

**THE EFFECT OF CHILD LABOUR ON PRIMARY  
SCHOOL ENROLMENT AND ATTENDANCE: The Case of  
Mfang'ano Division, Suba District.**

**BY: BONG'O OMOLLO DAVID**

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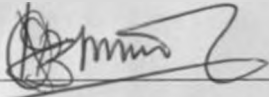
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Institute for Development studies  
University of Nairobi  
P.O. Box 30197  
Nairobi.

**November: 2005**

## DECLARATION

This project paper is my original work and has not been submitted either wholly or in part for award of a degree to this or any other university.

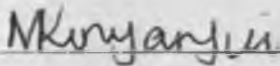


BONG'O OMOLLO DAVID

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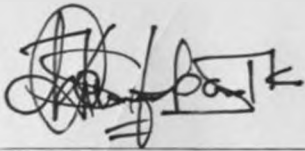
This project paper has been submitted for examination with our approval as university supervisors.



DR. M.N. KINYANJUI

16-11-2005

Date



MR. PAUL K. KAMAU

15/11/2005

Date

Institute for Development studies  
University of Nairobi  
P.O. Box 30197  
Nairobi.

## DEDICATION

This paper is dedicated to my late parents: Even though you never lived to see me through my entire education process you gave me the requisite foundation and impetus that has kept me going over the years. RIP

To my loving wife Josephine for your love, support and patience through the entire period I was engaged in this work and my adorable daughter Tamara for the little jigs that made my day whenever I was overwhelmed with this work.

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Thanks a lot to my special friend Joséphine for her prayers, love and encouragement. To all I say *grazie mille*.

## **LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS**

<b>AIDS</b>	<b>Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome</b>
<b>ANPPCAN</b>	<b>African Network for the Prevention and Protection Against Child Abuse and Neglect</b>
<b>CBS</b>	<b>Central Bureau of Statistics</b>
<b>CRC</b>	<b>Convention on the Rights of the Child</b>
<b>FPE</b>	<b>Free Primary Education</b>
<b>HIV</b>	<b>Human Immune Virus</b>
<b>ILO</b>	<b>International Labour Organisation</b>
<b>IPEC</b>	<b>International Programme on Elimination of Child Labour</b>
<b>NARC</b>	<b>National Rainbow Coalition</b>
<b>NGO</b>	<b>Non Governmental Organisation</b>
<b>MDGs</b>	<b>Millennium Development Goals</b>
<b>RBA</b>	<b>Rights Based Approach</b>
<b>ROK</b>	<b>Republic of Kenya</b>
<b>UN</b>	<b>United Nations</b>
<b>UNDP</b>	<b>United Nations Development Programme</b>
<b>UNESCO</b>	<b>United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation</b>
<b>UNICEF</b>	<b>United Nations Children Fund</b>
<b>UPE</b>	<b>Universal Primary Education</b>
<b>WSSD</b>	<b>World Summit for Social Development</b>

## ABSTRACT

*The study examines the effect of child labour on primary school enrolment and attendance in Mfanga'no Division, Suba District after the introduction of the free primary education in 2003. It was based on one general objective and three specific objectives with corresponding research questions. The general objective was to investigate the effects of child labour on enrolment and attendance in primary school with regard to free primary education. The specific objectives were; to establish the forms and nature of child labour in Mfanga'no Division, Suba District; to ascertain the factors that promote child labour in a fishing community; and finally to investigate the effect of child labour on primary school enrolment and attendance.*

*The study relied on both primary and secondary sources of data. It was conducted in Mfangano Division, Suba District. The study adopted a multi stage sampling technique and appropriately combined both the probability and non-probability sampling procedures. Apart from the structured questionnaires, key informants, focus group discussions and case study methodology, participant observation was also used to collect data. The data collected was analysed and presented using both the qualitative and quantitative research techniques. The study used cross tabulation and Chi Square tests to establish relationship between variables. The relationship was tested at 0.05 level of significance.*

*The study established that in Mfangano Island, child labour largely manifests itself in the form of fishing. However, there are some children who engage in trade along the beach, sand harvesting, herding cattle and domestic work. It further established that there is a positive relationship between child labour and parents socio-economic background. Poverty is a significant determinant of child labour. The study also found out that cultural perception and orientation about the formal schooling, for example that fishing as a way of life makes parents encourage their children to engage in fishing instead of going to school. This is coupled by the fact that the formal education system prepares children for the industrial and formal employment. It further established that child labour has a negative effect on primary school education, associated with low enrolment rates in primary schools, absenteeism and poor performance.*

*Based on the findings of the study the following recommendations have been made, solutions to child labour must encompass partners in all the sectors and at all the levels of society. The spirit of law must be complemented by changes in the wider socio-economic settings in the society because the education sector operates within a larger framework. Free primary education as it is may not eliminate child labour. The education sector should be reformed to be more responsive to the societal needs. This has to do mostly with the quality and relevance of the curriculum and the diversity in educational approaches both formal and informal. The study further recommends the need for livelihood diversification strategies to reduce over dependence on the lake and to enhance poverty reduction measures. Such a move would ensure improvement in the primary enrolment and school attendance.*

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## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

This study's main concern is to understand the relationship between child labour and primary school attendance. The child labour phenomenon has increased tremendously across the globe prompting various research work and advocacy to reduce if not to eliminate it. The renewed interest has been accompanied by new international conventions, national statutes e.g. the Children's Act, 2001, new thinking and expanded activity in a wide variety of economic and social settings.

Education has the capacity to foster development, awaken talent and empower people. Through quality education child labour can be reduced and eliminated (UNICEF, 2000). However, the multifaceted nature of the problem makes formal schooling interventions alone inadequate even when provided free (Bequele and Myers, 1995). There are other mitigating factors both supply and demand that further determine child labour participation (Saddiqi and Patrinos, 1995). A significantly large number of children drop out before they complete primary school and others beyond primary school age that child labour has prevented from attending school.

The problem of child labour is prevalent in developing countries especially in Asia and Africa, which account for 90 percent of the reported cases (Globalmarch, 2001). Grooetart, *et. al.*, (1996) show that Asia hosts the highest number of working children accounting for 61% followed by Africa 32% and Latin America 7%. However, Bequele and Myers (1995) argue that despite Asia's largest number of working children, Africa has the highest incidences around 40% of children between the ages of 5 – 14 years. Africa's problem is further compounded by slow economic growth, poverty and over reliance on agricultural activities, which takes the bulk of working children.

The concept of child labour has elicited numerous definitions. According to ILO the term child labour covers all economic activities carried out by persons of less than 15 years of age regardless of their occupational status (Forastieri, 2002:1). Nieuwenhuys (1994) defines child labour as remunerated work undertaken under employment agreement. Other scholars have

argued that child labour is hazardous work or exploitative work undertaken by children (Boyden *et. al.* 1998; Myers, 1999; Fyfe, 1993). According to the child labour survey 1998/1999, child labour was considered in general terms as work undertaken by children aged between 5 and 17 years that prevents them from attending school, is exploitative, hazardous or inappropriate for their age (Kenya, 2001b: 47). The generality of the survey necessitated more analysis of the phenomenon with respect to the fishing sub sector. The fishing communities have remained poor despite the economic contribution accruing from the activity. The embedded poverty has impacted on the schooling status of the children.

Notably, studies on children's work make a distinction between work in waged labour and work done within family settings as part of socialization. It is argued that waged employment generally leads to exploitation of children while work undertaken, as part of household is an aspect of socialization (Saddiqi and Patrinos, 1995; Kayongo-Male and Walji, 1984). It is a common phenomenon to find children fetching water, firewood or babysitting younger siblings as their parents engage in other economically productive work. Such work has conventionally been seen as part of socialization. However, the danger of such work is when the child is denied the chance of going to school. This ceases to be socialization given that the child foregoes personal growth.

Central to this study is that child labour deprives the child the opportunity to attend school. The study defines child labour as paid work especially in the fishing activity that deprives the child the opportunity to attend school. However, the complex role of culture and tradition has an important interplay between child labour and education. The difference between the new and old values affects socialization in the family. Socialization within family setup is very different from that in school.

The modern education system is geared towards the industrial society thereby ignoring certain intrinsic valued cultural aspects within different communities. This would mean that child engagement in fishing could be a rational choice of parents towards socialization and child development and not as conventionally defined as child labour. Child work is defined in the study as an activity undertaken by a child within a household as part of socialization and development. However, if the child fails to attend school because of household work then it becomes child labour. Inherent in the definition is that child labour negatively affects schooling

or prohibits children from attending school completely. The number of hours a child engages in work could hinder school attendance.

## 1.1 BACKGROUND

Child labour dates back to Western industrialization when there was labour shortage in the factories occasioned by increased demand for manufactured goods (Kayongo-Male and Walji, 1984). However, it was during the two major World Wars (First World War 1914 – 1918 and Second World War 1939 – 1945) when child labour greatly increased. The two wars led to disruption of rural areas because most able-bodied persons were recruited into military service leaving only women and children to work (Kayongo-Male and Walji, 1984). However, the phenomenon has increased tremendously over time.

Children engage in different types of work activities which include; waged labour in factories, working in mines, self-employment in the streets, fishing, tobacco farming and other agricultural based activities (Globalmarch, 2001; Beguele and Boyden, 1988; Fyfe, 1993). It is estimated that there are about 250 million children aged between 5 and 14 years engaged in child labour (ILO, 1996; Grooetart *et. al*, 1996 and Globalmarch, 2001). Out of this number, about 120 million are engaged in full-time labour while 50-60 million children between the ages of 5-11 years are engaged in intolerable forms of labour (Globalmarch, 2001).

According to the 1998/99 child labour survey conducted by Central Bureau of Statistics (Kenya, 2001) about 29% of children in the age group 6-14 years accounting for 2.3 million children out of 7.9 million children did not attend school. The analytical report on labour force in 1999 Population and Housing Census estimates that 36.5% of the 10.0 million children aged between 5 – 17 years were engaged in work (Kenya, 2002). Available data also show that child labour has been on the increase especially during the period of Economic Structural Adjustment Programmes (ESAPs) (Eldring, *et. al*, 2000). This resulted to the increase and incidences of child labour both in the urban and rural areas. However, the above study argues that majority of the working children are in rural areas.

Studies have shown that children work for a variety of reasons. Key among them is poverty. Children also provide a source of livelihood for their poor families. For example, Saddiqi and Patrinos (1995) show that minors in Paraguay contribute almost a quarter of the total family income. A study conducted by Kamara, (2003) on *'the relationship between socio- economic status of families and child labour* reveals that children work to help their parents meet the daily set target in uplifting the family income.

Bahemuka, *et.al.* (2000) argue that as the kinship ties are broken due to the shift from communalism to the monetary economy, parents have no relatives to turn to hence their children become the best alternative. Other related causes of child labour include rigid traditions, and parental ignorance on dangers of child labour. Political problems occasioned by civil strife have exacerbated this problem. Many children are enlisted as child soldiers in the war torn countries due to their perceived loyalty.

Saddiqi and Patrinos, (1995) argue that many times children seek employment because there is no access to school in-terms of distance covered between home and school or there is no school at all. They further argue that when there is access, sometimes, low quality of the education acts as deterrence in enrolment. Children will see school attendance as a waste of time. The opportunity cost incurred when children attend school is higher compared to that of children engaged in employment.

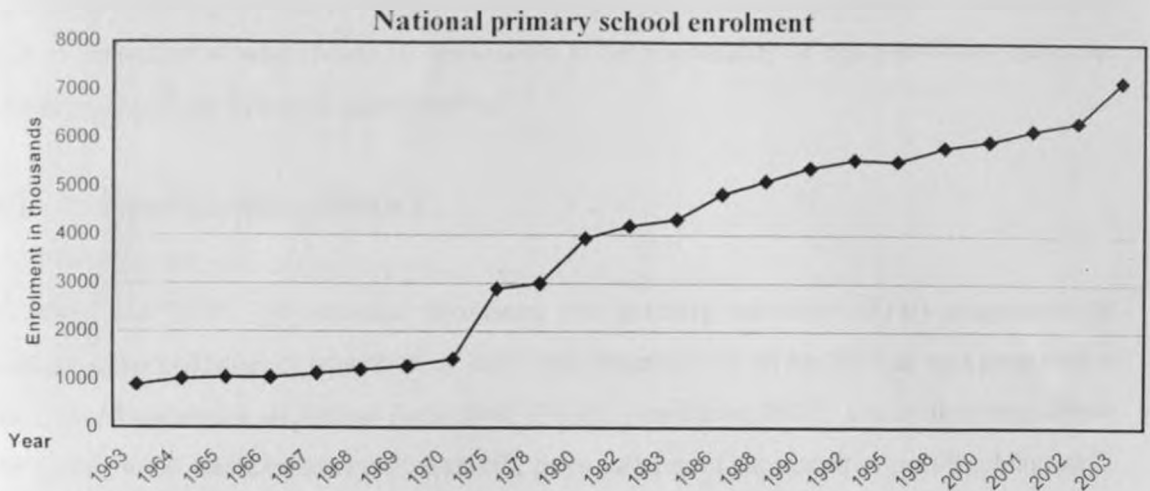
#### **1.1.0 Kenya's Education System.**

Kenya's education system comprises early childhood education, primary education, secondary education and university education. The provision of education has been recognized as one of the ways of achieving development by the Kenya government. Over the years, the education system has expanded tremendously in all the levels. The interest of the study is on the primary education level.

Manda, *et.al.*, (2003) argue that the success of provision of primary education is shown through the proxies of enrolment and attendance. These proxies determine the supply and demand of primary schooling. Student enrolment in primary school has increased from 891,553 in 1963 to approximately 7.5 million in 2004. Figure 1 shows the national primary enrolment from 1963 to 2003.



Figure 1: National primary gross enrolment



Source: *Statistical Abstract, various issues*

However, with increased enrolment there are other factors at play such as quality and access. The rise in enrolment in primary education has had a series of challenges, occasioning disparities in terms of regions, income levels and gender among other factors (Abagi, *et. al.* 1999). Children have in the past dropped out of school owing to various factors such as poverty, school fee, and access.

The Kenyan government first introduced the free primary education program in 1974 from class one to class four and later extended to cover standard five to seven (Abagi, 1997). However, due to the sluggish economic growth in the mid 1980's, government introduced the cost sharing policy in the important social sectors such as education and health as part of structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) initiated by World Bank and IMF. The introduction of these cost-sharing policies negatively impacted on primary school enrolment and attendance. Many children dropped out of school, of whom some engaged in work.

The Free Primary Education implemented by NARC government is closely linked to the children's rights to education, which is spelt out in the Children's Act 2001 and in the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC). However, enforcement of the Children's Act hinges on the prevailing socio-economic circumstances within a community or locality. Parents may not be penalised for not taking their children to school especially due to poverty. This brings the question of how do we reconcile the concept of rights and parents obligation to

educating their children in the face of glaring inequality and poverty. The Children's Act 2001 spells out that the provision of education is the duty of both parents and the state. However, the gap in definition of who should be responsible in the eventuality of non-provision makes the enforcement of the Act more questionable.

## 1.2 PROBLEM STATEMENT

In 2003, the NARC government introduced free primary education (FPE) programme to achieve universal primary education by 2005 and education for all by 2015 as was proposed in the Dakar Framework of Action April 2000 (NARC Manifesto, 2002). Under this programme the government finances teachers wage bill, pays salaries of the essential non-teaching staff, purchases books and other learning materials for pupils. Parents are to meet costs of meals, transport and putting up of new structures. FPE entails the abolition of all kinds of levies and user fee charges that previously kept a majority of children out of school.

When the programme was introduced it was envisaged that all children previously out of school including those who were engaged in labour would go back to school. Despite the introduction of the FPE programme several children from the fishing community are still out of school engaged in fishing activities. One of the underlying assumptions has been that children continue to work during their spare time to support themselves and their families. However, this assumption obscures the extent to which a combination of work and school occurs. This study therefore, seeks to investigate the relationship between child labour and school attendance in the era of free primary education.

Another gap is that previous studies have not covered the fishing sub sector in relation to child labour and primary school enrolment. Other studies have been done in the agricultural sector, with respect to tea, coffee and tobacco growing areas (Eldring, *et. al.*, 2000; Kamara, 2003). According to Suba District Development Plan for 1997–2001 (Kenya, 1997b) fishing sector is the major employer in the district and employs approximately 8000 people directly and about 20,000 persons indirectly. It is also the major economic activity and income earner in the district. It is within this sector that child labour heavily exists with most of the children being primary school dropouts. The dropout rate was 35% for boys and 65% for girls. The report

shows that education facilities were underutilized due to high dropout rates and low enrolment. These factors have contributed to under development of human resource base in the district.

### **1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

The broad question of this study is to analyse the effect of child labour in a fishing community on primary school enrolment and attendance following the recent introduction of free primary education policy.

**Specific questions were:**

1. What are the different forms and nature of child labour in Mfang'ano Division, Suba District?
2. What factors contribute to child labour in a fishing community?
3. To what extent does child labour affect primary school enrolment and attendance?

### **1.4 OBJECTIVES**

The general objective is to investigate the effect of child labour on enrolment and attendance in primary school with regard to the free primary education.

**Specific Objectives**

1. To establish the forms and nature of child labour in Mfang'ano Division, Suba District.
2. To ascertain the factors that promote child labour in a fishing community.
3. To investigate the effect of child labour on primary school enrolment and attendance.

## 1.5 THE STUDY SETTING

The study was carried out in Mfang'ano Division of Suba district, which forms one of the nine districts in Nyanza Province in Kenya. The district lies on the northern part of Kisumu and Siaya District and borders Migori District to the South, Homa-Bay District to the South East, the Republic of Tanzania to the South West and Uganda to the West. It has a total area of 1,048 square KM excluding the water surface. It is subdivided into five administrative divisions namely: Central, Mbita, Gwasi, Lambwe and Mfang'ano. The district also comprises of 16 islands of which the biggest in size are Mfangano and Rusinga. It has an inland equatorial type of climate that is modified by closeness to the lake.

The size and demographic features of a population are important proxies in the development process of an area because they determine the way resources are utilized. According to 1999 population census (Kenya, 2001), Suba District had a total population of 155,666 with the female population being 80,494. This was slightly higher than males who were 75,167. The district is densely populated due to the fishing industry. The majority of the population is concentrated along the lakeshore forming a linear settlement. In 1999 the district had a population density of 147 persons per square KM. Mfang'ano is the most densely populated Division with a population density of 250 persons per square KM from 164 in 1989 (Kenya, 1997b). This is due to the linear settlements along the landing beaches where fishing activities occur.

The District has experienced under developed human resource due to the following reasons; under utilization of education facilities resulting to low enrolment and high dropouts, high illiteracy rates, which stood at 56% causing lack of awareness in family planning practice. Prevalence of diseases has also constrained the welfare of the people in Suba District. Several incidences of diseases such Malaria, tuberculosis and HIV/AIDS adversely affect the development of the area. The District Development Plan (Kenya, 1997b), shows that cases of HIV/AIDS have been on the increase resulting to low productivity in all the sectors especially fishing where most productive population are. This has resulted to increase in the number of orphans seeking survival, and increase in the incidence of poverty. When a higher level of the population is illiterate, there is likelihood of poverty, which in turn affects schooling of children.

The site was chosen due to the fact that, the district has lagged behind in terms of human resources development. The underdevelopment in human resource has been occasioned by lack of education physical facilities, high illiteracy rate standing at 56% and high prevalence of diseases such as malaria and HIV/AIDS. The level of education in the district has also been very low due to high dropout rates, low enrolment rates due to child labour in fishing and also incidences of early marriages among girls (Kenya, 1997b).

The fishing sub sector forms an important economic activity in the district with Mfangano Division accounting for more fishing activities due to numerous landing beaches. Lake Victoria forms the base for fishing development in the district. The district accounts for over 70% of fish products in the region. There are 39 designated and 30 non-designated landing beaches mainly in the Islands. There are over 5000 fishermen who operate with 1,300 boats in the lake.

## **1.6 RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY**

The study is justifiable on two fronts. The policy gap in terms of capturing the fishing sub sector of the economy and the academic contribution of the paper on why children from the fishing community engage in child labour while education is free. The over emphasis placed by legislation illegalising child labour on the formal sectors of the economy neglects the fight against the problem in the informal sector where it is widespread. Concerted efforts can only be realized through a multi pronged approach. This multi dimensional approach to child labour can only be achieved through informed research.

Most researches conducted in the past by ILO /IPEC focus on child labour and health issues in general terms, due to methodologies used (ILO 1996; ILO, 1997). It is important to point out that the child labour survey conducted by the government in 1998/1999 was too general and never focused on any particular sector of the economy. Infact the child labour survey took cognisance of the fact that the questionnaire did not give clear distinction between child work and child labour (Kenya, 2001b). It has been argued that employment in the fishing activity does not require high levels of education and the average level of education of fishermen is standard four (Kenya, 1997b). This study therefore focuses on this sector and investigates the inherent factors that determine school participation in terms of enrolment, high drop out rates

and child labour. The district has also experienced high levels of poverty associated with under developed human resource base. The research provides timely findings on the consequences of child labour trend since the implementation of free primary education.

## 1.7 TOWARDS POLICY RATIONALE

Education programmes in any society are geared towards improving the quality of life by enabling the people to be the authors of their own development. This entails empowering them to take more active roles in making decisions that affect their lives. Nonetheless, there are other factors that come into play in the implementation of these policies. The following are some of the factors that influence education policies.

### 1.7.0 Education and Poverty Alleviation

A set of eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) have been set by the international community to enhance poverty reduction by the year 2015. Key among these is the achievement of Universal Primary Education (UPE) (Colclough, *et. al*, 2003). It is a known fact that children who do not regularly attend school or who drop out of school come from poor households.

The link between education policy and poverty alleviation has been a subject of intensive research and policy analysis especially in the developing countries. However, the term poverty is very elusive in terms of definition. Conventionally, it is defined in terms of income; the number of people below the poverty line (Tilak, 1994). This definition has been criticised because it only considers the bare minimum level of income required for survival (UNDP, 2001). According to the Sessional Paper No.3 of 1999 on National Poverty Eradication “poverty goes beyond income and includes deprivation of knowledge, life expectancy and the quality of life. It manifests itself in the form of hunger, malnutrition, illiteracy, lack of shelter and basic services such as education and health (Kenya, 1999b: 2). Fowler, (1997) posits that poverty is a condition where people are not able to achieve essential functions in life, which occurs due to lack of access and control over the resources they need. Poverty remains a multidimensional phenomenon that cuts across many facets of human life.

Poverty eradication or reduction strategies have been promulgated by several development agencies both international and national as part of development objectives. The United Nations Development Programme in their reports outline a combination of strategies to help increase income and provide the poor with decent standards of living that can enable them utilize their capabilities and enlarge their choices in the realm of development process (UNDP, 1990; 2000). The World Bank accordingly advocates for two poverty alleviation strategies to achieve sustainable development. The first strategy focuses on economic growth and the second advocates on expansion of basic social services especially provision of primary education and healthcare (World Bank, 2000).

The higher the level of education of the population the lower the proportion of poor people (Tilak, 1994). Education is therefore considered as a more effective strategy for the alleviation of poverty than other measures (Sen, 1999; World Bank, 2000; Tilak, 1994; UNDP, 2000). The universal primary education (UPE) and education for all by 2015 are clear pointers to the relevance of education in development and by extension poverty alleviation.

In Kenya education is rightly regarded as an important component of poverty eradication programme. This is explicitly stated in a number of policy documents dealing with poverty alleviation strategies such as, National Poverty Eradication Plan 1999-2015 in 1999, Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) 2001 - 2004 in 2000 and the Economic Recovery Strategy Paper for Wealth Creation 2003-2007 in 2003. According to the PRSP for 2001-2004 volume I *'the poverty eradication aim of the government confirms the importance of paying for the basic open cycle of education* (Kenya, 1999b: 43). This was meant to enhance equity in human development and achieve greater enrolment of children from the poorest households.

The government also acknowledged that *"Universal Primary Education will be a key target in poverty eradication* (Kenya, 1999b; 42). The Second Report on Poverty in Kenya recognises the role of education in empowering people to participate in nation building (Kenya, 2000b). Accordingly, the report shows that a higher proportion of the poor (25.4%) compared to (18.2%) of the non-poor had no education. The report also shows that poverty in Kenya generally decreases as the education level of the household head increases.

From this literature review, it is clear that education is regarded as a critical tool in poverty alleviation. A higher level of education is equally regarded as an effective way of escaping poverty. Education strengthens peoples' ability to meet their needs and those of their families. This increases productivity, enlarges their capability and choices hence achieving high standard of living and quality life. The above discussion shows that education can be used to reduce poverty. However, the tragedy of the poor people is further compounded by the perpetual presence of poverty, which hinders them from exploiting the available opportunities and resources. This has resulted to many children from poor households missing the opportunity provided by free primary education.

### **1.7.1 Education and Child Labour**

The link between education policy and child labour is complex. However, child labour cannot be approached separately without looking at education because child labour keeps children out of school and also affect their performance (Beguele and Boyden, 1988). Going by studies conducted in other parts of the world it is evident that education operates within a wider socio economic framework (Beguele and Myers, 1995; Kamara, 2003; Grooetart, *et. al*, 1996). There are other factors, which are unique and specific to a community that would make children forego school and engage in work. Therefore factors, which are prevalent in a highly agricultural area, are different from a mining community or a fishing community.

Bahemuka, *et. al*, (2000) observe that the Baheducation system has contributed to the problem of child labour. They posit that, the present education system has major flaws in-terms of relevance and quality. The introduction of free primary education was a good move towards the fight against child labour, however the inherent problems of the program such as over crowding, quality and shortage of teachers determines the relevance of this programmes. Kamara, (2003) shows that parent's socioeconomic status highly influences child labour and school attendance. This is an indication that when parents are poor chances are very high for their children to engage in work than in the well endowed families.

Saddiqi and Patrinos, (1995) argue that parents' perception about the value of school determines to a large extent child school attendance. If for example, a parent feels that the formal education is not responsive to the needs of the child and society in general they



discourage their children from attending school. Sometimes the high rates of unemployment among those who are educated may deter children from attending school (Bahemuka, *et. al.* 2000) Bequele and Boyden, (1988) show that children are better suited to fluctuating labour demands because they can easily be laid off when production is low. Others argue that employers prefer children because they are cheaper and efficient, and are unlikely to join trade unions (Kanbargi, 1988; Abdallah, 1988; Saddiqi and Patrinos, 1995).

Kayongo-Male and Walji, (1984) observe that child labour serves a socialization function. They argue that those children who work become responsible citizens in later life. However no amount of justification can compensate the children when they are denied right to enjoy childhood. Child labour affects the development of children in-terms of acquisition of knowledge (Grooetart, *et. al.* 1996). Studies have also shown that child labour has serious health implications to children because some of them engage in hazardous work like mining, fishing and horticulture (Salazar, 1988; Grooetart, *et. al.* 1996; Realp, 1993). This exposes them to danger of chemicals and risks associated with their working environment.

Studies conducted elsewhere show that children work for long hours and they are the least paid (Saddiqi and Patrinos, 1995 and ILO, 1997). According to Boyden, (1991) the problem of child labour is the condition under which they operate and not the work. It is prudent to point out that the conditions and type of work undertaken by children differ from one country to another. Salazar, (1988) shows that children as young as six years were engaged in quarries and brick laying in Colombia. In Philippines, wood based and clothing industries preferred employing children to adults due to their high rate of performance and non-absentism associated with adults (Bequele and Boyden, 1988). Reports from Thailand indicate that about 400,000 children dropped out of school in order to work (Gill, 1998). Child labour therefore remains a problem that is prevalent in the world today.

### **1.7.2 Children's Rights**

In 1998, ILO set new standards on the most intolerable forms of child labour. The Convention on the Rights of the Children (CRC) requires government of various countries to provide a minimum age for admission into employment and provide appropriate regulation. The following are some of the ILO convention that prohibits employment of children.

### Box 1.1 ILO Conventions

*Convention No. 77 and 78 require that children and the young persons undergo medical examination before admission into employment; convention No. 79 prohibit nights work for children for periods ranging between 12 and 14 hours; convention No. 90 provides that a child under the age of 18 years may not be employed in an industrial undertaking at night between 10 p.m and 5 a.m; convention No. 125 states conditions for employing persons underground that is mines and quarries; convention No. 138 concerning minimum age for admission into employment; convention No. 182 on the worst forms of child labour and No. 190 which states that the minimum age for a child to be employed should not be less than 15 years and set a minimum age for one to be employed in hazardous work to be 18 years (Kenya, 2001b:6).*

At the global level, several countries have looked into the problem of child labour as members of the International Programme on Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC).

#### **Local Statutes on Children Rights**

Kenya has about 65 statutes, which have bearing on child labour under various circumstances (Kenya, 2001b). They include: The employment Act (Cap 226) revised in 1984; the employment of women, young persons and children's Act (Cap 227); the regulation of wages and conditions of employment Act (Cap 229); The Industrial training Act (Cap 234); the Trade Disputes Act (Cap 234); the workmen's compensation Act (Cap 236); the Education Act (Cap 211); and the Children's Act 2001 (Kenya, 2001b).

The Employment Act (Cap 226) is the principle Act that specifies the conditions and terms of employment for all workers. The Act defines a child as an individual, male or female who has not attained the age of 16 years. It defines a juvenile as a child or young person who has attained the age of 16 years but not attained the age of 18 years. It prevents the employment of a child whether gainful or otherwise in an industrial undertaking (Kenya, 2003). The Act empowers enforcement officers to withdraw a child from employment if such employment is undesirable.

The regulation of wages and conditions of employment Act sets the minimum wages payable to employed children and other persons employed. The Education Act stipulates that children of school age (6 –13 years) should be in school, while the Children and Young Persons Act protects children from physical, sexual or mental abuse (Kenya, 2003). The constitution of Kenya also protects the rights of children and it states in part that “No person shall be held in slavery or servitude”, be required to perform forced labour or be subjected to torture or inhuman or degrading punishment or treatment. The Children Act 2001 consolidated the above laws.

The children Act spells out the rights and welfare of the child defined as a boy or girl under the age of 18 years. It states in part that “Every child shall be protected from economic exploitation and any work that is likely to be hazardous or to interfere with the child education or to be harmful to the child health or physical mental, spiritual, moral or social development” Children’s Act, 2001(Kenya, 2001: 4). The Act defines child labour as any situation when a child provides labour in exchange of payment. Since 1954 Kenya has ratified 47 ILO conventions out of which 41 are in force. Some of the main conventions ratified by Kenya include: convention No 29 on Forced labour, Convention No. 98 on the right to organize Trade Unions and collective bargaining, Convention 105 on abolition of forced labour and No. 138 on minimum age (Kenya, 2003).

## **1.8 DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS**

### **Education**

Abayo. (1999) defines education as the provision of learning opportunities in a purposeful and organised manner through various means. In this study education refers to a process through which an individual acquires knowledge, skills and change in attitude in a formal process. The education is age specific and follows a linear process from standard one to eight in primary schools under the 8-4-4 system of education. The education level was measured in terms of the highest standard completed. The variable was operationalised in terms primary of school drop out, primary complete, secondary drop out, secondary complete and higher education.

### **Primary Education**

Primary education denotes the first level of education usually from standard one to standard eight. It is age specific and children pursue it between the ages 6-14 years.

### **Child labour**

In this study the term was used to refer to any situation where a child aged below 17 years work to earn a living for self, parents or siblings especially in fishing activities, which hinder chances of schooling. It does not include household work performed by children in their parents' home except when such work can be assimilated to an economic activity and deprive the child the possibility of attending school.

### **Child work**

The term child work was used in this study to refer to any duty performed by a child in the family as part of socialization and has no direct economic gain. Work done under parental/guardian supervision is conceived of as part of the household moral obligation and essential aspects of socialization. Such work would include assisting in the kitchen, fetching water, herding goats after school among others. However, if such work hinders children from attending school because of long working hours then it qualifies as child labour.

### **Household**

The term household has been defined differently in various studies. Kenya, (2001a) defines household as people who live together in the same homestead or compound but not necessarily in the same dwelling unit, have common housekeeping arrangements and are answerable to the same household head. In this study the term household was used to mean people who eat from the same pot.

### **Age**

This was defined in terms of actual age as at the time of research and measured in number of years since first birthday. It refers to the number of years lived by the respondent since birth and upto the interview time.

## **1.9 RESEARCH HYPOTHESIS**

The research hypotheses are:

- 1) Child labour is associated with parent's socioeconomic background.
- 2) Child labour has a negative effect on primary school enrollment and attendance

### **Operationalisation of the variables**

Child labour is operationalised as a situation where a child aged between 6-17 years is actively involved in paid work, which affects schooling. When children engage in fishing they are likely not to attend school. The study adopts participation in fishing because the main objective targets fishing as an economic activity. Number of hours is measured in hours per week. When a child work for more than twenty hours in a week and does not go to school then the child is said to be involved in labour.

### **The first hypothesis**

The hypothesis states that child labour is associated with parent's socio-economic background. Parent's socio-economic background is determined by level of education, type of housing and the nature of occupation whether formal or informal.

### **The second hypothesis**

The second hypothesis states that child labour negatively affects primary school enrolment and attendance. The independent variable is child labour while the dependent variable is enrolment. Enrolment is determined by dropout rate. School attendance is determined by level of absenteeism or frequency with which a child goes to school. A child might enrol in school but exhibit low attendance.

## CHAPTER TWO

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### 2.1 EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT

Diverse literature has emphasized the importance of education for both economic and social development (Schultz, 1961; Psacharopoulos and Woodhall, 1985; Harbison and Myers, 1964; Todaro, 2000). Arguably, school attendance has been identified as an important determinant of earnings with both private and social rates of return in excess of other investments opportunities (Colcough, *et. al.*, 2003). Governments world over, have realised the importance of education and are increasingly investing large shares of their budgets to education (World Bank, 1995).

In developing countries, the social rate of return to education has been estimated to be about 27% for primary school and 16% for secondary education (Psacharopoulos and Woodhall, 1985). The higher levels of education have been revealed to attract higher private rates of return than social ones. Primary education being the foundation of education would benefit the wider society than higher education. It is in this regard that a lot of emphasis has been laid on the lower levels of education as a basis for spurring literacy and enhancing development to a wider proportion of the society.

According to Sen (1999), development is freedom that can be attained through education. He further argues that education deprivation leads to capability poverty. It is only through investment in education of the poor that capability poverty can be reduced. Findings from developing countries conclude that four years of primary education increases the production of farmers by approximately 8.7 percent (Psacharopoulos and Woodhall, 1985). According to a study conducted by Hicks, (1980) on the relationship between growth and literacy as a measure of education, it was revealed that there was a rise in literacy levels with rise in national income. Some scholars have also argued that there is an important role of schooling in social development. Cochran, (1979) posits that, female education has a direct effect on fertility reduction, child mortality and household nutrition. These are some of the key proxies of human resource development.

Upon independence the government embarked on grand programmes of Africanisation and Kenyanization policies to meet the deficit of requisite human resource base. The programmes were driven with the realization of the essence of education in development. The education sector has tremendously expanded since independence at all the levels occasioning further constraints on provision. Primary enrolment has increased over time due to population increase and it is in this regard that the study explores the effects of child labour on school attendance in the era of free education policy (Kenya, 1963, 2002).

Education is a profitable investment both to the individual and to the society. The individual draws higher earnings than they would without education and the society is enriched by the knowledge of the educated and the taxes they pay (Manda, *et. al.* 2003). Education has both macroeconomic and microeconomic benefits that accrue from the investment. Manda, *et. al.* (2003) show that an increase in average human capital for both males and females has a positive association with earnings. The private returns to education increases with the level of education. According to Wobmann and Langhammer (2000), the returns to investment in human capital are beyond the alternative rate. They argue that the returns to investment in education are likely to be more than the alternative forms of investment.

Education has also been identified as one of the most powerful tools that can be used to fight poverty and hence help in reducing child labour. However, child labour is considered as both a cause and a consequence of poverty (Manda, *et. al.* 2003). It is argued that children who work cannot go to school and entirely depend on low education, poor pay and low living standards. Work that impedes education makes it more likely that children from poor household will stay poor in future. In Africa women make upto 80 percent of the labourforce in agriculture. Increasing women's primary education could increase the agricultural output in terms of proper farming techniques (World Bank, 1998). Education also helps women to enhance their social status and further enables them to protect the environment for a sustainable yield.

Human capital is an important factor that can highly contribute to poverty reduction. A well-educated labourforce would increase economic growth of a nation (Manda, *et. al.* 2003). Therefore, child labour would slow down economic growth and social development of a region. According to Kenya (1997b), the heavy presence of child labour in Suba District resulted to high drop out rates and underutilization of education facilities. This continuous

absence of adequate education attainment perpetuates poverty and forms a barrier to socio economic progress (Sen, 1990). *A reversal of the negative trends in Africa's social development and a tangible reduction of poverty especially rural poverty can be expected if economic process get underway to allow participation of the majority poor* (Manda, *et. al.*, 2003:39). The essence of education to poverty reduction strategies is a clear indication of benefits of education to the society.

## 2.2 CHILD LABOUR, SCHOOL ENROLMENT AND ATTENDANCE

School attendance and child labour, are not always mutually exclusive given that there are many children who attend school and also work (Manda, *et. al.* 2003; Bequela and Myers 1995; Saddiqi and Patrinos 1995; Boyden, 1988). The main question is whether schooling displaces child labour. The child labour survey conducted in Kenya shows that working children contribute to household income and therefore replacing the children lost income would have an impact on their school attendance. The report shows that about 22.9% of children work to augment household income especially in the rural areas where the activity is widespread.

Several studies have shown that schooling does not necessarily reduce child labour because children can be attending school and work (Anker and Malkos, 1996). Kanbargi, (1988) shows that it is difficult for many children to attend school and engage in labour at the same time. Furthermore, even in countries where education is completely free such that books, uniform and midday meals are provided some children still engage in work. The study concludes that such a phenomenon is occasioned by other indirect costs associated with schooling, which he calls loss of child's earnings.

In most poor communities, school attendance seems not to have significant impact on future employment and hence parents opt to place their children in labour instead of enrolling them in school (Bequela and Myers, 1995; Kanbargi, 1988). This is an indication that sometimes parents make a rational decision in sending their children to fishing activities with the hope of gaining maximum benefit than they would if they send them to formal primary school. Manda, *et. al.* (2003) argue that there is always low school enrolment among poor people in developing countries because schooling competes with income earning opportunities. Abdalla, (1988)



observes that school enrolment among working children is directly linked to education background of their parents.

Therefore, parents' perception of the benefit of education can influence both school attendance and child labour participation. Manda, *et. al.*, (2003) find that there exists poverty trap among the poor people where parents' current low incomes keep their poor children out of school and hence poverty is perpetuated to the next generation. This is why school enrolment rates in poor areas are much lower than expected and drop out rates are higher.

Social values can also inhibit school and encourage work. Salazar, (1988) argues that occupational status can affect school participation rates among working children. In a study conducted in Colombia in quarries and brickyard, it was established that brick making is viewed as a dirty and inferior occupation and young brick makers were socially ostracized. The social reaction had a negative effect on their school attendance (Bequela and Boyden, 1988). Other studies have also shown that family structure determines the children's chances of schooling. Bequela and Myers, (1995) observe that in Africa and Latin America child rights to school is related to birth order whereby the first borns would be given preference to education as opposed to last borns.

### **2.2.0 School enrolment and attendance in Suba District**

The Suba District Development Plan 1997 – 2001(Kenya 1997b), shows that enrolment rate is very low and dropout rate is very high. The report also shows that there was under utilization of educational facilities due to low-income levels and child labour participation in the fishing industry. The projected labour force of the district in 2001 was 70,250 excluding the figures of under 16 children already engaged in fishing. The report acknowledges the non-inclusion of a number of children engaged in work and it is the intention of this research to capture this group of missing children. To be able to formulate appropriate policies and intervention strategies there is need for reliable data and information.

## Summary of Literature Review

From the literature reviewed, there are two divergent views on child labour and schooling. The first school of thought argues that children can work and go to school at the same time, while the other school posits that child labour displaces schooling. It is imperative to note that in most cases child labour displaces school attendance resulting to dropout. In cases when children combine both, they are more likely to perform dismally due to added responsibility.

However, these divergent views on child labour have failed to capture the contextual situation in which child labour is embedded as they make reference to the formal economy or factory work as the universal standard for conceptualizing child labour (Bequele and Boyden 1988; Fyfe 1993; Myers, 1999; Saddiqi and Patrinos, 1995; Manda, *et. al.*, 2003). The overemphasis placed on the formal sector of the economy ignores the heavy presence of child labour in the informal arrangements especially, in the peasant economies. It is in this regard that the study specifically analyses aspect of child labour in the fishing sub sector.

The study conducted by Manda, *et. al.*, (2003) was a cost benefit analysis of child labour. The study findings show that the Kenyan government would eliminate child labour by investing in the UPE. This study explored the reason why despite the investment by the government on FPE, there is still occurrence of child labour. It shows that despite the investment in the FPE many children are still out of school due to other factors key among them is poverty. Hence the prevailing socioeconomic factors within a community largely determine school attendance.

The study argues that FPE on its own cannot eliminate child labour. Another study by Kayongo- Male, (1984) focused mainly on the health effects of child labour and how the phenomenon affects children's physical and psychological growth. Whereas the conclusions of the findings are true, the study did not capture the schooling aspect of child labour. The literature reviewed show that child labour affects schooling in one way or another and therefore children need to be protected. The literature shows the gap, which our study seeks to address, more specifically the question of free primary and school attendance.

The assumption that when education is free children will go to school or that parents will send children to school undermines the important facets of development such as food, shelter and

clothing. Food might be a pressing need to a hungry child than school. The children's rights discussed above can only be effectively enforced when the communities have met the necessary needs in life. This is the essence of the International Convention on the Rights of the Child, which has been ratified and domesticated by several countries, Kenya included. This study therefore analyses three theoretical frameworks to capture the divergence of child labour phenomenon.

## 2.3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWROK

Several theoretical approaches capture the phenomenon of child labour. Among them are; the Human Capital Theory, the Rights Based Approach (RBA) and the Human Development Approach. This study adopts the Human Development Approach, which focuses on enlarging people's choices in the realm of development. However, given the multidimensional nature of child labour other theoretical approaches have also been discussed to show their relevance. More specifically, the RBA has been discussed in reference to the Children's Act 2001.

### 2.3.0 Human Capital Theory

According to human capital theory, investment in education leads to formation of a requisite human resource base needed for economic development. The approach also considers education as a powerful instrument for poverty reduction (Psacharopoulos, 1994). In the 1960s Schultz, (1961) showed that education contributes directly to the growth of national income by improving skills and productive labourforce. According to Rosen, (1989) human capital consists of skills and knowledge that people acquire. Adjibolosoo, (1995) further defines human capital as know how and skills that are acquired by men and women, in order to enhance productivity.

This approach views the work of children through national economic development. It regards child labour as a product of economic underdevelopment and suggests that the remedy is to eliminate poverty and its causes. At the macroeconomic levels, this entails raising the Gross National Product and at the microeconomic levels to enhance income options for the poor (Myers, 1999). It conceives child labour phenomenon in terms of work and working conditions that undermines children's eventual contribution as adults to national economic development and their own progress (Harbison and Myers1964; Schultz 1961). This approach promotes

policies and activities to develop in children the skills, attitudes and other capacities they need to contribute to economic development and become prosperous adults in future.

Accordingly, human capital recommends policies that increase viable opportunities for children and their families including subsidizing school expenses for the poor households, improvement of school quality and establishment of more direct links between education and skills of the economy (Grooetart and Kanbur, 1995; Grooetart and Patrinos, 1999; Psacharopoulos and Woodhall, 1985). Child labour is seen to be a symptom of underlying economic problems and the only way to tackle it is to reduce the problems and create paths out of this misery. It advocates for children to get education, which yields a higher return on investment than any other development strategy (Psacharopoulos, 1985).

However, the approach has been criticized due to the bias on economic development. Some scholars feel that its faith on the economic return on schooling may be excessive especially for the poor who often face other barriers that may prevent them from utilizing education even when they receive it free (Anker, 1996). Other studies indicate that growing national or regional prosperity does not necessarily reduce the number of children working. It has also emerged that in some of the richest industrialized countries, children from the age of twelve years are also engaged in employment (Grooetart *et. al.* 1999; Boyden, *et. al.* 1998).

From the above discussion, it is clear that human capital theory heavily relies on the overall future contribution of children in the economic development thereby ignoring other development components. It is limited to the economic growth model of development which does not make provisions for enlarging the choices available to people. It however informs this study due to the recognition that education is an important factor for development.

### **2.3.1 The Rights Based Approach**

A Rights Based Approach (RBA) to development is a conceptual framework for the process of human development that is normatively based on international human rights standards and operationally directed to promoting and protecting human rights (Reynolds, 2001). This approach keeps the dignity of working children at the forefront. Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs) have popularised this approach over time in the international

development forum as a means to fight poverty. It is based on the maxim that the duty bearers have obligations towards the rights' holders. Therefore, the government has obligations to meet the human rights of the citizens, more specifically the basic rights.

The World Summit for Social Development (WSSD) at Copenhagen 1995 reaffirmed the link between human rights and development by establishing a new concern that places people at the centre of sustainable development. The RBA considers poverty as the denial and violation of the fundamental human rights in the context of the inability to access the basic needs (Reynolds, 2001). It includes the following strategies; advocacy of rights, accountability, empowerment and participatory approaches (Hausermann, 1998).

RBA is driven by concerns that impair children's growth and violate their rights, such as civil, cultural, economic and social rights. It therefore calls for a development framework that guarantees access to rights such as health, education, housing, justice, and personal security among others. Accordingly, it conceives child labour as work, which undermines children's well being, individual and social development (Reynolds, 2001). The purpose for intervention in children's work is to guarantee their rights, welfare and development. These interventions would ensure that children access basic education with necessary support both at the household and at the community level.

The approach is tied to the notion of children's rights especially the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), which has been ratified by many countries. The convention intends to promote a holistic view of children by placing them at the core of development process. It has been domesticated in Kenya through the Children's Act 2001. The Act provides for children's' rights to education and protects them from labour and armed conflict (Kenya, 2001c). This perspective understands children to be resilient as well as vulnerable and to be active agents of their development.

This view contrasts with human capital approach, which represents children more passively. The approach informs the current study due to its primary attention on children and their welfare in the development agenda. However, the adequacy of the implementation of CRC in the international arena and Children's Act in Kenya makes the RBA questionable. It sometimes becomes difficult to turn the rights to action in the face of other social problems such as

inequalities compounded by glaring poverty. In child labour, the divergence of adults and children's interest are real and impossible to ignore. It is on the above review that human development approach is adopted because it represents a holistic perspective to development. It encompasses both the economic, social, and political development.

### **2.3.2 Human Development Approach**

The Human development approach was pioneered and popularised by the UNDP global Human Development Reports. Human development is viewed as a process of enlarging people's choices and raising their standards of living through the expansion of human capabilities and access to opportunities (UNDP, 2001). The human capabilities entail a healthy life, being knowledgeable and having access to resources.

Human development approach entails two major issues: capabilities and opportunities. Accordingly, the approach posits that enlarging of choices for a person implies enhancement of capabilities. This can be achieved through the development of human resources. Human development, in addition to improving welfare directly is an excellent investment in terms of provision of opportunities. Focusing on human development concepts such as "human poverty", the approach argues that human poverty is more than income poverty, because it is a denial of choices and opportunity for living a meaningful life" (UNDP, 1997: 2). The approach recognizes education not as an instrument or means of development but development itself. Therefore, education deprivation or poverty of education becomes an integral part of human poverty.

The human development approach will be used to inform the study as the theoretical framework. This is due to the argument enshrined in the approach of widening people choices and raising their standards of living through expansion of human capabilities and access to opportunities. The engagement of children in labour has been due to raising costs of education. The realization that majority of child labourers come from poor background makes the approach very appropriate for this study.

Sen, (1999) expanded the human development approach and called it a human capabilities approach to development. He argues that human development needs should be seen as a process of expanding the capabilities of people. In his analysis, Sen distinguishes between income poverty and capability poverty. Accordingly, capability poverty refers to deprivation of opportunities choices and entitlements, to him development is an extension of freedom and it is embodied in the concept of capabilities (Sen, 1992, 1999). Sen considers development as freedom and freedom encompasses education, which enhances capabilities. Therefore, education can significantly influence both income poverty and capability poverty.

## CHAPTER THREE

### METHODOLOGY

#### 3.1 SOURCES OF DATA

The study entailed both the primary and secondary sources of data. The primary data was collected from the field through questionnaires and interview guides. Secondary sources of data provided the basis of existing literature gap and provide relevant literature on what has been done with respect to child labour. They included books, statistics from government departments, magazines, journals, reports, and thesis.

#### 3.2 SAMPLING PROCEDURE

According to Singleton, *et. al.* (1988:137) “a sampling design refers to the research plan that indicates how cases are to be selected for observation” and the unit of analysis is that which the study seeks to describe or understand. The major unit of analysis for the study was households whose children engage in labour and a controlled sample of child labourers. The target population was the fishing community of Suba District.

The study adopted a multi stage form of sampling and appropriately combined both the probability and non-probability sampling techniques. Non-probability technique was used due to non-availability of sampling frame. The gazetted landing beaches were used to capture the children in their work place. The first stage was purposive sampling of Mfanga’no Division among the five divisions owing to its high population density and the heavy presence of fishing activities as compared to other parts of the district. Another reason was that it has the largest fish landing beaches in the district. The division also suffers from under utilization of education facilities.

Stage two of the sampling procedure selected a representative sample of landing beaches where fishing heavily occurs. Ten landing beaches were selected for the study using both purposive and random sampling. Two of the landing beaches namely; Remba and Ringiti were purposively selected due to the heavy presence of child labour as a result of fishing activities.



The two beaches are also sub islands, which were never inhabited before, but people moved in for purposes of fishing as an economic activity. The records from the fisheries department show that the two lead in the volume of fish catch and the population density is more than the rest of the beaches. Due to the high population density it means that the numbers of child labourers were more than in the other landing beaches. The remaining eight were randomly selected from a sample frame obtained from the fisheries department. They included; Wakula, Mulundu, Kiwari, Nyakweri Sena, Takawiri, Yokia and Mbita. The landing beaches were most appropriate as compared to the administrative boundaries because they form the nerve of fishing activities. Table 1 shows the distribution of the households sampled.

**Table 1: Number of household per landing beach**

Name of beach	Number of households
Ringiti	10
Remba	9
Mulundu	3
Wakula	5
Kiwari	3
Nyakweri	4
Takawiri	4
Mbita	4
Yokia	4
Sena	4
Total	50

*Source: Survey Data 2004*

Stage three involved the selection of the respondents that were interviewed. The study-targeted households whose children aged between 6-17 years engage in labour and have dropped out of school or combine work and school. The households were identified through assistance of the beach leaders who happen to know most the child labourers within their areas of jurisdiction. Given that beach leaders know most of the household heads, it was possible to trace the children to their residential places. Some were identified through the use of snowball technique. Further to that, focus group discussions were held with child labourers and case study method was done for some children whose cases were isolated. Children were identified

from their working places. Key informant interviews were held with headmaster of selected schools especially those located closer to the beaches. Other key informants were; beach leaders, district education officer and the district children's officer. Some parents were not willing to be interviewed for fear of prosecution, but they were explained to the purpose of the study and later accepted to give information. A total of 50 household heads were interviewed for the study.

### **Selection of Key informants**

Key informants were utilized to augment the data collected from the households and from group discussions. They included the following,

- a) Ten beach leaders
- b) Four primary school headmasters.
- c) The Suba District Education Officer
- d) The Suba District Children's Officer
- e) The Programme Officer of a local NGO called Child Hope Center
- f) The District Fisheries Officer.

### **3.3 METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION**

The following methods were used in gathering data from the field;

- a) Structured questionnaire for the household
- b) Key informant
- c) Focus group discussion
- d) Case study methodology
- e) Participant observation

#### **Structured interview**

The structured questionnaire was used for the households. The research instrument used was a structured questionnaire, which was administered face to face by the researcher because most of the respondents were not competent in English. The questionnaire had both open ended and closed questions. The open-ended questions were meant to create room for further clarification from respondents. The questionnaire was administered to the household heads given that household characteristics have influence on child labour participation.

### **Key informant interviews**

Interview checklist for key informant was used to capture the relevant information. This was meant to capture the local perspective on free primary education and child labour in the fishing activity. The discussions revealed that poverty is a major cause of child labour and non-schooling.

### **Participant observation**

Direct observation was used to capture the types and nature of child labour. Most children engaged in fishing activities. The researcher observed children as they engaged in fishing and other activities such trade in the beach as part of data collection.

### **Focus group discussion**

The method was used to get information from child labourers through a discussion based on a set guideline. A total of two groups each consisting of both girls and boys were engaged in the focus group discussions. Each group consisted of 4 girls and 4 boys for purposes of gender representation. Some teachers were engaged in-group discussion to further understand the relationship from the school perspective.

## **3.4 CHALLENGES ENCOUNTERED DURING FIELDWORK.**

There were some challenges that emerged in the process of data collection in the field. The key challenges were time, resources, and sensitivity of research and transportation. Time constrained the period of research and therefore the fieldwork was done within one month. Another challenge encountered was with respect to mode of transportation owing to the remoteness of the study site. The only available means of transport to the Mfangano Island is through motorboats, which were not regular. This presented logistical problems to the researcher and it was difficult to access some parts of the division. Another problem was that some respondents who wanted cash from the researcher before giving information. The sensitivity of research made some of the respondents shy away and they never wanted to volunteer information even after being reassured that nobody would be victimised.

### 3.5 DATA ANALYSIS

The data collected was analysed using qualitative and quantitative methods. For the quantitative data the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) and MS Excel were used. The data was interpreted using frequency distributions, pie charts and graphs. For descriptive statistics mean, maximum, minimum, standard deviation was used. Content analysis was used in qualitative data by grouping them into various themes. The study also used Cross tabulation in which chi square tests were used to establish relationship between variables. Significance tests were used to assess the relationship. The chi-square was used to evaluate whether or not frequencies, which are obtained, differ significantly from the expected. It measures the probability of getting a given divergence in a sample from corresponding theoretical or critical values. The test involves a comparison of frequencies rather than percentages. The larger the difference between the observed and expected frequencies the larger the value of chi square and hence the statistical significance of association. The null hypothesis to be tested using chi-square distribution in a table is

$H_0$ : There is no association between the two variables in the population.

And the alternative hypothesis is

$H_1$ : There is some association between the two variables in the population

In all the cases, the chi-square was tested at a significance level of 0.05.

#### Degree of freedom

The shape of the chi-square distribution changes according to the parameter called the degree of freedom. Degree of freedom (df) for a table refer to the number of cells in the table whose values can arbitrarily be determined given the margins of the table. The df in any table is equal to the number of rows in the table minus 1, times the number of columns in the table minus 1. Where R is rows in the table and C the number of columns.

$$Df = (R-1) (C-1)$$

If the computed value of chi-square ( $\chi^2$ ) is greater than the tabulated or critical value then we reject the null hypothesis. However, if the calculated chi-square value is less or equal to the critical chi-square value then we do not reject the null hypothesis.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### CHILD LABOUR AND HOUSEHOLD CHARACTERISTICS

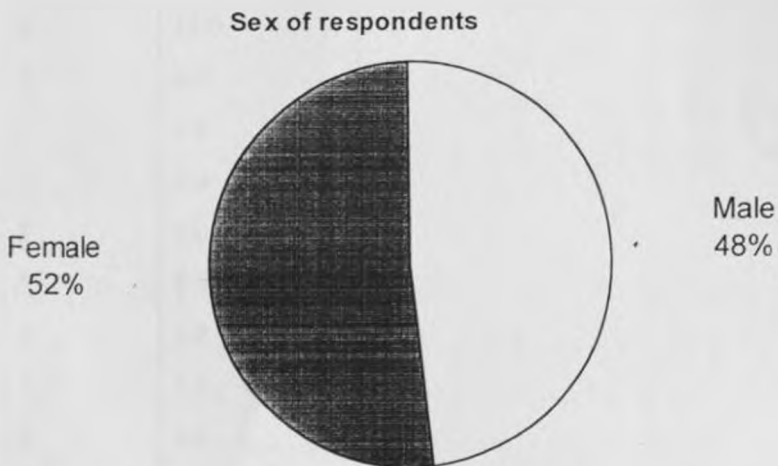
This chapter discusses the background information of the respondents and other characteristics. It outlines attributes such as sex, age, position in the household and marital status. The data is presented in form of tables and pie charts. This information is important because it defines the household characteristics that have a bearing on child labour participation. The data has also been analyzed using descriptive statistics, cross tabulations and chi-square test. The results from the tests have been analyzed and discussed in relation to child labour.

#### 4.1 CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS

##### Sex

Of the respondents 52 percent were women while men accounted for 48 percent. It shows that most children who engage in labour are more likely to come from female-headed households. The reason being that most female headed households are likely to be poorer than male-headed households. Therefore, children would engage in employment to supplement the family income.

**Figure 2: Sex of respondents**



*Source: Survey Data 2004*

## Age

There was a great variation in terms of age of respondents. The youngest respondent was aged 18 years old while the oldest person was aged 71 years old. The actual ages were computed to show the age group whose children are likely to engage in labour. However, most of the respondents were found to fall in the age of 39 years old. The mean age of the respondent was 39 and the standard deviation was found to be 13.55. This indicates that children who work come from relatively younger parents. Children from old families have already left the homes to be on their own. Table 2 shows the actual ages of the household heads who were interviewed.

**Table 2: Age of respondents**

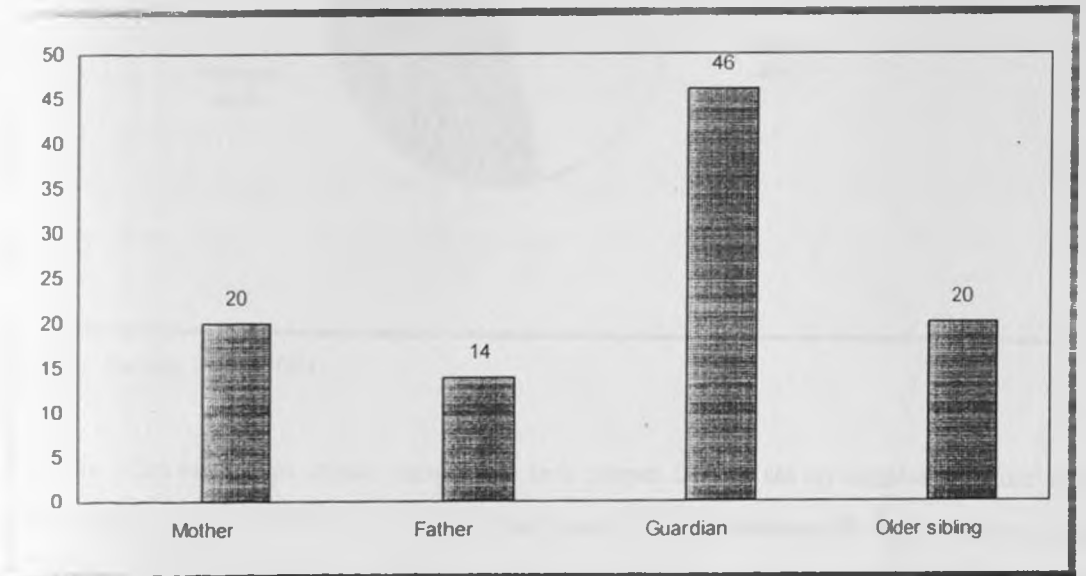
Age	Frequency	Percent
18	2	4.0
20	2	4.0
21	1	2.0
25	2	4.0
28	6	12.0
32	3	6.0
33	1	2.0
36	4	8.0
38	8	16.0
42	6	12.0
44	3	6.0
46	1	2.0
47	2	4.0
53	1	2.0
54	1	2.0
56	1	2.0
62	2	4.0
68	2	4.0
70	1	2.0
71	1	2.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>100.0</b>

*Source: Survey Data 2004*

### Position in the household

The research established that most of the respondents, 46 percent were guardians to the children and not their parents. However, it was further noted that of these guardians, 32 percent were women and the rest were men. The number of mothers being heads of household was 20 percent and fathers accounted for only 14 percent of the total. Older siblings contribute 20 percent of the household heads. These results indicate that most of the child labourers stay with their relatives either due to death of their parents or as a result of running away from home to engage in work. Older siblings also take care of their younger ones, which make it unlikely for them to go to school. Figure 3 shows the distribution of the respondents in terms of positions in the household.

**Figure 3: Position in the household.**



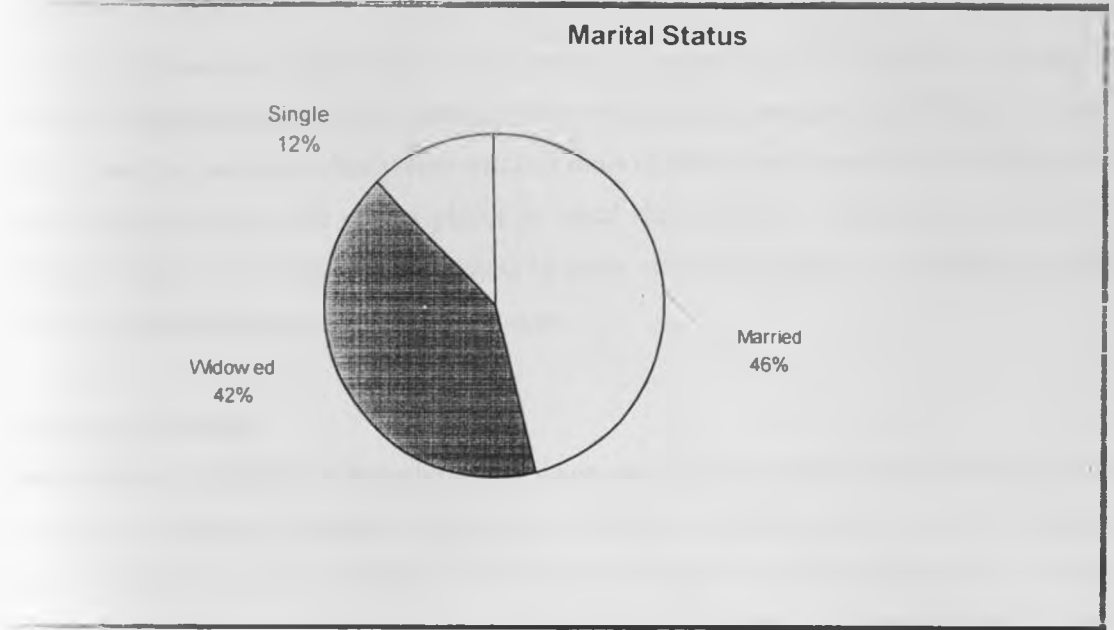
*Source: Survey Data 2004*

When children stay with guardians there is greater likelihood of them engaging in labour. Most of the guardians affirmed that they have children of their own and therefore the additional children from relatives place extra burden in meeting the basic needs and other direct school costs. When this occurs children are encouraged to work and cater for their own basic necessities. Older siblings were also found to take care of the younger ones upon the demise of their parents.

### Marital status

Marital status has a bearing on the propensity of a child to participate in labour. Children from single families are more like to be engaged in labour than those who come from married families.

Figure 4: Marital Status



Source: Survey Data 2004

Children who engage in labour sometimes lack proper family set up especially when staying with relatives. The relatives may not be very keen in the education of such children because they have their own children. Children who have only one parent or those who come from single female and male-headed households are more likely to engage in labour than those who have both the parents. Many single parents are likely to have more responsibility of providing the basic needs. In terms of schooling children from these families will tend to drop out of school or combine schooling and work. When they engage in work they are likely not to attend school regularly. However, this study indicates that most of the children drop out of school in event of combining both school and work.



## 4.2 CHILD LABOUR AND HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE

The household structure determines to a large extent the participation of children in labour. The structure was defined in terms of number of children and number of adults living in the household at the time of the research. It has been argued that children who come from larger households are likely to engage in work than those from smaller households.

Most of the households interviewed in the study had an average of 3 adults in the house, 50 percent of the households had 3 adults, 34 percent had only one adult and 14 percent had 4 adults. Another important observation was that most of these people move from their homes to stay within the local small market places in rental shanties within the landing beaches. The foregone cost of schooling is compensated by early marriage leading to a predominance of 4 people in a family with relatively younger ages.

### **Number of children**

The number of children in a household may determine the level of access to schooling and the propensity to engage in labour. The fewer the children the higher the chances of going to school while the more the number of children the higher the chances engaging in fishing. These results into necessity for more resources to meet their basic needs and to cater for direct costs of schooling. Most of the respondents had 4 children accounting for 48 percent, while 24 percent of the households had five children, 18 percent had three, and 16 percent had six. The mean number of children per household was 4.

When interviewed 36 percent of the respondents were of the opinion that children combine work and schooling while 64 percent argued that most children drop out of school upon engaging in labour. This shows that some children actually combine work and school and therefore schooling alone can't displace child labour. However, as shown by Kanbargi, (1988) it is difficult for children to combine both paid work and schooling. He concludes that child labour affects school enrollment due to high dropouts as a result of low attendance.

### 4.3 CHILD LABOUR AND BIRTH ORDER

Birth order has a significant influence in child labour participation because the older siblings would engage in work to help the younger ones. Sometimes older siblings enjoy the privilege of schooling at the expense of the younger ones. This study shows that 28 percent of the children engaged in labour were 1<sup>st</sup> born, 42 percent were 2<sup>nd</sup> born, 20 percent were either 3<sup>rd</sup> or 4<sup>th</sup> born. The tendency for older siblings to engage in labour shows that birth order determines labour participation. This implies that most of the child labourers have an obligation in their families especially upon the death of their parents. They have to assume parental responsibility of taking care of their siblings or assist their parents to supplement the meager resources.

**Table 3: Child labour and birth order.**

Child labour	Birth order					
	1	2	3	4	6	Total
Yes	14 28%	21 42%	3 6%	5 10%	0 0%	43 86%
No	4 8%	0 0%	1 2%	1 2%	1 2%	7 14%
Total	18 36%	21 42%	4 8%	6 12%	1 2%	50 100%

$$\chi^2 = 11.01$$

Degrees of freedom = 4

$$p = 0.026$$

Level of significance = 0.05

The chi-square test was conducted to test the association between child labour and birth order. It was hypothesized that child labour is associated with birth order and the null hypothesis tested is; there is no significant association between child labour and birth order. The hypothesis was tested at 0.05 level of significance. The value of chi-square was found to be 11.01 with a significance level of 0.026. This significance value is less than the selected alpha level for the critical region being 0.05 hence we reject the null hypothesis.

Therefore, the analysis shows significant relationship between child labour and birth order. This indicates that most first born or second born are more likely to engage in labour than the last-born children. Table three shows that twenty-one of the child labourers from the sampled households were second borns. The older children usually have an obligation to assist their parents take care of the family especially in poor communities.

When respondents were asked if they had other siblings who were in school, it emerged that 78 percent of the responds affirmed that younger siblings of child workers go to school. While only 28 percent negated the question. This confirms the argument that older siblings sometimes engage in work to support the younger ones.

#### **4.4 CHILD LABOUR AND SIBLINGS' EDUCATION**

This describes the characteristics of older siblings. It was found that most of the sibling 52 percent had dropped out of primary, 24 percent had completed primary while 24 percent had undergone secondary education with half of them 12 percent having completed. The general trend that emerged from the study is that most siblings drop out to engage in fishing. Siblings' characteristics are very important although the effects differ. Having an older brother/sister enhances the probability of schooling and lowers the chances of work. While having younger siblings enhances the tendency to work. When parents die and all the household responsibilities are placed on the older sibling the chances of schooling diminishes because of the preoccupation to provide for the other children. However, in certain circumstances older children enjoy enormous opportunity to go to school when their parents are alive and able due to preference at the expense of younger children. This occurs with rational argument that when the older sibling completes school and secures a job then they are expected to help educate the younger ones.

Further analysis shows significant relationship between child labour and siblings level of education. Children whose siblings are primary dropout are likely to participate in labour than those with higher education. It is observed in the category of primary dropouts that twenty-three children were engaged in labour as compared to secondary levels. Table 4 summarizes the findings of the cross tabulation.

**Table 4: Child Labour and siblings' level of education**

Child Labour	Siblings' level of education				
	Primary drop out	Primary complete	Secondary drop out	Secondary complete	Total
Yes	23 46%	12 24%	4 8%	4 8%	43 86%
No	3 6%	0 0%	2 4%	2 4%	7 14%
Total	26 52%	12 24%	6 12%	6 12%	50 100%

$$\chi^2 = 58.1$$

$$p < 0.021$$

Degrees of Freedom = 3

Level of Significance = 0.05

A chi-square value of 58.1 was found with significance level of 0.021, which is less than the selected alpha level of 0.05. Under this circumstance, we reject the null hypothesis. The analysis therefore shows significant association between child labour and siblings level of education.

#### **4.5 CHILD LABOUR AND PARENTS CHARACTERISTICS**

Parental socio-economic characteristics have an important implication on the child's schooling status especially the education level and type of economic activity. Parents schooling can encourage or discourage the schooling of their children. Accordingly, the resources available to parents determine to a large extent the participation of children in labour. Refer to table 5

Children from poor households are less likely to be enrolled in primary school even when education is free. The study established that most fathers of the working children were deceased. The orphaned children were staying with guardians or elder sibling. This study shows that 36 percent of the fathers were primary school dropouts and 12 percent had secondary education. As compared to the mothers, 34 percent were dead, 42 percent were primary school dropouts, 10 percent completed primary and only 6 percent had secondary education.

As reported in a study conducted by Abdalla (1988), school enrolment among working children is associated with their parents' level of education. Our survey as shown in table 5 found out a positive and significant effect for both parents' education and child labour participation. This study shows that most parents were primary school dropout, which seems to influence child labour participation. When parents are not educated there is a higher probability of them not educating their children. This therefore, means that children whose parents have primary education are likely to engage in work than those whose parents have higher education. Education standards also determine the living standard of a household.

Further analysis through chi-square in table 5 show that children whose fathers are primary school dropouts are likely to engage in fishing than those whose fathers have secondary education. This indicates significant relationship between child labour and fathers level of education. However, there was more significance between mother's level of education and school enrolment. The higher the mother's level of education the lesser the chances of a child engaging in work. This is probably attributed to women's role in the socialization and nurturing process of the children. Mothers with formal education have access to child development information enhancing chances of schooling. Table 5 shows the cross tabulation results of parents' level of education and child labour.

**Table 5: Child Labour and Parents Education**

Child Labour	Fathers Level of education						
	None	Primary Dropout	Primary Comp	Secondary Dropout	Secondary Comp.	Deceased	Total
Yes	1 2%	18 36%	4 8%	1 2%	5 10 %	14 26%	43 86%
No	0 0%	3 6%	0 0%	0 0%	4 8%	0 0%	7 14%
Total	1 2%	21 42%	4 8%	1 2%	10 20%	13 26%	50 100 %
Mothers level of education							
Yes	2 4%	20 40%	5 10%	0 0%	3 6%	13 26 %	43 86%
No	0 0%	1 2%	1 2%	3 6%	2 4%	0 0%	7 14%
Total	2 4 %	21 42 %	6 12 %	3 6 %	5 10 %	17 34 %	50 100 %

Source: Field Survey 2004

**Fathers' education**

$\chi^2 = 11.09$

Degrees of freedom = 5

$\rho = 0.021$

**Mothers' education**

$\chi^2 = 25.268$

Degrees of freedom = 5

$\rho = 0.000$

Level of significance = 0.05

The chi-square was conducted to test the relationship between the two variables and it was hypothesized that child labour is closely associated with parent's level of education. The hypothesis was tested at 0.05 level of significance and the chi-square value was 11.09 with significance of 0.021 for the father's level of education.

The chi-square value for the relationship between child labour and mothers level of education was 25.268 with a significance of 0.000. In both the tests the computed significance value is less than the selected alpha level for the critical region being 0.05 therefore, we reject the null ( $H_0$ ) and accept the alternative ( $H_1$ ) hypothesis in both cases and conclude that there is significant relationship between child labour and parents level of education. However, the chi-square value for the test of mother's level of education is much larger than the value for father's level of education. The larger the difference between the observed and the expected frequencies the larger the value of chi square and hence the statistical significance of association.

A further discussion with headmasters of schools revealed that when parents are not educated they usually opt to teach their children fishing early so as to give them a source of livelihood rather than enrolling them in school. Another observation noted from the study was that even those children who complete secondary education end up as fishermen. This reduces the motivation of parents to send their children to school.

In terms of employment, most fathers were engaged in informal work activities. Fishing is the dominant economic activity for the fathers and it is within this sector that most child labour is found. Other economic activities include, peasant agriculture and livestock rearing; however, the region is usually dry throughout the year making fishing the only viable all season activity. This shows a positive relationship where fathers allow the children to start working at tender age. Most of the mothers were also engaged in informal employment mainly in petty trade along the beaches. The economic activity coupled with low education would highly influence the participation of children in fishing. It has been argued that most of the fishermen from Suba have an average level of education of class four. The study found out that many of the parents were primary dropouts.

In terms of residential structures most of the households stay in mud walled houses with 30 percent being grass thatched and having earth floor, while 32 percent had earth floor and iron sheet roofing. The other 38 percent reported to be staying in rental shanties within the small trading centers in the landing beaches. The rents were ranging between Kshs. 150 and Kshs 250. The average rental rate was found to be Kshs. 200 per month for a single room. The

rooms are informally built without any social facilities such as toilets, with both the wall and roof built by iron sheets.

Fishing as an economic activity is labour intensive and employs very many people. The multiplier effect results into provisions for other services such as housing, food outlets and entertainment business along the beaches. The landing beach centers turn to be so busy with numerous activities especially in the evening when the fishermen are going to the lake. Most of the child laborers were found to stay in the centers with their relatives, parents or on their own in groups. Another, reason cited for staying in the shanty's was that, fishing mostly occurs at night and therefore workers need to be closer to their working place.

The predominant religion within the region was the Seventh Day Adventist. Half of the respondents 50 percent belonged to SDA, 20 percent were Catholics, 18 percent were Protestants, 4 percent Muslim and 8 percent belonged to other various small denominations. The dominance of SDA was due to the fact that it is the oldest denomination to penetrate the region and there is no consistent relationship between religious groupings and demand for child labour. This is probably because religious variables are difficult to interpret, as they may be proxy for a number of different factors such as cultural attitudes to education, difference in household production system and the societal value of children. It is in this regard that our survey argues that there is no reason to associate any religious grouping in the study area to the child labour phenomenon and school attendance. Figure 5 shows the religious distribution within the area.



## Figure 5: Denomination/Religion

*Source: Field Survey 2004*

These findings contradict studies done by Colclough, et al (2003) in other countries mostly, Muslim dominated regions where religion determines to a larger extent school enrolment and child labour participation.

### 4.6 CASE STUDIES

A total of two case studies were done through face-to-face interviews with the selected children based on unique features such as age, nature of work and the family characteristics. This was meant to bring a deeper understanding of the child labour phenomenon. The following are some of the case history taken from a sample of the child labourers. The reason for the case studies was to bring the very salient features from the children's perspective to enhance information collected from the household. The names used in cases studies are fictitious and as part of research ethics meant to cover the source of the information.

#### **Box 4.1: Case study one**

##### ***Case one***

*The child worker is called Owino. He is a young boy aged 9 years and the second born in a family of four. Both his parents are deceased and he is currently staying with some of the children in a rented house at Ringiti beach after their house collapsed. His other siblings currently stay with other relatives.*

*Due to difficulty in meeting the basic needs such as food, he has not been able to register in any school, instead he has been fishing. He left home when it was becoming increasingly difficult to survive and therefore decided to stay in the beach center and work. He is employed in one of the fishing boats as an assistant to the bigger boys in arranging the fishing gears and running other petty errands for the boat owners.*

*He says that the work is hard but he does not have any alternative. They usually go to the lake at night. He is paid between Kshs.50 and Kshs.100 depending on the catch. Sometimes he is given fish instead of money to go and cook. His main reason for working is that he does not have anywhere to stay and also the relatives were mistreating him after the death of his parents. The parents died after a long illness in 2002 and since then he has been working.*

*When asked whether he knew that education is now free, he agreed but says that if he goes to school then he would miss a place to stay. Therefore, young Owino had many problems to meet before thinking of school even though primary school is free.*

## Box 4.2: Case study two

### *Case Two*

*The child in this case is called Auma. She is 12 years old and the eldest child in a family of four. She is more at home with her work within the center and has no regrets for not going to school. Both her parents died in 2001 when she was only 9 years old. Currently she is staying with her grandmother who is old and cannot take care of her and other children adequately. Due to the poor situation she has resumed the responsibility of helping her grandmother take care of her siblings.*

*She enrolled in school when the parents were alive. However, after the parents died she was forced to drop out of school in class four and ever since she has never gone back to school. When asked if she ever thinks of going back to school because education is now free, she said no. Her reasoning was that if she attends school the family will not be able to get food and other basic things they need. She works to help raise income for the family and so that the other sibling can go to school.*

*I saw her selling her wares alongside other businesswomen. She sells dried fish, firewood and other small merchandise like jurgery in the beach center. Sometimes she sells mangoes and oranges during the high seasons in the mainland areas in exchange of grain for family use. She starts her day very early especially during the market days to buy the goods.*

*She accepts that if her parents were still alive, she would be in school because both her parents wanted her to go to school. She foregoes schooling so that she helps the other siblings go to school.*

## CHAPTER FIVE

### THE EFFECT OF CHILD LABOUR ON PRIMARY SCHOOL ENROLMENT AND ATTENDANCE:

This chapter discusses some of the causes of low primary attendance and non-enrolment in the era of free primary education policy. It also shows some of the reasons, which cause child labour within a fishing community. The issues are discussed in this chapter under different sub themes. The chapter starts by discussing the nature and type of child labour followed by factors that cause the phenomenon and lastly discusses effects of child labour on school attendance and enrolment. The themes are supported by results from the field data in the form of tables and charts.

#### 5.1 NATURE AND FORMS OF CHILD LABOUR

##### Current age

Age is a very important proxy in the study because it defines who a child is and what type of activities they engage in. The study shows that some of the children who engage in fishing were of primary going age. The mean age at which children join labour is 12 years. However, most children, 28 percent were aged 16 years, 26 percent were aged 15 years, another 16 percent were aged 14 years, 6 percent aged 10 years and 10 percent aged 17 years. Sixteen years was the modal age of child labourers.

**Table.6: The current age**

Age	Frequency	Percent
10	3	6.0
11	1	2.0
12	2	4.0
13	4	8.0
14	8	16.0
15	13	26.0
16	14	28.0
17	5	10
Total	50	100.0

*Source: Survey Data 2004*

### Age at first employment

In terms of age at first work, our survey revealed that most children started working below 13 years of age contributing 74 percent. While only 16 percent started working at above 13 years. This shows that children start working at very tender age when they are supposed to be enrolled in school. When children combine work and schooling there is always the negative implication in terms of performance. It is also noted that the mean age at which children engage in work is 13 years. Children pursue primary education between ages 6 and 14; therefore, involvement in work would affect their schooling status and deny them chances to fully develop their human resource.

**Table 7: Age at first employment**

Age at first work	Frequency	Percent
8	2	4.0
9	5	10.0
10	5	10.0
11	5	10.0
12	9	18.0
13	11	22.0
14	4	8.0
15	5	10.0
16	4	8.0
Total	50	100.0

*Source; Survey Data 2004*

The implication of a child's age at first time to work ranges from medical to social issues. When a child learn the value of money at an early age he/she is unlikely to enroll in school and therefore become more prone to negative peer influence. Due to the nature of fishing activity children are exposed to certain health problems such as pneumonia. Our survey noted that children in the fishing community start engaging in the activity at a tender age in form of apprenticeship. The very young children start by arranging the fishing gears and drain water from the boats while learning the trade. Some children as young as eight years old were observed to be working after school while others as shown in the case studies do not attend school at all. Case study one shows a typical context of how young children engage in fishing

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12	9	18.0
13	11	22.0
14	4	8.0
15	5	10.0
16	4	8.0
Total	50	100.0

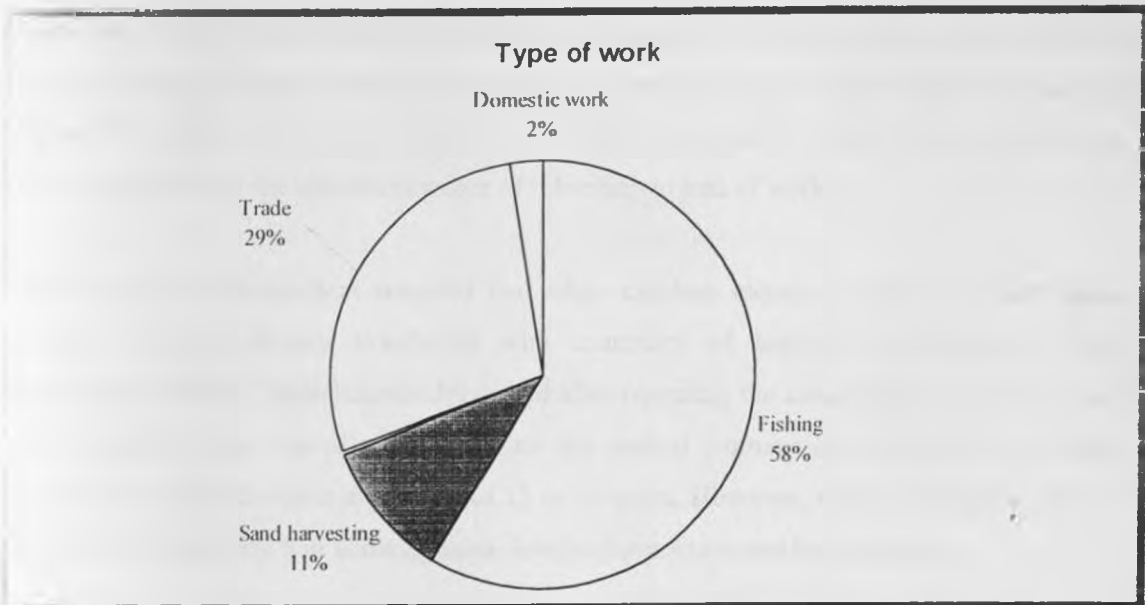
*Source: Survey Data 2004*

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and fail to attend school. Within the above age categories most children are expected to have completed primary education. For the few children who combine work and school their attendance was low, marked by absenteeism and high rates of repetition eventually dropping out.

Children engage in various type of work. Our survey established that most children engage in fishing accounting for 58 percent, 24 percent engage in trading most of whom were girls who sell firewood, dried fish and other wares within the centers, only 10.6 percent engaged in sand harvesting. Fishing is the dominant economic activity of the Mfanga'no people. Fishing also has high proceeds as compared to other activities even though it is a male dominated activity. A further discussion revealed that some children engage in other activities such as herding and as domestic house helps. Fishing remains the dominant employer for most children within Mfang'ano Division.

**Figure 6: Category of work**



Source: Survey Data 2004

Further discussion, from in-depth interviews revealed that fishing employs a majority of the people in the area. Most parents make a rational choice in sending their children to fishing activities because the formal education does not adequately respond to their needs. This tends to create low value for education among those who have not gone to school.

### **Year when children started fishing.**

When the respondents were asked when the children first worked in fishing, 34 percent of the working children were found to have started working in the year 2003 coinciding with the year when free primary education policy was introduced. Another 16 percent started working in 2000, while 16 percent started working in 2001 and 14 percent in 2002.

The study noted that most of these children had earlier dropped out of school and were not keen to go back to school. Prior to working, 52 percent from the sampled group were staying at home while 48 percent were still in school. This shows that some of the children who had dropped out of school prior to the 'free education' policy never enrolled in school.

Key informant interview with primary schools head teachers confirmed that within the Division there was no influx of new pupils even after the introduction of FPE. The head teachers said that there were no major changes in enrollment rates after the introduction of Free Primary. However, most schools within the region experienced better performance due to availability of teaching materials provided by Ministry of Education such as textbooks and other teaching aids. Some parents argued that the program was good for the children who were in school but it would be difficult for the ones already engaged in work to go back to school. This is motivated by the opportunity cost of schooling to that of work.

The discussion with teachers revealed that when children engage in work their attendance becomes irregular thereby interfering with continuity of learning and leading to poor performance. Most of them become frustrated after repeating the same grade several times and they eventually drop out of school. Within the normal primary curriculum, most children complete primary education at the age of 13 or 14 years. However, within Mfanga'no most of them were still in class four showing some levels of repetition and low attendance.

### **Payment of Child work**

Not all child labour is paid for. Some children are paid in cash while others are paid in kind. Such payments in kind include, shelter, food and clothing. When the parents /guidance were asked how much the children are paid, most of them said that payment was based on commission. The commission depended on the amount of fish netted in each particular day. However, the commission is fixed at 30 percent of the total catch divided among three child



laborers in the boat. The boat owner takes a sizable 70 percent of the proceeds despite the fact that it is the labourers who go to the lake. This probably explains why most families along the lake have remained poor despite the economic contribution of fishing. Most of the boat owners do not come from the local area and some come from as far as the neighboring countries especially Uganda. Since the introduction of trolley fishing most of the traditional fishing boats have been faced out due to obsolescence. This makes the local people owners of labour and not capital.

Further discussion by the beach leaders revealed that there are some young boys mostly aged 10 years who work alongside the older people but are paid lower rates than the other older boys. This study shows that 68 percent of the child laborers were paid between Kshs, 25 and 75 in a day, 20 percent were being paid Kshs. 100. The pay varies from the lowest of Kshs, 25 to Kshs. 300 during the high seasons. The mean pay for child labourers was found to be Kshs, 79. For those children who are not paid it emerged that they are working for their relatives who pay them in kind, such as provision of food, shelter and clothing. However, they were considered as child labourers because they work full time and were not enrolled in school.

It also emerged that most of the working children are paid their wages directly. Our survey shows that 88 percent of the children received their own salary while only 12 percent had their parents /guardian receiving the money on their behalf. While most child labourers receive their own money, parents/guardians argued that they indeed contribute to the support of the family.

## **5.2 FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO CHILD LABOUR**

Child labour results from decisions made within a household set up which determines the supply of labour and by the users of child labour, which determines the demand for it. Our survey mainly focused on the household factors that would determine labour participation hence hindering school attendance. It was found out that many children engage in work upon death of their parents. It is assumed that households /families act as rational welfare maximizing agents with limits on the welfare set by the resources available. Accordingly, poverty remains the main reason that make children fail to enroll in school or withdraw from school. This is due to the difficulty in bearing the direct cost and opportunity costs of

schooling. The study operationalised poverty to mean limited access to the basic human needs such as food, shelter, and clothing and parental socio economic background.

The objective of the research was to find out why children still engage in labour while education is free. There were several reasons cited by the household respondents interviewed. Focus group discussion with child laborers had the same sentiments given by various parents guidance. The two case studies reaffirmed some of the reasons cited. Table 8 shows some of the cited factors that contribute to child labour in a fishing community of Mfang'ano Division.

**Table 8: Factors contributing to child labour**

Reason	Count	Percent
Death of parents /orphaned	31	16.2%
Lack of food	30	15.7%
Lack of shelter	27	14.1%
Lake money is sweet	12	6.3%
Parental background	26	13.6%
Non interest in school/low value for education	29	15.2%
Fishing activities	7	3.7%
Assist other siblings	15	7.9%
Assist parents	2	1.0%
Lack of payment	3	1.6%
Peer pressure	6	3.1%
School fee.	3	1.6%
<b>Total</b>	<b>191</b>	<b>100</b>

*Source: Survey Data 2004*

The emerging underlying factor was economic circumstances. Poverty that keeps children working also serves to keep them out of school. Working children find it difficult to combine both school and work. Their survival takes precedence over schooling. Table 8 shows that most children could not attend school because of lack of food. In a group discussion some children argued that if they go to school then they risk going hungry. It also emerged from key

informant interview that farming production in the Division has gone very low and therefore everybody relies on fishing. Children engage in labour to assist their families.

Even though there is free primary education, parents still complained that they had difficulty in paying direct costs levied by school boards such construction fees and school uniform which are a must. Sometimes children are sent home to get the money and they fail to go back to school. Hence the fear of new contributions being required and the uncertainty of these demands lead to non-enrollment. One parent noted that some children needed only the slightest excuse to be sent away from school such as construction of classroom fee.

The ability to meet the direct costs of schooling depends on the income of the parents or household. However measuring of income in the rural areas is very difficult given the informal nature of the economic activities. Key informant interviews with the district education officer and the children's officer supports the argument that poverty levels results to non-enrollment in schools. The demands of meeting the basic needs within a household make parents or guardians seek the help of children. Most of the commodities they need come from the mainland and because of the remoteness of the place most teachers do not want to be posted in the place.

Closely related to poverty is orphanhood among the children. Financial constraints are more severe for households affected by HIV/AIDS. The respondents argued that some children are not able to enroll in school because both parents are dead. Orphaned children usually face the problem of meeting basic needs and as such they opt for the bare minimum survival strategies, whereby most boys engage in fishing while girls engage in petty trade along the beaches or end up in early marriages. According to a discussion held with a Programme officer of a local NGO dealing with orphans, when family members are sick their income level reduces considerably forcing children to engage in work to help their ailing parents. The impact of the disease has increased the number of orphans in the locality. Most of the orphans stay with the extended families including grandparents whom they depend on for upkeep. Some of the relatives do not have adequate resources for their own needs and are unlikely to have enough resources to cater for their own children and those from relatives. Thus, orphanhood affects the chances of school attendance and those who attend school are likely to have fewer resources available for school.

The lack of opportunities for employment for most educated people has contributed to low value for education. This has been a deterrence to parents sending their children to school. Some parents argued that they had lost confidence in the education system and that even the educated youth had become disillusioned because of high levels of unemployment. Parents argued that children do not need formal education to be employed in fishing activities. Some parents said that it is better to engage children in fishing than to send them to school and later lack formal employment. Therefore, lack of job opportunities for school leavers leads to a loss of interest in schooling and children become attracted to fishing activities.

A focus group discussion with the children showed that child labourers disregard schooling when they see that even those who have secondary education still end up as fishermen. They argued that it is therefore better to start work early to make own money than go to school and later engage in the same activity and be trained by those who did not go to school at all. The education system does not respond to the social needs of the people. With the collapse of village polytechnics most primary school graduates do not have any option but to either proceed to secondary or dropout at primary level. Some children also argued that knowing that after completing primary school nobody will pay for their secondary school fee it is better to drop out of school to start working and gain own experience in fishing than to proceed with education.

The effect of cultural perception and practices on the decision to enroll children in school is related to socio- economic status and parents own experience of schooling. The study established some relationship between the education status of the father and child labour participation especially in the fishing activity. Parents with primary level of education are less likely to be motivated to enroll their children in school as opposed to those who have a higher level of education.

Most respondents affirmed that children work to support their families while some use the money for their own needs. Accordingly, 54 percent of the respondents argued that the family benefits from the child labour wage, while 40 percent said most children use their earnings for their own needs. This shows that children usually work to support their families. It also shows that child labour is accepted among the fishing community as part of an apprentice to being a real fisherman

Our survey established that most children decide to work after realizing that without work they may not survive. Out of all respondents, 60 percent argued that children decided to work by themselves, while 22 percent were told to work by their relatives whom they stay with and 10 percent were told to work by their parents. This shows that children usually decide to work when they are left with no alternative.

Another notable observation is that most children are introduced to their employers by their relatives. According to this study 44 percent of the respondents affirmed that relatives introduce children to their employers, 36 percent said children look for jobs by themselves while 6 percent said that some parents play a role. This shows that child labour is socially accepted among the fishing community. It represents a training ground for the future fishermen and therefore parents or relative are willing to help.

Most of the children had enrolled in school before engaging in work with 92 percent having enrolled in school at some point while only 8 percent had not gone to school at all. This shows that usually the children have ambition of going to school but there are certain factors, which eventually push them out of school to engage in fishing. Most of the children enroll in public schools 94 percent and only 6 percent had gone through private school. There is a prevalence of public schools within Mfanga'no Island. However, these public schools are sparsely distributed. Distance to school is usually an important proxy for school attendance. When schools are far away some children opt not to attend school, while nearness to school would likely encourage attendance.

Another significant observation was that almost all the working children in the sampled households enrolled during the cost sharing period. Some of them dropped before the introduction of free primary education policy but were unable to go back to school. This is occasioned by the opportunity cost of schooling in relation to work especially when parents are deceased. Other studies have shown that financial constraints are the main reasons causing children to drop out of school and engage in child labour.

The child labour survey carried out by the CBS in 1998/97 (Kenya, 2001) showed that working children contribute to household income in Kenya. This implies that reducing the children's lost income would have an impact on their schooling attendance. Notably, some parents argued

that children are traditionally regarded as members of a family, whose duties and responsibilities are seen as central to their development and may take precedence over their individual rights such as rights to education. Therefore, work in fishing is seen as a means to integrate children into a family and kinship network and not as hazardous. Fishing at times takes precedence over schooling and this denies the child right to schooling.

### **5.3 CHILD LABOUR, SCHOOL ENROLMENT AND ATTENDANCE**

The effect of child labour on school attendance has elicited numerous debates among the children's right advocates and educationists. With some arguing that child labour can accelerate school attendance while others argue that it displaces schooling. However, it emerged from this study that child labour makes it less likely for a child to attend school. It emerged from this study that 98 percent of child labourers did not complete primary school. This shows that child labour has a negative impact on schooling. Most of the children drop out of school upon earning money from their work. One parent succinctly said that the lake money is too sweet and once tasted it is impossible to leave.

A number of the children left school prior to the introduction of the free primary education. However, it was noted that some 34 percent of the child labourers dropped out of school in the year 2003. This shows that, children still drop out of school despite the free primary programme. It means therefore, that there are other strong mitigating factors that make children not attend school. This confirms the argument by Raveillion and Wooden (1999) that even when schooling is made more attractive it does not seem to reduce child labour. Especially among the poor communities where there are still cases of low enrollment in school.

School attendance commonly competes with various income earning opportunities that would supplement the current incomes of the household. If a child misses food or daily substance due to school attendance they opt to drop out of school in order to work. Further discussion by children revealed that they usually consider the present gain to the perceived future gain of schooling. Therefore child labour in fishing is sometimes a rational choice of both the parents and the concerned child.

### Reasons for leaving school before free primary education

There were several reasons cited for leaving schooling before the implementation of the free primary education policy. The study wanted to find out if there was a difference before and after implementation of the free primary programme.

**Table 9: Reasons for leaving school before free primary education.**

Reason	Frequency	Percent
Lack of school fees	13	26
Assist parents in their works	3	6
Non interest in school/low value of school	9	18
Sickness	1	2
To work and earn own money	9	18
Lack shelter /residence	3	6
Death of parents/orphan	9	18
Lack food	3	6
<b>Total</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>100.0</b>

*Source: Survey Data 2004*

It was established that 26 percent of the respondents cited lack of school fees as the main reason why children drop out of school. School fees was a major problem to many households before the introduction of the free primary education programme. School attendance can be greatly influenced by the available resources at the disposal of a family. Other reasons mentioned were; non-interest in school, 18 percent, assisting parents in their work, 6 percent, to work and earn own money 18 percent, death of parents/orphan 18 percent and lack of shelter and food 6 percent among other reasons. It emerged that there is generally low value for education among the fishing community where parents argued that children fail to enroll in school or fail to attend school because of non prospects of future employment. Fishing is the people's way of life and source of livelihood, which everybody undertakes. The problems cited were compared to those cited for non-attendance while education is free and the trend shows that poverty runs through. This shows that poverty is the most underlying cause for school drop out and non-attendance.

### **Age of enrolment.**

In terms of age of enrolment in school, 48 percent of the children enrolled at the age of 7 years old, 22 percent at the age of 6 years, while 24 percent at the age of 8 years. Age of enrolment in school is important because it determines how a child can articulate and internalize new ideas. It is also important in the sense that children who delay enrolment may feel embarrassed to be among very young children and hence drop out of school. The rate of school completion therefore depends on the age of enrolment in school.

### **Frequency of school attendance**

Child labour determines the frequency of school attendance. Our survey shows that most of the children engaged in labour, 92 percent were not frequent in school attendance. Only 6 percent were frequently attending school. This shows that child labour can displace schooling. The overall result has been high rate of drop out and low attendance.

Further probing revealed that 76 percent of the respondents agreed that children failed to attend school in order to work and only 24 percent of the working children combined schooling and work. Other studies have found out that sometimes working makes it impossible for children to go to school (Patrinos and Psacharopoulos, 1997). In determining the frequency of attendance our survey revealed that 71.4 percent of the working children had dropped out of school to work, 22.4 percent had not gone to school more than 10 times within the last one month of conducting the research. This was meant to gauge the level of absenteeism for those children who combine work and school. This shows that most child labourers drop out of school. In terms of the current enrolment in school, only 10 percent of the children from the sampled households were still in school while 90 percent of them had dropped out. The level of education attained by child labourer is very important.

### **Reasons for dropping out of school**

In determining the reasons for dropping out of school before the implementation of free primary education it emerged that school fees was one of the major direct constraints. According to the study, children leave school due to several reasons. It shows that 29.1 percent of children leave school due to lack of school fees, 23.6 percent due to low value for education or non-interest in school, 25.5 percent wanted to work to earn their own money, 12.7 percent work to assist their parents among other reasons. This shows that school fee is a major



determinant of school attendance among other direct costs met by the parents. However, among the households sampled there emerged a trend of many children not interested in school. They prefer to work and earn their own money than attend school and later end up doing the same job.

Teachers argued that some children had dropped out of school upon enrolment due to their previous engagement in labour. Children already engaged in employment feel that school attendance displaces their income hence they drop out. They also become indiscipline and end up in problems with teachers. Focus group discussion with teachers reported that some child labourers feel more successful than the teachers. They eventually drop out arguing that they are too old to be in primary school. Another emerging problem is early marriages among the girls. According to a discussion with the District Children's Officer early marriages affect many girls in the district hence girls drop out of school and end up marrying fellow children who are fishermen.

A discussion with head teachers revealed that fishing activities have eventually affected performance in many schools within the District. Even when the free primary policy was introduced there was no significant change in enrolment. However, there was a boost in performance due to availability of learning materials provided by the government. The study found out that in some schools learning was conducted under trees due to shortage of classrooms. This shows that free primary education had different effects in terms of rural and urban settings. In most urban areas, there was an upsurge in enrollment as opposed to many rural areas.

#### **Child labor and problems encountered in school**

Most parents argued that school uniform is still a major direct cost to them. The study found out that 46.4 percent had uniform problems, 15 percent cited lack of fees and 5.4 percent cited construction fee as a problem. Construction fee still remains the major direct cost that is met by parents. This cost sometimes becomes a challenge and may make children not go to school regularly.

Some children also drop out of school when they do not have the prospects of proceeding with their education from primary to secondary, especially if the secondary school fee is not guaranteed. Group discussion with children who are primary school dropouts revealed that many children leave school because they consider it a waste of time if they do not have hopes of joining secondary schools.

**Reasons for non-attendance despite free primary education**

The main objective of the study was to find out the reasons for non-attendance despite the free primary programme. Table 10 shows the major reasons cited by the respondents determining non-schooling despite the free program.

**Table 10: Reason for engaging in work despite free education**

Reason	Count	Percent
Death of parents	69	34.8%
Lack of food	38	19.2%
Lack of shelter	24	12.1%
Low value for school	37	18.1%
Parents' background	10	5.1%
To help sibling	10	5.1%
Too old to go back to school	1	0.5%
Peer influence	7	3.5%
<b>Total</b>	<b>198</b>	<b>100%</b>

*Source: Survey Data 2004*

Despite the implementation of the programme, many children within the fishing community are still engaged in labour. It is argued that school fee is the major direct cost that determines schooling however the study shows that there are other important factors that would hinder households from sending their children to school.

Most of the cited problems are poverty related such as, death of parents, which leave children without resources and nobody to bear the direct cost of schooling which is not covered in the free primary policy such as uniform. Lack of shelter and clothing are clear pointers of poverty. If a child is not able to feed then the major pre occupation will be food.

This forces the child to work in order to get food than to attend school and go hungry. Most of the children stay with their relatives who also have children of their own, hence the available resources are stretched beyond capacity.

Poverty is the main factor that runs across most of the households. When households lack the basic necessities such as food and shelter the main preoccupation becomes survival rather than sending children to school. Most children work to supplement the family income. Families of working children are more concerned with the immediate benefit that accrues from child labour than the supposed future benefit of schooling.

Death of parents further aggravates the schooling status of children. Children are left to choose between survival and school. Sometimes children stay with their relatives to be able to attend school but this does not make things better since they are usually subjected to a lot of abuse. Those who combine schooling and labour find it hard to manage the two and eventually drop out of school. Another notable factor among the fishing community is that they consider formal education not to respond to their needs because fishing does not require much education. It is usually argued that the average level of school for a fisherman is standard four. This shows that children need not go to school to secure a livelihood. The school enrolment and attendance of children is determined by the parent's own schooling experience. Other factors include; peer influence, and some children feel too old to go back to school.

From the above discussion the study shows that child labour indeed affects schooling. The development of a human resource base hinges directly on school attendance. When children engage in labour they drop out of school and this reduces their future contribution to nation building as postulated by the human capital theory. Child labour interferes with the potential of children enhancing their capability and enlarging their choices beyond the realm of fishing activities.

**Table 11: Effects of child labour on enrolment and attendance**

<b>Effect</b>	<b>Count</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Drop out	43	31.4
Absenteeism	43	31.4
Poor performance	28	20.4
Low enrolment	23	16.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>137</b>	<b>100.0</b>

*Source: Survey Data 2004*

The study shows that child labour affect schooling in terms of drop out at 31.4 percent, for those who combine schooling and child labour it affects them in terms of absenteeism at 31.4% percent. It also leads to poor performance accounting for 20.4 percent because a child is denied the time to concentrate in the schoolwork. Child labour also results in low enrolment contributing 16.5 percent, especially when children's earning potential competes with schooling. Further discussion from the key interview revealed that about 60 percent of the children who enroll drop out before class eight.

The study shows that free primary education alone may not eliminate child labour. The prevalence of poverty has an effect on school attendance and enrolment. There should be an economic change at the level of households to make parents take their children to school. Since the introduction of the free primary education it was expected that many of the children previously out of school engaged in fishing would go back to school, however, the findings show that most of the children never went back to school. When we asked the parents opinion on free primary policy most of them argued that it is a good program but were worried about sustainability in terms of funding.

## CHAPTER SIX

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 6.1 SUMMARY

The study found out that majority of the children engaged in labour come from female-headed households and many were either first or second born in their families showing that older children have added responsibility to assist the parents. The age of involvement in child labour ranges between ages 8 years to 17 years. The study also found out that many of the children stayed with their guardians due to death of their parents and this complicated their chances of schooling.

Another notable observation was that not all child labour was paid for in cash. Some children worked for payment in kind especially those who were staying with relatives who own fishing boats. It is also evident from the study that some of the child labourers were orphaned despite the presence of heads in the entire sampled households. This enhanced their participation in fishing activities especially for boys and petty trade for most of the girls. Most of the household heads were found to be primary school drop-outs and engaged in informal types of employment.

The study reveals that most of the children had dropped out of school prior to the introduction of the FPE programme and were not interested in going back to school. Most of the children had worked for three years and some even dropped out of school in the year 2003 when FPE was introduced.

The study findings show that the fishing community has low value for schooling because fishing as an activity does not require formal education. This low opinion of schooling determines to a large extent enrolment and school attendance of children. Many parents encourage their children to engage in fishing at a very young age showing that child labour in fishing is accepted among the community. This was motivated by lack of employment among those who have gone upto secondary level and later end in fishing. Further analysis show that parents socio economic status determines child labour participation.

Factors that motivate child labour are many and varied. Such factors include death of parents, social and cultural preference of fishing to formal schooling and family structure. However, the study found out that poverty cycle among the fishermen largely contributes to child labour and non-school participation. Many parents cited school fees as the major problem before the implementation of FPE but were quick to say that even after the programme was implemented many parents still cannot meet some direct cost of school such as uniform. Most children were affected because of being orphans. The major preoccupation with such children is survival and not education. Even when children live with their relatives like in most cases, school attendance is not guaranteed.

## 6.2 CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the study notes that some households cannot afford to educate their children due to high levels of poverty. Nonetheless, some parents make rational choice to engage their children in fishing not because of poverty but due to perception that the formal schooling prepares children for the highly industrial occupation. With the high levels of unemployment among the educated, parents opt to teach their children what they believe will help them in future hence the predominance of fishing activities.

The free primary education can only reduce incidences of child labour but cannot on its own eliminate it. The preoccupation of eliminating child labour might not be achieved by focusing on one determinant such as education or enforcement of the Children's Act 2001. The government must ensure that needs of the vulnerable poor are fulfilled before attacking child labour. Emerging cycle of poverty is formed and the need for child labour is reborn in the successive generations. The study concludes that decision to engage in labour is household driven and some parents' consider direct cost such as school uniform and construction fee somehow prohibitive.

Child labour in most cases displaces school attendance and enrollment resulting into drop out and poor performance. Many children do not enroll in school even with the FPE. Most children and their parents consider the immediate benefit of child labour and ignore the future contribution of education. Many parents consider school attendance as competing with the children's earning opportunity. The study further concludes that child labour in fishing

activities results to underdevelopment of human resource base and this further contributes to a successive generation of uneducated poor fishermen.

Another conclusion from this study is that parents' perception of schooling determines school enrolment and attendance of their children. Most of the parents were primary dropouts and do not find it necessary to send their children to school even when education is free. Therefore the socio-economic status of parents largely determines school attendance. Another conclusion is that when educated people also engage in fishing many parents and children further doubt the essence of going to school and later end up doing the same work.

Poverty was found to be the major factor contributing to child labour. Children may find it difficult to attend free education if they do not have food or lack a place to stay. The presence of many orphaned child labourers increases incidences of non-schooling. The study therefore concludes that poverty increases inequality in the distribution of resources resulting to higher chances of child labour and low school attendance. Low level of schooling results to under utilization of education resources eventually contributing to underdevelopment.

### **6.3 RECOMMENDATIONS**

There is a major gap regarding the enforcement of Children's Act 2001. The Act states that children have a right to education, the provision of which is the responsibility of both the parent and government. When a child fails to go to school because parents cannot afford food and other basic necessities, would the parents be sued or incase the parents are deceased who takes the responsibility? Child labour is a manifestation of wider socio economic problems that law alone cannot eradicate. Solutions must involve partners among all sectors and levels of society. It is also important to note that education operates within a larger system hence the need for a joint action of other sectors.

The education policy should be made more responsive to the society. The overemphasis placed on formal schooling at the expense of other informal skill acquisition such as youth polytechnics make interventions on child labour inadequate. Primary dropouts would be taught appropriate knowledge that would benefit them in fishing rather than put more emphasis on the formal system knowing so well that not all would take the advantage of the free primary

education programme. This would reduce poverty cases and help fishermen learn appropriate fishing methods. High priority must also be given to the quality and relevance of the curriculum and diversity in the educational approaches combining both the formal and informal methods appropriately.

Poverty at the family level largely determines child labour and school attendance. It is within family setup that decisions of who goes to school are made; it is the family which bears the burden of economic mismanagement and poor policies leaving them helpless without options on which to base choice and decisions. Free primary education must be adequately supported by other national programmes that provide incentives, income generation and framework that enable families to value education of their children and lower incidences of poverty.

Local communities should be offered alternative forms of livelihood diversification strategies with children being part of the programme. Given that poverty is the overall cause of child labour, the government should create enabling environment for the fishing community to enjoy appropriate benefits accruing from the lake. Fish processing plants should be built within the district to enable fishermen get maximum benefit out of their work. The industries would also create more jobs and help in poverty reduction, thereby enhancing chances of many more children enrolling in school.

Due to the remoteness of the study setting many teachers do not want to be posted in the Division. This further worsens the education standards. The steamship that used to ply Homabay to Sena via Mbita stalled. This makes communication and transportation from the Island to mainland difficult because the residents rely on dangerous engine boats, to ferry their wares to and from the market. Improved infrastructure would help in poverty reduction and enhance schooling status. The more accessible the area the higher the chances of increasing information flow in the area.



**Recommendation for further research.**

It would be interesting to show the link between education and poverty alleviation as has been outlined in other policy documents. More so, to show the direct contribution of education in poverty reduction especially the lower level of education.

The study recommends a further research on the investment and saving patterns of the fishermen and why fishing communities stay poor despite the contribution of the fishing sector in the economy. Does the problem stem from inherent cultural issues or problems in the overall economy? Such a study would also shade some light on how poverty can be alleviated within the region.

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## APPENDIX 1: SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

My name is David Bong'o and I am a postgraduate student from the University of Nairobi. I am conducting a study on how child labour affects primary school enrollment and attendance. You are among a large group of people randomly selected for the study. I would highly appreciate your patience and time spent on answering the following questions. The information you give will be treated in confidence and will only be useful in informing this study.

### Questionnaire Log book

1. Questionnaire Number-----
2. Date of interview-----
3. Name of the beach -----

### SECTION ONE:

#### BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Q NO.	QUESTION	RESPONSE	
1	Name of respondent		
2	Sex of respondent	<input type="checkbox"/> 1. Male <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Female	
3	Age		
4	Position in the household	<input type="checkbox"/> Mother <input type="checkbox"/> Father <input type="checkbox"/> Guardian <input type="checkbox"/> Other, specify _____	

5	Marital Status	<input type="checkbox"/> Married <input type="checkbox"/> Widowed <input type="checkbox"/> Divorced/Separated <input type="checkbox"/> Single	
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**SECTION TWO:**

**HOUSEHOLD INFORMATION**

6	How many adults live in this house?		
7	How many children live in this house?		
8	Are children engaged in employment?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	
9	Do children combine work and schooling?		
10	What types of work do they engage in?	<input type="checkbox"/> Sand harvesting <input type="checkbox"/> Fishing <input type="checkbox"/> Trading <input type="checkbox"/> Other, Specify	
11	What position is the child worker in the birth order (e.g. 1,2,3,4)		
12	Do any of the siblings go to school?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes [go to 14] <input type="checkbox"/> No	
13	If no, please explain giving reasons	1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____	
14	What is the highest level of education attained by the most educated	<input type="checkbox"/> None <input type="checkbox"/> Primary dropout [Class.....]	

	siblings?	<input type="checkbox"/> Primary complete <input type="checkbox"/> Secondary dropout [Form.....] <input type="checkbox"/> Secondary complete <input type="checkbox"/> University <input type="checkbox"/> Other	
15	What is the father's highest level of education?	<input type="checkbox"/> None <input type="checkbox"/> Primary dropout <input type="checkbox"/> Primary complete <input type="checkbox"/> Secondary dropout <input type="checkbox"/> Secondary complete <input type="checkbox"/> University <input type="checkbox"/> Don't know <input type="checkbox"/> N/A	
16	What is the mother's highest level of education?	<input type="checkbox"/> None <input type="checkbox"/> Primary dropout <input type="checkbox"/> Primary complete <input type="checkbox"/> Secondary dropout <input type="checkbox"/> Secondary complete <input type="checkbox"/> University <input type="checkbox"/> Don't know <input type="checkbox"/> N/A	
17	Is the father employed?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> N/A [go to 20]	
18	If formal employment, what is the occupation/work activity?	<input type="checkbox"/> Teacher <input type="checkbox"/> Clerk <input type="checkbox"/> Other, Specify	
19	If informal employment what is the occupation/work activity	<input type="checkbox"/> Farming <input type="checkbox"/> Fishing <input type="checkbox"/> Trading <input type="checkbox"/> Other, Specify	



20	Is the mother employed	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> N/A	
21	If formal employment, what is the occupation/work activity?	<input type="checkbox"/> Teacher <input type="checkbox"/> Clerk <input type="checkbox"/> Other, Specify	
22	If informal employment what is the occupation/work activity	<input type="checkbox"/> Farming <input type="checkbox"/> Fishing <input type="checkbox"/> Trading <input type="checkbox"/> Other, Specify	
23	Type of residential housing?	<input type="checkbox"/> Mud [grass-thatched roof] <input type="checkbox"/> Mud [iron sheet roof] <input type="checkbox"/> Stone <input type="checkbox"/> Others, specify	
24	Religion	<input type="checkbox"/> Catholic <input type="checkbox"/> Protestant <input type="checkbox"/> S D A <input type="checkbox"/> Muslim <input type="checkbox"/> Other, Specify	

### SECTION THREE:

#### PERSONAL HISTORY OF THE WORKING CHILD

25	How old is the child?		
26	When did he/she first work?		
27	How old was she/he then?		
28	For how long has the child worked?		
29	Prior to employment where was she/he?	<input type="checkbox"/> Home <input type="checkbox"/> School	

		<input type="checkbox"/> Other, specify	
30	How much is he/she paid per day? (In Kshs)		
31	Who receives the salary/wages?	<input type="checkbox"/> Self <input type="checkbox"/> Parents <input type="checkbox"/> Sibling <input type="checkbox"/> Relative/Guardian	
32	Who benefits from the salary/ wages?	<input type="checkbox"/> Self <input type="checkbox"/> Parents <input type="checkbox"/> Elder sibling <input type="checkbox"/> Relative/Guardian <input type="checkbox"/> Other	
33	Whose idea was it that the child starts working?	<input type="checkbox"/> Self <input type="checkbox"/> Father <input type="checkbox"/> Mother <input type="checkbox"/> Relatives <input type="checkbox"/> Siblings <input type="checkbox"/> Other, specify	
34	Who introduced the child to the employer?	<input type="checkbox"/> Self <input type="checkbox"/> Father <input type="checkbox"/> Mother <input type="checkbox"/> Relative/Guardian <input type="checkbox"/> Sibling <input type="checkbox"/> Other, specify	

**SECTION FOUR:**

**CHILD LABOUR, SCHOOL ENROLMENT AND ATTENDANCE**

35	Has the child ever enrolled in school?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	
36	When did the child enroll in school?		
37	What type of school?		
38	Did he/she complete primary education?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	
39	When did the child drop out of school?		
40	What were the main reasons	1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____	
41	At what age did the child enrol in school		
42	How frequent has his/her school attendance been?		
43	Has the child failed to attend school in order to work	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No [go to 45]	
44	If Yes how many times in the last one month	<input type="checkbox"/> Once <input type="checkbox"/> Twice <input type="checkbox"/> More than 5 times <input type="checkbox"/> More than 10 times	
45	If Not attended school what are the main reasons (rank them in order of importance)	<input type="checkbox"/> Lack of school fee <input type="checkbox"/> School is far <input type="checkbox"/> Lack of uniform <input type="checkbox"/> Others [specify]	
46	Is the child enrolled in school currently	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	

47	How does work affect school attendance?	<hr/> <hr/> <hr/>	
48	What is the highest level of education attained by the child worker?	<input type="checkbox"/> Primary dropout <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> Secondary dropout <input type="checkbox"/> Secondary complete <input type="checkbox"/> Other	
49	What problems has the child encountered in school?		
50	What factors do you think make children engage in fishing instead of attending school? (List them in order of importance)	1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____	
51	Are you aware that primary education is now free?		
52	Why do children engage in labour while education is free?	<hr/> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/>	
53	What challenges do you face as a parent in the free primary programme?		

54	What is your opinion on the free primary policy?		
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## **APPENDIX 2: GROUP DISCUSSION QUESTIONS FOR BOYS AND GIRLS**

My name is David Bong'o and I am a postgraduate student from the University of Nairobi. I am conducting a study on how child labour affects primary school enrolment and attendance. You are among a large group of people randomly selected for the study. I would highly appreciate your patience and time spent on answering the following questions. The information you give will be treated in confidence and will only be useful in informing this study.

1. What is child labour?
2. Why do children engage in labour?
3. Do you find labour helpful?
4. Why have you continued with labour while primary education is now free?
5. Are you aware of any legislation regarding children's rights?

## **CASE HISTORY GUIDE**

1. Family Background in details
2. Employment history in details
3. Working condition
4. Reasons for work
5. Why continue working when education is free?

### APPENDIX 3: KEY INFORMANT GUIDE

My name is David Bong'o and I am a postgraduate student from the University of Nairobi. I am conducting a study on how child labour affects primary school enrollment and attendance. You are among a large group of people randomly selected for the study. I would highly appreciate your patience and time spent on answering the following questions. The information you give will be treated in confidence and will only be useful in informing this study.

1. Who among children aged between 5 –17 engage in work?
2. Why do these children engage in work despite free primary education?
3. What type and nature of work do they engage in?
4. Under what conditions do these children work?
5. Are there any interventions that exist in combating child labour?
6. Should children be protected from labour?
7. What should be done to protect children from exploitative labour?
8. Do you think the provision of free primary education could be the answer?
9. If Yes Why?
10. If No. Why?

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