are support, with the micro-credit and the centers and everything. But it has to come from them. (I2)

For the outreach, we want to see that those skills which we teach the parents, they have to use it. Most of them they don't use it. Like Will mother, most of the time she don't want to give Will food, she want Will to die. This is what we learned. So every time we have to go to that home, on Wednesday and sometimes on Saturday or Sunday. We just do go there without she know. When she sees us, ohh she is coming. So she start, because when you go there, one day when I go there I knock the door, and Will is wet everywhere up to the head. (I1)

It's really hard, then I broke the door that day. I enter, I washed Will and I try to change the everything, clothes and whatever. Then I say, then we have we go to police and say that this mother is not doing good for Will. So anytime if Will died, have to be (not audible) of the children. So we go the home visits to see all skills we teach the parents, are they using it or they just leave it. Ja this is the purpose of our visit. (I1)

The organization (represented by the social workers) has a family discourse that can be linked to the social identities the organization has ascribed to the parents. They are seen as victims of the structure and their situation, and therefore activities in the family approach, like parent cooperatives, giving them financial support and parent meetings where “they share their story”, are created. Likewise, the child abuse that describes some of the parents’ relations to their children also gets addressed in the organization’s family approach. The social worker in I1 explains how they have to check if parents use skills they have been

taught, and in some cases how they have to prevent child abuse by showing up at the children's homes without giving notice in advance.

Comparing the methods used in the family approach with the social interventions for families with disabled children in Denmark, the organization in Tanzania assumes duties in their program that in Denmark are the responsibilities of the state. Economic support and the control of child abuse are both tasks that the state is involved in Denmark (Kilde). The reason for the organisation to assume these duties in their agenda could be the lack of help from the social system in Tanzania. The lack of the state's help in such issues could signalize that the responsibility of having a disabled child lies with the families.

The gentle teaching discourse

Both social workers draw on a discourse about gentle teaching:

R: "Ahm they, they told us S. – she is our teacher called S. – she starts by using horse, saying that you can go to home, children didn't know you, so they may start fearing that they don't know you. But they say you can go with dollies or whatever so you can find which things that you think that the children can like. We have small balls, we have dolls, animal dolls, and like children dolls. Then when you go with all, like Ben didn't want to see any doll, then he starts to fear, we hide it. Then we go with balls ahhh" (I1)

The social worker is describing how she learns to establish a relationship with the children and earn their trust. This could be related to the feeling of being safe that is one of the four essential feelings that need to be taught according to the gentle teaching method.

I: The center, do you have rules for the professionals to work with the children, are there rules that the professionals should work in a certain way with the children?

R: Ohh there are definitely rules, all of the stuff before they are allowed to meet, not to meet the children, but before they are allowed to start working in the centers they all have to go through training. I think I told you that it's all disability history, philosophy and care giving, and a big part of it is there is a philosophy called gentle teaching. And

we don't follow it like point by point, but it's an important part of what we try to, hmm, to impose on the workers that. You know, you have to make the children feel safe for them to trust you, and for the therapy to work, they have to trust the caregiver. And that's a big part. (I2)

[...] But here it's mostly because there are so many things that have changed just in these couple of years and how families see their own children and interact with them. So in the beginning it was just about making the family realize that the childrens do have rights, they deserve to see the sun sometimes. They, you know, can chose they want this food, that food, and you know, they have preferences. And so you start slowly on a low level, and then someone have developed really far, some are still not that far at all, but still better than the children had it before (I2).

The social worker in I2 to is directly referring to the gentle teaching method that is used as a guideline in the work with the children, even though it's not fully practiced. The method is based on a psychology of human interdependence, and the international homepage of gentle teaching outlines following principles in the method:

- *Focusing on being kind, nurturing and loving toward marginalized children and adults— those who have been pushed to the edge of family or community life*
- *Helping those who have sorrowful life-stories feel safe with us and loved by us.*
- *Helping those who have inherent vulnerabilities such as extreme poverty, homelessness, mental disability or mental illness feel safe with us and loved by us and others.*
- *Looking at our role as teaching feelings of companionship and community.*
- *Mending broken hearts—hearts that have been broken by tragic life stories or by the particular nature of a mental or emotional disability.*

(<http://gentleteaching.sharevision.ca/pages/gt/gtis.aspx>)

The gentle teaching philosophy fits with the identities ascribed to the parents and children.

Discourse of independence

Despite the discourse about gentle teaching, which is based on interdependence, one of the approaches to the social workers' practice is also to help the children to become independent if possible.

When we have that small center, we have a small garden for them. So like Mike, he can't just stay at the class because he can[t] learn anything. Just to write or draw, no. But we have like a garden outside, so he may dig a garden with flowers or vegetables. Then when they are ready we can pay the mother, that this is money for Mike, he already dig maybe Chinese. So we are using the center, so this is the money for Mike. (I1)

But (short break) it's difficult for many of them. The disabilities would have to be really mild for them to have a sustainable future for themselves. Most of them will be dependent on families even when they leave the program. (I2)

The social worker in I2 points out that total independence is not a possibility for all of the children, depending on the impact of their impairments. While there are more accommodating technological possibilities in northern countries, even for more severe physical impairments, and the labor market is less physical, in Tanzania poorer families still depend on hard physical labor, often agriculture, to make a living. This makes it a challenge to help the children create an independent life when they grow up. But it would be wrong to describe modern societies as the only possibility to create independence for people with disabilities. A materialist analysis of the social oppression of disabled people in capitalist societies introduces the idea that oppression arises as a product of the material conditions of life. Finkelstein divides the development of oppression into three historical phases (as cited in Thomas, 2007). The first phase involved establishing large-scale industries, which led to the inclusion of disabled people among lower orders in the social hierarchy together with the poor. The relocation of people from agricultural settings to overcrowded, unsanitary urban centers to perform fast-paced labor for long hours made people with impairments unable to sell their labor power on equal terms. The second phase came with production in large scaled-industries that was geared to the norms of the able-bodied, which led to the

segregation of people with impairment from their communities and to institutionalization. The classification of disabled people as an administrative group emerged during this phase. The last period is the last quarter of the twentieth century, where new electronic technology is able to create the independent life for people with impairments (as cited in Thomas, 2007). Finkelstein's explanation includes the description of how people with impairments had actually better chances of selling their labor power in agricultural societies than in industrialized societies.

Discourse of integration

As mentioned before, the social workers have a medical/biological explanation for disability. But in their approaches to their practice, the social model of disability can be found as well. In their practice they confront the parents' and communities' understanding of disability.

And what we want to make integration, maybe we have a daycare here, where children can play, so others who are just lying at the madras can see, "Ahh, there is other people who can walk." (I1)

And also those who are walking, they see, "Ahh, there is children like this, they just sleeping. There is people like me." (I1)

The social worker is drawing on a discourse of integration that can be linked to the social model of disability. She explains that the integration should come in two ways. The children should see people that don't have impairments and have contact with the society. Likewise, the community should see children with disabilities in order to accept them. The concept of inclusion or integration is challenging on several levels in Moshi; achieving inclusion is difficult not only due to religious factors but to material factors as well.

Economic discourse

I: Ok yes, you were talking about this micro-credit loan for the families. Can you tell a little bit about it?

R: Exactly, so everyone who has a child being in the organization's program is eligible for a micro-credit loan, and that can be either if they want to start up a new business, improve an existing one, or if they want to buy like a wheelchair or something for the children, and then they get that loan with 0% interest. We help them to get the money, and they pay it back slowly when they can, and that is a fairly new program. We have been talking about it for two years now, but it's only like in the last four or five month that it's actually have been put into practice. And now we have many loan applicants, and they have to be improved by a committee, but I think it will work out fine. The parents like the idea, and many of them become very passionate about finding something to do. Like, for example, the mama Mike shop at Ann's is a great example, and then if they make a profit after they have taken enough for their family, some small part will be donated back in to organization. (I2)

The social worker is drawing on an economic discourse. The economic approach to the work with the families focuses on making a family's economy stable so that the materials necessary for the child and the rest of the family are affordable. Furthermore, the economic approach is a loan, so it doesn't create dependence on the organization, but more a starting capital for independence. The loan can also be granted for materials like a wheelchair for the child, which can also create more independence for the child.

Summing up

Several discourses found in the discursive practice are interdiscursive, drawing on theories developed in Northern countries, e.g. gentle teaching, the medical and social models of disability and the concepts of integration/inclusion. These influences are caused by the organization's origin in the USA. But it has to be pointed out that the discourses are shaped by the cultural and structural context as well and therefore challenge some of the concepts from the Northern countries. The understanding of disability especially is challenged by religious beliefs about disability. As pointed out in the introduction, the social model of disability has been criticized for ignoring religious beliefs, especially because it can be a source for discrimination (Grech, 2009). In the social workers' practice religion, can't be

ignored because it has an impact on how the children are seen and what approaches are chosen to use with the children and their families. Furthermore, it's not merely a source of discrimination, but it is also the starting point for the social workers' practice, namely the motivation to do the good deed of helping other people. The discursive practice of the social workers is also influenced by the specific cultural context. Religion is an important factor in the work with the children and the community.

Social practice

In the social practice the structural and cultural influences on the social workers' approaches to practice are analyzed and the non-discursive factors are outlined. Furthermore, the social practice is examined using Axel Honneth's theory of recognition and Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital. To outline the non-discursive, cultural and structural components, I draw on examples from the interviews and the field notes. To understand these components I draw on other theories, since discourse analysis cannot provide a deeper understanding of these components.

Identifying the Children

I take Susan, we start working, we just go to home visit, we see local government in the office, we say that we are from church, (not audible) we want to work with disabled children, then they told us, "Yes, we know somehow, someone, but if you know you can continue from there." Then we go to Will's family. The father of Will is also working as a (...) in the local government office. He told us you can go to my home place, then if you see my wife she can show you other families who know disabled. From there we know Will, Jane and Tom. (I1)

The social workers' starting point to open a center is to identify and find children with disabilities in Moshi, so they have to consult with the local government. From the local government they have to go on themselves to find more children.

Since the social workers have to find the children themselves, an assumption could be made that they are confronted with structural factors. In Tanzania birth registration is low. In a survey from 1999, birth registration was at 6.4 %; mostly children in urban areas are

registered while the registration in rural areas is around 2.9 %, but has increased from 2002. The registration system is decentralized, meaning it's the local government's responsibility; there is a village registration system that requires every individual living in a village to register birth, death and migration (Register General Office, 2005). An assumption can be made that the local government might not register people with disabilities since there are few or no existing services from the local governments for disabled people (Mchomvu, et al., 2002). In Denmark families with disabled children are often contacted by the local government's social workers, and if not, they have the possibility to contact the local government for help. They are advised as to what avenues for help exist, and the local government has the responsibility to inform parents of disabled children about the impact the disability can have on the family life (Knigge, 2007).

Another explanation for this particular way of finding the children could be the lack of a diagnosis. An assumption could be made that children with disabilities not always are diagnosed. The results of a study of the elderly undertaken in 2012 in Tanzania shows that only 14.6 % of 384 identified neurological disorders have been diagnosed. In the conclusion the researcher explains that one reason for the low level of diagnosis could be because of the lack of access to appropriate health care services (Dewhurst et al., 2012).

A cultural perspective of the situation could be the oral tradition. Tanzania is a country with a long oral tradition. Before the Europeans came literacy and written culture were found in very few places. Knowledge and values were transmitted in between generations, so e.g. education, welfare and government were carried out through personal contact. Nowadays Internet use is spreading in governmental institutions to disseminate information, but the electricity grid in Tanzania only covers 10 % of the country, mostly in major towns. Furthermore, the costs of computer hardware are expensive for most Tanzanians, even those who are counted among the professional middle class. Therefore the public sector relies heavily on donor support. The written word can also be difficult to maintain in a tropical climate since the lifespan of books is short due to humidity, insects and pests (Mafu, 2004). A more secure information system could be the oral tradition. Maybe it is

used because of problems with other information systems, but maybe the oral tradition still survives all the other approaches.

Traditional and informal security systems

Ann tells us that she often hears from neighbors that he doesn't get food until someone from the center is coming. [...] Ann is telling us in the car that she will call the neighbors if he had food; she doesn't want to fight with the stepmom. We are driving further into the village. The next child we visit is Jenny. We meet her sister on the way; she has to go to the hospital, and the parents are working. When we arrive at the house, made of mud, two sisters around 6 and 8 are sitting outside playing. We go into a little room in the house where Jenny is lying in bed with a mosquito net over her. The bed is standing at the window. Ann is explaining that the neighbors are looking after her because the sister couldn't take care of her because she is on the way to the hospital. (EN)

In this excerpt the social worker talks about which information is relevant when they get new children in the center:

We have to know: who is the neighbor? Because sometimes they may come with the children here, and they leave it here. So you don't know where you can go with the children. We have to know the local government office, we have to know the neighbors all four parts, and who are they staying with. Are they only alone at home? Do they have brothers and sisters, who can take care if I take him? If you are not in, is anyone who can take care of the children? (I1)

The neighbors are used as a security system for the children, which points to a traditional and informal social security system. Studies on the informal and traditional social security systems from the pre-colonial Tanzania show that in the past there were mutual assistance and economic cooperation in groups that lived together. Neighbors were often relatives and were therefore ruled by the rules and norms and obligations that were between relatives. There could be a need for alternative social security systems since Mchomvu et al. (2002) argue that the state's lack of resources and, further, the lack of political are leading

to the failure of adequate social protection of the poor. But there were significant changes in the traditional security system during and after the colonial period. Studies have shown that support nowadays is only provided to close family members, and even within families it has become difficult to provide support (Mchomvu et al., 2002). In this discussion I would like to use Allardt's theory of needs as well. Allardt's concept of love includes the solidarity in a society (Elm Larsen, 2007). Even though the traditional security system might be changing according to Mchomvu et al. (2002), the solidarity between people is still high, at least based on the observation of how they still create a kind of a welfare system for each other. This solidarity is shown in the excerpts in the neighbors' willingness to help families with childcare, and further in they help provide information to the social workers if the child isn't treated well. This way of acting can also be seen as a kind of cultural capital based on values that are seen as important (Bourdieu, 2007).

Lack of access to healthcare

Ann is telling me that Joe had meningitis and got a brain damage from the fever. Also Jane got a brain damage from untreated meningitis. Other children got disabled because of untreated fever from malaria or complications during birth. (EN)

The causes of disability for several children in the center are untreated or late-treated diseases like malaria or meningitis. Malaria is a leading child-killer in sub-Saharan Africa, and access for all to health facilities in low income countries is still low. One study concluded that in two rural districts in Tanzania, 87.5 % of fever cases of children were treated, but only 22.5 % were treated promptly and with appropriate antimalaria treatment (Hazel et al., 2008). The lack of a well-functioning health care system can be part of the explanation for the children's health conditions and the organization's health approach in their work, as described in the following excerpts:

Ann is asking me to buy medicine for Jenny, since she is coughing and needs to be treated, so she can breathe normally. The medicine costs 10 000 Tanzanian schilling. (EN)

Like Tim, the one who is in CCBRT. We start by giving them milk because he don't have enough blood, and he is very weak. So we start to say that every month, we have to go to hospital to see how is it going. Then after that we try to squeeze our timetable, and then this is when it went very well. (I1)

Some (four) of the children have severe deformations and spastics and are suffering from malnutrition. Three are lying down all day. The children are not able to eat solid food because they suffer from dysfagy. (EN)

The co-founder is on visit and he is telling me about the children. Several of the children were supposed to have an operation on the tracheae because of their problems to swallow food. He tells me that the doctor was denying operating the children. (EN)

Environmental factors

Joe arrives, carried by his mum in a kanga on the back. [...] Ann is telling me that other children are not there because of the hard rain that makes the ways muddy, so their parents can't walk all the way with the children on their back. She tells me to carry the children on the back on muddy ways can be a risk for the children when the parents fall. (EN)

Today is the outreach program; we are driving with Ann's car into the village nearby the center. The streets are narrow, muddy and uneven and Ann is struggling to pass at some points once in a while. There are deep waterholes from the rain last night. Ann and Susan don't visit all the children in the outreach but they visit them in turns. The mud caused by the rain makes it impossible to visit the children that are living deeper in the village. (EN)

*The organization was founded in 2008. And back then they started, they located the children first. They didn't look for a place to put the center; they identified all the children and then decided to put the center in the middle in between **so all of them would have the same distance** [...] (I2)*

The social practice of the social workers is influenced by weather, lack of infrastructure and lack of transport. The first excerpt describes how the parents usually bring the children who can't walk, because of their impairments or because they are infants, to the center. A kanga is a traditional clothing garment in various colors worn by women in Africa. It used by women for dressing but also for carrying, usually infants and small children, on the back.

For the mothers in the center walking with their children on their back is the main way to get the children to the center. Only one of the boys attending the center has his own wheelchair. Local small buses called dala dala are only driven on main roads, but most families live deeper into the villages, which forces them to walk longer distances out to the main roads. Furthermore, are often overcrowded, which means that the bus fills up until the doors of the bus are kept open with people hanging out on the side. For children with physical impairments, this is a potential health issue.

Furthermore, walking after heavy rains during the rainy season can also be a risk because of the mud. There are two rain seasons in Tanzania. The rainy season lasting from March until May consists of "long rains", which are heavy and often pour down in the afternoon or night (<http://www.expertafrica.com/tanzania/info/weather-and-climate>). The field study was undertaken in the April, so the time of the stay gave me the opportunity to observe the impact of the rainy season. The second excerpt shows how the weather affects the social workers in their practice.

The third excerpt was chosen to show how the lack of transport and the lack of an infrastructure has played a part in the organization's planning process. To consider the distance for the families is an important factor so that the children have the opportunity to attend the centers in the first place, though the organization makes home visits to those children for whom it is impossible, for various reasons, to attend the centers.

Manual labor

We arrive and Ann and Susan are in the field that is right beside the center, harvesting. Ann is explaining that they have to make the crop themselves because it is too expensive to pay the farmers, and they need the crop to make food for the center. (EN)

We arrive; there are no children there yet because of the mud. The neighbor kid around 6 years, who is not going to school, and Ann's daughter, who has a school holiday, are there. Ann is washing clothes from the kids by hand outside in a big bin. (EN)

One cultural component that has influence on the social workers practice is the tasks like working in the field and washing by hand. There are two social workers in the center every day. Sometimes they get help from a third social worker or from volunteers. The social workers have to make time in their practice to wash the children's clothes by hand and to prepare food, which involves e.g. cutting coconut. Furthermore, they have to start some of their mornings by planting crops and harvesting so they can make food. In the first excerpt the social worker explains that they don't have the money to just buy all of the food, but they can plant themselves. The tradition of agriculture in Tanzania is strong, and even though people might not have material resources like money, the country is rich in natural materials like fruits and vegetables. This kind of manual labor that has to be scheduled into the practice of the social worker is specific for this cultural context. Compared with a center for disabled children in Denmark, assumingly this task would never be found as an essential part of the practice. Working in the field as part of the practice of social work would be seen as a therapeutical approach, like e.g. garden therapy (<http://www.terapihaven-aurora.dk/>).

Cultural Capital

To discuss the cultural capital of the children in the center. it is important to discuss what is seen as cultural capital in the field in this study because in empirical studies the specific field defines cultural capital (Hammerselv et al., 2009). Furthermore, it is important to focus on the availability of the cultural capital.

Formal Education

Bourdieu describes cultural capital as something that gives power and influence. Formal cultural capital often refers to education, which should grant influence and power. Formal education in Tanzania is becoming more and more prevalent, and nowadays all children have free access to primary school. Tanzania is on its way to fulfill the goal of universal primary education of full enrollment in primary education by 2015. But the education system, especially at the end of the 20th century, lacked quality. There was a lack of classrooms, furniture and textbooks and teacher's qualifications were low as well. Teachers had overcrowded classes and absence among teachers was high (Wedgewood, 2007). Secondary education is still a challenge. Children in urban areas are seven times more likely to go to secondary schools than children in rural areas. Secondary education has not always been seen as cultural capital. Under the government of Julius Nyerere in 1968, the philosophy of the education system was based on self reliance, and the curriculum was about self-reliant rural livelihood rather than further academic education (Wedgewood, 2007). Children of the center can often not access ordinary schools because of severe physical impairments that force them to lie down and because of the lack of modern technologies that could help the children to communicate. Children with minor physical impairments and more apparent intellectual disabilities like autism also have challenges gaining access or being included in the formal education system. Bourdieu describes how cultural capital in the form of formal education has been monopolized because of its accessibility only through the script system (2007). For children with certain impairments it is hard or sometimes not possible to learn reading and writing, and if script system is the only way to get access to cultural capital, they are excluded. Kisanji's argument for indigenous customary education (1998), described in the introduction, appears relevant according to the excluding effect of formal education based on the script system. Furthermore, Bourdieu describes how the owners of a title from formal education can be measured by it, and also points out that those who have no title are measured against those who do (2007). So the children who can't gain access to the formal education system have a lower position compared to children who are

able to get a title through formal education, which contributes to sustained unequal power relations. Ozoji points out the competitive nature of Northern education and argues that is played down in indigenous customary education, which enables children with special needs to contribute to the family and society (as cited in Kisanji, 2006).

The field's cultural capital

The organization counts vocational training as cultural capital that would give the children more possibilities. But as the social worker point out, *"In a dream scenario every child, after have been going to the centers, would be capable to go to vocational training, but in fact they are not"* (I2). Since it is hard for many of the children to obtain vocational skills and be a part of formal education, the organization concentrates improving domestic and agricultural skills as well.

I: Hmm. Do you have a certain plan for what the children should learn in here in the center?

R: Hmm, ja, we like, ahh, some others like Jim, who already going to small, to learn like carpenter. When we have that small center we have a small garden for them. So like Jim, he can't just stay at the class because he can't learn anything. Just to write or draw, no. But we have like a garden outside, so he may dig a garden with flowers or vegetables. Then when they are ready we can pay the mother, that this is money for Jim. He already dig the maybe Chinese. So we are using the center so this is the money for Jim. (I2)

Jim, who isn't physically impaired, has the possibility to obtain cultural capital by acquiring agricultural skills. While he was still in the center, they taught him agricultural skills so that he would be able to make his own living. After he got too old for the center, he had the opportunity to get an education as a carpenter. The focus on handcraft and agriculture is reminiscent of the self-reliance philosophy from Julius Nyerere. For Jim it is more realistic to get access to cultural capital through carpentry and agriculture then through schools that don't have the materials and expertise to handle his impairment.

The second excerpt shows how the social workers try to encourage the families to help the children to obtain cultural capital so the children have a chance to be self-reliant.

Also in the outreach program, like when we were on today, the outreach worker was trying to teach the family to teach this girl how to be more, like she could learn how to wash clothes [...] yes and so hopefully one day she can get a job as a dada to help with cleaning and with the washing. (I2)

However, it seems like the social workers' understanding of the cultural capital is different from the parents' understanding of what the children should learn. During the fieldwork the parents' lack of commitment to e.g. vocational training was often pointed out as a problem.

Exactly, and if we know like, for example, Jim, he used to attend vocational training. But then his mother or someone in the family decided that "No, we don't think that is good for you. We will take him home." But then luckily he has someone else at home that can train him to do gardening or something. (I2)

The parents don't seem to see the same value in vocational training as the social workers, and they are often against the vocational training. There might be several reasons why, but based on the following excerpt of the interview, it also remains unclear to the parents what the children are doing at the center and what the outcome there is.

I: What are the parents [...]? Do they have some expectations what their kids should learn when they come here?

R: Hmm, some they have, but some they think that they just come to play,

R: Yeah, they don't understand very well, like Jane. Last month Jane's father told me, "I think Jane finished the school. She may stay at home." "Say hmm?" "Give me the result. What did she learn at home now? What can she do at home?" I say, "Nothing. Then did you stay with your children see what she can do?" He say, "I don't have the time." I say, "Then what do you want?" Because if I allow him to take Jane at home, he just locks

Jane at home, then he can go to work. [...] But at home they don't want, they say, "Ahh, she can't do anything." (I1)

The social workers' cultural capital and the parents' cultural capital seem to be different.

Most of the parents of the children from the center subsist on agriculture or other forms of physical labor. In the community the ability to work physically is essential to make a living. For most of the children with severe physical impairments, this kind of cultural capital is not possible to obtain. This brings the focus back to the critique of the social model of disability that was pointed out in the introduction to this study (Grech, 2009). Ignoring impairment in a society where physical labor is the main way to make a living is not possible.

Recognition

For the children to gain cultural capital is a challenge which might be linked closely with a lack of recognition of children with disabilities in society. Understanding if and how the children are recognized brings the focus to the three relationships Honneth describes; love, rights and social appreciation (1992).

Love

The following description about the relationship between the parents and their children can't be generalized for all the parents. I will try to show two different kinds of relationships that I observed or that are found throughout the interview.

Some of the children attending the center are disrespected in their primary relations; they are confronted with physical violence, e.g. being unable to get water or being locked inside. According to Honneth the disrespect in the primary relation leads to moral disrespect and the awareness of not being recognized (Højlund & Juul, 2005). The following excerpt from the field notes describes the interaction between one mother and her child:

"They tell the stepmum she should dress Will. She is dressing him, she is not talking to him meanwhile and moving very fast while she dresses him. She turns him fast to one side then to the other side, without talking. Ann is asking the stepmother (she trans-

lates us later) if Will has had breakfast – he didn't. Ann tells us that she often hears from neighbors that he doesn't get food until someone from the center comes. (EN)

How much speech Will is able to understand isn't clear, but he understands some. He is not able to respond verbally. The stepmother does not recognize him as a human being with equal rights in the situation, since she is not talking at all to him while she is dressing him. For some children that experience child abuse, the effects are hard to investigate, since some of them are too small and most of them have difficulties in expressing themselves. This makes the children an even more vulnerable group. The child abuse of one of the children attending the center even lead to death:

Ann is showing us around in the office. There are three pictures of children hanging on the wall. She explains us that these are pictures of children in the center who have passed away recently. Ann is telling about the cause of their death. One of the children has been electrocuted by the mother. (EN)

The killing of disabled children in the Southern countries has been used to paint a general picture of the situation. However, as Ingstad argues, a single case shouldn't be neglected but neither should it lead to a generalization (2000).

Furthermore, this part of the analysis of the relationship between mother and child is focused on the disrespect the children experience. Therefore is important to point out that this study's material are interviews from the social workers' points of view, my observations in the center where I saw the parents bringing their children in the morning, and one day during the outreach program where I saw some families and children in their homes. So to give a varied picture it is also important to be aware that there are parents and families that have a loving relationship with their children, which the following excerpts show:

Joe arrives, carried by his mum in a kanga on the back. He is a boy around 2 years that had meningitis and had brain damage from the high fever. His mum is placing him in one of the beds, and puts a sheet under him. She is stroking his head and saying good-bye to him before she leaves. (EN)

We are making sandwiches for the children today. We place all the children outside of the veranda with madrasses so they all can be outside a little bit. While we are eating mama Ben is coming to try the food. She is lying down beside Ben on the madras and putting his arm around him, she asks the volunteer to take a picture of her and her son. After the volunteer took the picture Mama Ben wants to see it, and she shows it to Ben. Ben is laughing his mum is laughing as well. She gives him a kiss on the head.
(EN)

The relationship of love is also a focus in the social workers' practice. The Gentle teaching method used as a rough guide by the social workers seems to focus on the relationship of love. One of the concepts in gentle teaching is;

Focusing on being kind, nurturing and loving toward marginalized children and adults—those who have been pushed to the edge of family or community life.
(<http://gentlelearning.sharevision.ca/pages/gt/gtis.aspx>)

The following excerpt describes social worker Ann interacting with a child in the center.

Ann is sitting on the bed beside R. She is stroking him over the face. Ann talks to him and tries to get his attention. R. can't make eye contact. Furthermore, he has troubles sitting up and therefore lies a lot of the time on a bevel pillow that allows him to perceive a little more of his surroundings. Ann sits there for a while and tries to make him smile with different toys that make sounds. (EN)

The social workers in the center often sit and stroke the children gently over the face and just talk to them. For some of the children it fills the lack of a nurturing and loving relationship in some of their families. But one of the social workers also points out that the relation between the parents and the children has changed for the better over the years:

[...] But here it's mostly because there are so many things that have changed just in these couple of years and how families see their own children and interact with them. So in the beginning it was just about making the family realize that the childrens do have rights, they deserve to see the sun sometimes. (I2)

This gentle teaching method might sound like it is replacing the relationship between parents and their children, but the organization's aim is also to strengthen the relationship between the parents and their children. They teach the parents that the children have rights. The social workers' practice based on love and care is not only inspired by gentle teaching; it can also be seen as a cultural component. As outlined earlier religion is an essential part of the community, and the social workers' work is based on religious values like charity and care. The relationship between the social workers and the children in the center is based on love and care more than reaching individual goals. Talking to one of the volunteers working in the center, we discussed how the practice was largely based on care and love rather than the training. But we both were from Northern countries, where the understanding of professional practice is based on care and also professional distance. Becket and Maynard point out that *"[...] you cannot just pretend that your relationships with your clients are the same kind as your relationships with people you know in your private life"* (2013). This statement is based on the definition of professionalism in the Northern countries, but professionalism can be influenced by the cultural context as well, and this understanding of professionalism might not apply in a cultural environment that is influenced by religion. Furthermore, people in e.g. the Danish welfare system criticize the distance maintained by social workers; they describe feeling like a case instead of a person (Berger & Berger, 1978).

Rights

One part of the organization's program is to teach the parents about their children's rights, which also is related to Honneth's second relation of recognition. Rights in Honneth's theory are based on the modern understanding that all human beings are equal and free and of society's recognition of the individual's rights and values (Honneth, 1994). In African countries human rights are still violated and the position of children with disabilities in society is not equal to other children (Aldersley & Rutherford Turnbull, 2011). The government's social security system doesn't provide any social services for most of Tanzania's inhabitants, which oppresses the rights of all inhabitants in Tanzania (Mchomvu et al., 2002). It can be challenge for parents to teach their children what Honneth calls the modern under-

standing of rights if they themselves don't experience being equal to others in society. Furthermore, awareness of and access to knowledge about these rights might be different from countries of the North. An example of an unequal position in society is the relationship between men and women. The mothers of the children attending the center are often confronted with blame from their husbands when they give birth to a disabled child. Furthermore, they might experience stigma through the community, which gives them an unequal position in the community.

Even though equal application modern rights is generally a challenge in Tanzania, the social workers incorporate the rights of the children into their work. The following description is about the interaction between Ann, a social worker, and Ben when Ann is changing his diapers. Ben is a teenage boy that has severe spastics in both lower and upper body; furthermore, he suffers from malnutrition. Ben is not able to walk or talk, although he can communicate through noises and he understands when people are talking to him.

And sometimes when I am going to take the pants, then he look at me – “Why me?” Then I feel myself: if I just sleeping, someone is coming to touch me every time, it's not good for me. Then I say like, “Now we want to learn something, this is pot and this is the picture, if you want to do something here.” We show him also the pant which is wet. “We don't want you to wet your pant. We want you to peepee on the pot and poo on the pot. So please, if you want to do it, show us the sign.” It's taken time long time since we started in 2008, then last year he learned. (I1)

We are sitting in the daily room. Some of the children are lying in bed. Tim is running around. Ann is changing Ben's diaper; she is talking to Ben (teenager) while she is changing him. Meanwhile she is using a fence. She explains they got it from the hospital and painted it some pictures on it. Tim wants to get behind the fence; she sends him away. Ann is using gloves while she is changing the diaper. (EN)

Ann is describing how she would feel if she were in Ben's situation and the caretakers would come to change her diaper. The description shows a lot of empathy in her work, and furthermore, she expresses a relation of recognition, since she expresses that he deserves

the same as she does. The fence can also be interpreted as a symbol of recognition; it gives some privacy to Ben and does not expose him to the other kids since there are no other facilities where it is possible to change the diaper. Despite a relation of recognition, the situation also shows how at least a little independence can be created for children with disabilities. Ben might not be able to live a completely independent life, but by using pictograms, Ben is able to express his needs and in that way gain more control over his own situation.

Social appreciation

Honneth describes social appreciation as the recognition a person gets for his contribution to society (Jørgensen, 2006). It is hard for the children to contribute to the community. Three of the children in the center are 16 years old or older and, as observed during the field study, children, without impairments, that age would often participate in domestic tasks or agricultural tasks to contribute to their families. Because of the physical limitations, they can't contribute in this way. Jim, who wasn't coming to the center anymore, was one of the children who had the possibility to contribute to society by getting an education as a carpenter. He has a mental impairment but no physical impairments. For the other children, participation in the local community is still low, which could be a result of several factors, like the physical impairments that don't allow the children to participate in the agricultural tasks or the shame the parents feel when showing a disabled child in the community.

In the introduction the British disability movement was described in terms of the development of the social model of disability (Barnes & Mercer, 2010). Compared to problems that have been outlined throughout this analysis, the criticism of the social model of disability as universal model (Albert, 2004) comes up again. There are many other challenges similar to the structural challenges and factors, like the role religion plays, that have to be taken into consideration.

Taking Honneth's normative perspective to look at the children's situation, the work of the organization is justified because their moral motivated struggle is what according to Honneth brings about change in society (Honneth, 1992). Furthermore, Honneth argues

that unequal relations exist because of a lack of recognition. This lack of recognition might be a part of the explanation, but using Honneth's theory in this study, it is too narrow to understand other structural factors that create inequality. Another discussion according to Honneth's theory is about who should be recognized over whom. So if the social workers create a relation of recognition for the children, thereby disrespecting the parents, this again creates an unequal relation between the parents and society. And who is it that decides which party should be disrespected?

Allardt's theory of needs

As pointed out in the theoretical chapter of this study, it is interesting to use Allardt's terms by taking a look at how they are prioritized. Examining Allardt's term "having", meaning owning material resources, this is still a challenge for most of the families in this study. While the concept of "having" is challenged by the lack of material resources, it is problematic to measure people's wealth only by what Allardt points out with his theory (Elm Larsen, 2006). As seen in the example of the social security system earlier in this analysis, the solidarity in the community helps to create welfare. Solidarity falls under Allardt's term of "loving", and by comparing the "having" and "loving" the "loving" might be prioritized higher in the society.

The transforming discourse and the reproducing discourse

To explain if the discourses in this social practice are transforming discourses or reproducing discourses, the social practice has to be discussed on two levels: the local level and the global level. The local level can be defined as the community in which the social workers have their daily practice. The discourses – or more, the ideologies – found in this practice are the parents' discourses of disability as religious punishment and on the other hand the social workers' discourse of human rights. This hegemonic struggle of ideologies has direct consequences for the children. The parents' ideologies reproduce the structures within the community. The children are seen as a punishment from God. The social workers' ideology of human rights can be seen as a normative transforming discourse, since it challenges the current ways of seeing and treating children with disabilities in the community and dic-

tates to the social workers what should be changed within the community to give the children an equal status. The ideology of human rights gives the children a better quality of life. Even though the ideology conflicts with the parents' ideology, the social workers identify the parents as victims of that ideology and structure and therefore try to change the parents.

While the social workers' discourses are transforming on the local level, at the same time they can be seen as reproducing discourses on the global level. NGOs have tried for many years to implement human rights in African countries. Based on Honneth's theory of recognition (Honneth, 2006), an assumption can be made that this has been seen both as a necessary act and as a modern form of imperialism (Shivji, 1989). Therefore, it can be argued that the organization's ideology of human rights reproduces the structures on a global level. Fairclough talks about democratization of discourse by removing inequalities and asymmetries in the discursive rights, obligations and prestige of groups of people. At the same time he describes the dilemma of discursive change because the rearticulating affects orders of discourse and creates new hegemonic structures (Fairclough, 1992). The organizations with the discourse of human rights are trying to remove the inequalities in the discourses, but the process of democratization creates a dilemma as well. The dilemma, which can be seen in the social practice, is that the unequal position of children with disability needs to be changed, which is the aim of the organizations. On the other hand, the way of changing situation, and thereby rearticulating the discourses about the children, creates the new hegemonic structure, in this case the Northern influences of teaching people from the South how to create equality within society.

Social identities are also transforming, and found throughout the text analysis are the children as victims, the social workers as advocates for their rights and the parents both as victims and also associated with child abuse. These identities reproduce the organization's discourse and justify the need for an organization, therefore contributing to maintaining a dependent relationship between the organization, the children and their parents. But the organization also states clearly that they wish for the parents to be independent of the organization, which implies a transforming discourse about the parents' identity.

6. Conclusion

The Issue of this study was divided in two questions. In the following text I seek to answer these questions.

The first part of the issue was: *Which approaches do the social workers use in their practice regarding children with mental impairments in Moshi, Tanzania?*

The social workers had various approaches in their work with the children. Throughout the analysis different approaches centered on the children were found. The healthcare approach for the children included nutrition, therapy and medical care, like hospital visits for the children, vocational training and physical training. Furthermore, the gentle teaching approach influenced the social workers' practice, focusing on the relation between the social worker and the children with the goal of creating a loving and caring relation. Besides the more children-centered approaches, approaches relating to the family were also found. The family approaches included financial support for the families like micro-credit loans, meetings between the parents with the goal of creating a caring community and parent co-operatives. The goal of the financial help was to create a more stable future for the children and their families and allow the children to get the resources they needed, e.g. wheelchairs. Furthermore, the family approach was also an aim to create a better relationship between the parents' and families' to the child. Here the human rights approach applies, prompted by child abuse in some cases. The organization teaches the parents about their children's rights and also checks on the parents' ways of interacting with their children through an outreach program. Furthermore, the outreach program is used to learn more about the living circumstances of the children in general. The parents are seen from different perspectives in the economic approach and the human rights approach. The parents are linked to child abuse, which makes the children the victims in the relationship with their parents, but the organization also sees the parents as victims of their situation caused by the lack of materials and the inability to earn a sustainable income. Another approach is to create independence for the children that can become independent. This includes e.g. teaching agricultural skills or domestic skills so that the children are able to make a living after they are too old for the center. It is not possible to create independence for all the children because of

the extent of their physical impairments. For the children with more severe physical impairments, though, it should be pointed out that the aim is to create independence in everyday life activities, like being able to communicate when a bedpan is needed. The social workers' ideal for integration into the community is to create more contact and more visibility of children with impairments in the community through a playground outside the center that is open for every child in the community.

The approaches used by the social workers are both created and challenged by the discursive, cultural and structural components. I seek to address the influence of these components with the second question of my issue: *And how do the structural, cultural and discursive contexts influence the social workers' approaches?*

The lack of a fully working social security system has a huge influence on the social workers' approaches. The policies in Tanzania, as pointed out in the introduction, are about focusing on helping disabled people financially, though the lack of resources makes that impossible. The social workers have to take this into consideration, and to really be able to increase the quality of life of the children, the material resources have to be secured. This is why the economic approach is necessary in this specific context. Another structural influence on the social workers' practice is the (in)ability to find disabled children in the first place. The lack of full birth registration, the lack of access to healthcare and thereby the lack of diagnoses for the children make it hard to find the children and know who has a disability in the community. Furthermore, the government is less involved in people's lives because social services are few or nonexistent. Compared to the Danish system there is a big difference. If a child is born with disability in Denmark, the local government often contacts the families themselves, or at least parents receive information where they can go to get help. Finding children with disabilities is not something a center for disabled children in Denmark has to be concerned with. But it's not only the organization that replaces the government; the community itself has a traditional security system, which the parents and the organization draw on. The children are watched by the neighbors, and the organization gets information from the neighbors about the children as well. Solidarity is valued highly in the community; in Allardt's terms, the wealth of "loving" is given priority over "having".

Another structural component that influences the social workers' work is the lack of access to healthcare. It is not rare for the children who are enrolled in the center to have become impaired due to untreated malaria or meningitis. Furthermore, the lack of access to healthcare for the disabled children has to be incorporated into the practice because families often can't afford the special medicine or tools for their children. Non-discursive factors that influence the social workers' practice include environmental factors. The rainy season makes it hard for many of the children to get to the center because the village paths are slippery and most of the children are carried on the back of their parents. Furthermore, it has an impact on which children can be visited in the outreach program. The center's physical location was chosen so that parents would have around the same distance to cover because they walk with the children. Manual labor, like harvesting and planting crops and washing the children's clothes by hand, are tasks the social workers have to incorporate into their daily practice, which is different from Danish centers.

Bourdieu's theory about cultural capital leads to a deeper understanding of what is seen as cultural capital in this study's field and how the children can access this capital. Achieving cultural capital in the form of formal education has been hard for the children. Cultural capital as defined by the center therefore focused on achieving vocational skills so the children would be able to get enrolled in formal education. The parents' lack of engagement in the vocational training leads to the question of what is it that they consider to be the cultural capital that the children should achieve. Another form of cultural capital found throughout the practice was manual labor skills, like agriculture and domestic skills, which were taught to the children without severe physical impairments.

Honneth's theory of recognition described some of the disrespecting relations between some parents and their children. Furthermore, it justifies the organization's struggle for the children's rights and their approach to teach the parents about their children's rights. The theory gives this study a normative conclusion that the children's situation in society has to be changed to focus on their relation to their parents and the community.

The discourses found in this study have been transforming discourses and reproducing discourses. They capture the dilemmas in this study. The transforming discourses on the local level aim to change the community's perception of disabled children via the organization. On the other hand, the aim to change this perception via implementing other ideologies reproduces the discourse of the practice that Northern countries have held on Southern countries and especially the African continent.

My position in this study

Where do I position myself according to this study? This study investigated relations with a normative perspective that, especially by using Honneth, argues that changing interventions are needed and justified. On the other hand, these normative interventions have been discussed according to the power relations between Northern and Southern countries, e.g. by discussing the statement that human rights are universal, which has been criticized. Furthermore, this study contains elements that mostly sought to get a deeper understanding of the situation. The aim of this study is not to position myself at a strict normative point that implies that all interventions of Northern countries are needed or justified, but neither is my standpoint a cultural relativistic one that implies that help given from the Northern countries in Southern countries is unnecessary. There is a shared responsibility between human beings, and the situation of the children in this study needs to be changed. My aim was to describe the complexity of the problem through the social workers' practice, and the position resulted in a discussion between the normative position and the cultural relativistic position. My position is that discussion between these two points of views is needed, so that the social practice can be developed through dialog. Furthermore, a deeper understanding of this social problem is needed because [we can only see the top of the mountain.](#)

7. Perspectives

This study answered some questions, but at the same time it opened up opportunities to investigate the field further. Further studies could focus on what the parents' expectations are when they send their children to the center.

Another perspective to learn more about disabled people's lives in Tanzania could be a study focusing on the life stories of these people, especially those who have not been in centers but grew up in more rural areas. How is their life in terms of inclusion in society? This question could be interesting according to Finkelstein's theory (as cited in Thomas, 2007) that the exclusion of people with impairments is a result of the urbanization of capitalist societies, which makes it harder for people to sell their labor power. It is also linked to Kisanji's argument (Kisanji, 1998) that traditional education in the village used to be inclusive but has been destroyed by the colonies in Tanzania; a study with that focus could be interesting.

Another perspective which could be very relevant is Tanzania's own disability movement, their aim to create inclusion and how they see themselves as a group in society. In general further studies are needed to get a deeper understanding of the situation and especially the dilemma between help and modern imperialism.

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