CHILD LABOUR IN RURAL AND URBAN KENYAN SETTINGS: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF KAKUZI LOCATION, MURANG'A COUNTY AND KIBERA SLUM, NAIROBI COUNTY.

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C50/69583/2011

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirement of the award of Master of Arts degree in Sociology in the Department of Sociology and Social Work, University of Nairobi.

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APRIL, 2016

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this is my own original work and has not been submitted in this or any other university or institution of learning for award of a degree or any other qualification.

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ABSTRACT

This study focuses on child labour-a typical issue of concern in Kenya and beyond. Child labour is still a common phenomenon, particularly in the developing world. More specifically, the study explores in detail the phenomenon of child labour in rural and urban Kenyan settings taking the cases of Kakuzi location, Murang'a County and Kibera slum, Nairobi County. To achieve this broad objective, the study was guided by four research questions namely; (1) what is the nature of child labour?; (2) what is the magnitude of child labour?; (3) what are the determinants of child labour and (4) what are the consequences of child labour in Kenya?.

The study adopted a comparative survey research and covered 80 respondents in Kakuzi location and 80 respondents in Kibera slum who were drawn using cluster sampling. These respondents were all mothers/female guardians. Using purposive sampling, 10 key informants were selected and 4 Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) with children in the two study sites were held to provide qualitative data on child labour. Case studies with child labourers were conducted as a follow up to enrich the quantitative data collected from the respondents.

Data was analyzed using descriptive and inferential statistics. The descriptive statistics revealed that majority of the respondents (42.5%) fell under the 20-29 years age group. On marital status, nearly 84% of the respondents were married. Almost 70% of the respondents had primary education. Vast majority (79.4%) were engaged in non-formal employment and had relatively low monthly incomes. They constituted the working poor.

Based on the findings, it was found that child labour is apparently more common in the rural areas as compared to urban areas. The 'invisibility' of child labour in urban settings as compared to rural settings was quite evident. This was illustrated by the few number of respondents who reported that there were cases of child labour in their households in Kibera away from the common knowledge that child labour is rampant in urban settings. Commercial agriculture was reported to be the main sector that demands the use of child labour in rural areas while domestic labour was the greatest consumer of child labour in urban areas. Majority of the child labourers in the two combined sites were girls which accounted for 52.5% of all the child labourers captured by the study. Moreover, the most affected age group was the 14-17 years in the two sites.

Drawing from the study findings, most of the mothers/female guardians of the child laborers were engaged in non-formal employment in both rural and urban areas. Majority of the households that reported cases of child labour had relatively low incomes and had a household size of six and/or more household members. It was established that child labour is detrimental to the development of a child since the negative consequences outweighed the positive consequences of child labour of socialization and supplementing household income in the twos sites. The adverse consequences of child labour at the child's level reported were physical deterioration resulting from excessive fatigue and consequently poor educational performance in school. At the household level, economic retardation and familial conflicts were reported as the most common adverse effects of child labour. Further, the respondents reported the adverse effects of child labour at the community level namely; negative peer influence and economic retardation.

The measures that were reported for curbing child labour in the rural and urban settings include; (1) improved access to education; (2) economic empowerment of parents/guardians; (3) proper enforcement of law safeguarding children's rights and (4) provision of basic necessities to the affected children. On the level of awareness of child labour policies, respondents in Kibera were more enlightened about the Children's Act as compared to their counterparts in Kakuzi location.

This was explained by the few number of respondents who affirmed of their awareness of Children's Act in Kakuzi (18.8%) while in Kibera, 44% of the respondents stated that they were aware of the Act.

Inferential statistics were applied to measure the relationships between and among variables for the study's hypotheses. More specifically, Chi-square tests of independence were done to examine whether any association exists between variables of interest to the study. The Chi-square test revealed that there was no relationship between the level of education of the mother, type of occupation of the mother and the child's involvement in labour. It was thus concluded that these variables were independent of each other. However, on the household characteristics the Chi-square tests indicated that there was a relationship between the household size, household income and child's involvement in labour. It was established that the variables are dependent on each other since the significance level of the Chi-square value was less than the selected alpha value of 0.05.

In conclusion, it is recommended that the national government comes up with a comprehensive child labour policy. This national child labour policy would enable county governments to tailor make interventions to best deal with the problem of child labour in respective counties. Sensitization campaigns need to be spearheaded by county governments and supported by civil society organizations to improve the levels of knowledge on the child labour policies. At the community level, the children should be engaged in constructive recreation activities during school holidays. At the academic level, a modification in methodology needs to be done by shifting focus from the household to the children themselves; child laborers. This will ensure more accurate measurement of the dynamics of child labour as opposed to obtaining second hand information from parents/guardians.

DEDICATION

To my loving parents, William John Mugo and Tabitha Mugo;

Thanks for being an incessant source of inspiration.

To my nephews, Wycliffe, Kings and Joseph William;

May this achievement inspire you to pursue greater academic heights

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am greatly indebted to the Almighty God for his grace and strength that has enabled me accomplish this dream. I wish to express my profound appreciation for the valuable contribution offered to me by many people throughout the journey of writing this thesis. While it is impossible to mention everyone by name, the huge debt can never be repaid.

My special thanks goes to the Tokyo Foundation through the University of Nairobi that granted me a prestigious scholarship to enable me pursue my Master's degree. I would wish to appreciate the efforts of the staffs at the Department of Sociology and Social Work for your assistance always. Most sincere appreciation also goes to my supervisors, Prof. Paul N. Mbatia and Prof. Edward Mburugu for their significant academic, intellectual support and constructive criticisms in shaping the outlook and the contents of this thesis.

I wish to sincerely thank the respondents in both Kakuzi location and Kibera slum who willingly participated in this research and gave me valuable contents of this study. Particularly, I am grateful to the chiefs, village elders and teachers as well as the children officers in the two study sites who assisted me and facilitated this research process. I wish to acknowledge the great inputs of my research assistants in the two study sites; Sam and Lucy who assisted in the data collection.

I owe profound gratitude to my parents, siblings and friends whose prayers and encouragement during the entire period of writing this thesis, have seen me come this far. I would like to particularly thank Linda Were, Margaret Cheptile, Victor Kibet and Narkiso Owino for continued moral support and keen interest in the progress of my work. Thanks for all the constructive criticisms and encouragement during the entire period.

The findings of this study were made possible by the great inputs of the key respondents and key informants. Nevertheless, the interpretations and conclusions of this study are exclusively those of the author who solely is responsible for any errors and omissions.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANPPCAN	African Network for the Prevention and Protection against Child Abuse and Neglect
FPE	Free Primary Education
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
ILO	International Labour Organization
IPEC	International Programmes on the Elimination of Child Labour
KIHBS	Kenya Integrated Household Budget Survey
KNBS	Kenya National Bureau of Statistics
OVC	Orphaned and Vulnerable Children
SPSS	Statistical Packages for Social Sciences
UNCRC	United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the study

Child labour is a common phenomenon, particularly in the developing world (Haspels & Jankanish, 2000:4). Child labour is "work that is unacceptable because the children involved are too young, and should be in school, or because even though they have attained the minimum age for admission to employment, the work that they do is unsuitable for a person below the age of 18" (Blume and Breyer, 2011:2). Individual children pay the highest price, but communities and countries suffer as well. Ending child labour is a goal in itself; but it is also a powerful way of promoting economic and human development (Njoka et al.., 2009:1). Child labour has curtailed development in Kenya since it has been in existence since pre-independence. Thus, child labour needs to be eliminated which calls for constant research in order to understand the dynamics of this phenomenon.

"Not all work children do is child labor. Some forms of work teach children important skills and responsibilities and contribute to healthy development…but many situations in which children work are considered child labor because they are harmful, hazardous, or keep children from attending school" (Sherer & Clark-Bennett, 2004:3). Hence, there exists a debate on what should be considered as child labour or not. While no clear or universal definitions exists, in general the term 'child labour' refers to work that impedes children's access to education and is harmful to their physical, mental, moral, developmental, and social well-being (Schmitz et al.., 2004). Thus, a further exploration of the various definitions offered by scholars is necessary in order to shed more light on the understanding of the phenomenon of child labour.

According to Arnal *et al..*, (2003), children can be involved in a variety of work-related activities ranging from helping with domestic and household work, to working in home enterprises or farms or working outside the home. Some activities are worse than others for the children's physical and moral development and integrity. More generally, there has been debate in the literature on the differences between "child labour "and "child work" (Boyden and Myers, 1998; Myers, 1999; and Anker, 2000). "Child work" is mainly described as that work which is not particularly harmful for the child and does not constrain educational opportunities. On the contrary, "child labour" is used for work which is likely to damage children's health, physical and psychological development as

well as their chances of fulfilling other rights, mainly the right to education. However, this study by Arnal *et al* (2003) does not give a clear guideline on the activities that constitute child work and child labour.

George (2010:15) defines work as "any process aimed at bridging the gap between needs originating in an organism and resources in the organism's environment satisfying those needs". This definition of work provides a perspective of child work. She further defines child labour as the "employment of children and the extraction of their productivity for economic gain of another, with debilitating ramifications on the psychological and physical development of the child" (George, 2010: 23). Hence, the working child enters work arrangements that offer freedom and independence. Thus, the aforementioned scholars (Arnal *et al*.., 2003; George, 2010) tend to agree that "child work" has a positive impact on the development of a child and is non-hazardous. On the other hand, "child labour" is hazardous and harmful since it jeopardizes the health, safety and morals of children. However, both definitions have failed to capture clearly what constitutes child labour and child work. Thus, the current study examined what constitutes child labour in the rural and urban Kenyan settings.

It is generally evident that no nation is entirely free of child labour whether developed or developing. According to Diallo et al (2013: 8), there were about 168 million child labourers in the world in 2012, of whom more than two thirds (120 million) were in the age group 5 to 14 years old. Child labour is by no means only a problem among older children. In fact, about 4 in 10 child labourers were younger than 12 years (73 million) in 2012. The ILO report by Diallo *et al*.., (2013: 11) captures the child labour statistics by region. In 2012, the largest child laborers were in Asia and the pacific (77.7 million), followed by sub-Saharan Africa with 59.0 million, Latin America and the Caribbean with 12.5 million and Middle East and North Africa (MENA) with 9.2 million. In relative terms, sub-Saharan Africa ranks highest since 1 in 5 children was in child labour in the region in 2012. The ILO report further indicates that more boys than girls were engaged in child labour in 2012. Diallo *et al..,* (2013) states that globally, the difference by sex is about 31.6 million (99.8 million boys compared to 68.2 million girls). From the recent worldwide statistics, it is clear that child labour is increasingly becoming a major problem among the younger children. The current study sought to establish if these global trends are being reflected in Kenya both in rural and urban areas.

The 1998/99 child labour survey in Kenya (later published in 2001) remains the most comprehensive and consolidated data on nature and extent of child labour in Kenya. The report estimates that there are about 1.9 million child labourers aged 5 to 17 in Kenya of whom 34% are in commercial agriculture and fisheries, 23.6% in subsistence agriculture and 17.9% in the domestic sector in 1998-99 (GoK, 2001). In addition, 984,000 (51.8%) of the working children were boys while 910,000 (48.2%) were girls. A recent Child Labour Analytical Report (KNBS, 2008) drawing from the KIHBS 2005/2006 provides the most recent estimation on child labour in Kenya. The report shows a decrease in the number of children working from 1.9 million in 1999 to 1, 012, 184 in 2005/2006. This can be partly attributed to the implementation of FPE policy in 2003 which brought an increase in enrolment. The global and the national statistics on child labour reveal a similar trend whereby the boys are more affected by child labour than girls. However, recent statistics on the determinants of child labour such as age and gender is lacking in Kenya which the current study attempted to focus on.

The aforementioned child labour statistics are inclusive of both rural and urban areas worldwide. Typically, child labour in Kenya largely thrives in the rural areas where agriculture is the major economic activity. Children out of school are employed as casuals in tea, miraa, coffee, tobacco and sisal farms (Njeru and Njoka, 2001; Muturi, 1994; Zani, 1993). Child labour is also a major problem in the urban areas. Muthoga (1999) reported that children are employed in the informal sector such as *jua kali*[1] where they do all kinds of work including collecting scrap metal, rolling it into sheets and transporting the final products. Much research has been done on child labour in the rural areas unlike the urban areas where few studies have been done. However, not many comparative studies have been undertaken to help scholars and policy makers understand the phenomenon of child labour in both rural and urban areas. Thus, the current study sought to uncover the various sectors that demand the use of child labour in rural and urban areas.

Following the widespread occurrence of child labour in both urban and rural areas in Kenya, various researches have been done to explain this phenomenon. Child labour is a complex issue and its determinants could include; poverty, illiteracy and ignorance of parents, large family and child labour as a cheap commodity. Poverty has been cited as the key determinant of widespread

[1] Jua kali is a Swahili word for 'hot sun'. Over the years, the term has been used to refer to informal or the non-formal sector of the economy in Kenya.

child labour. Indeed, many researchers observe that poverty is the main cause of child labour (Admassie, 2002; Andvig et al., 2001; Manda et al., 2003). While it is accepted that poverty is not the only reason for child labour, it remains a major push factor for the decisions of many parents to allow their children to work, even in exploitative and hazardous conditions (Pertile et al., 2008:282). However, though poverty has been identified as the principal factor pushing children into child labour, the study examined the variations that exist in both rural and urban areas.

Child labour is harmful to the development of a growing child as mentioned earlier. This is emphasized by Clopper (1970: 128-129) as cited by George (2010) who outlines three possible effects that child labour may have on children namely; material, physical and moral deterioration. By material deterioration, Clopper suggests that the child acquires a distaste for regular employment. Hence, his/her chances of acquiring the skills for a trade are very limited and he/she needs to join a class of casual labourers. To Clopper, physical deterioration results from keeping late hours, excessive fatigue, exposure to the elements, irregularity of sleep and meals, use of addictives (cigarrete, coffee and alcohol), and sexually transmitted diseases. Finally, Clopper outlines that under moral deterioration the child may be encouraged to play pranks and truant. The cited effects reveal that child labour is detrimental to the development of a child. Hence, an in-depth understanding of consequences of child labour is necessary to ensure that this research informs the policies and legislations that will be made in future in an attempt to curb this problem.

International legislations that have been put in place in an attempt to end child labour include; the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC), the ILO Minimum Age Convention, 1973 (No.138), and the Convention on the Worst Forms of Child Labour 1999 (No. 182). These legislations recognize the child's right to be protected from economic exploitation, from performing any work that is likely to be hazardous or that may interfere with his or her education (ILO/IPEC, 2012). Children's Act 2001 remains the major legislation in Kenya that protects children from economic exploitation which amounts to child labour. The act also seeks to uphold the rights of the child in compliance with the Convention on the Rights of the Child. FPE is another policy that was implemented in Kenya in 2003 with the indirect latent intention to deal with problem of child labour. The government's adoption of the FPE policy aimed at the provision of education and training for all Kenyan children as fundamental to the success of the government overall development (Kenya, 2008: 8). Despite these international and national legislations, child

labour still persists in Kenya. Hence, the current study endeavoured to examine levels of awareness of the child labour policies among the people living in rural and urban Kenyan settings.

1.2 Problem statement

Child labour is a global problem for there is no region in the world, which is completely free of the problem (Fallen and Tzannatos, 1998). Global statistics indicate that there were 168 child laborers in the world in 2012 (Diallo et al, 2013). In Kenya, the most comprehensive and consolidated nation-wide child labour survey done in 1999 estimated that there were 1.9 million child labourers aged 5 to 17 years. A recent child labour analytical report drawing from the KIHBS 2005/2006 provides the recent estimation of child labour in Kenya (KNBS, 2008). The report shows a decrease in the number of child labourers from 1.9 million in 1999 to 1,012,184 in 2005/2006. This decrease can be partly attributed to the implementation of FPE in Kenya in 2003 which encouraged children in especially difficult circumstances such as child labourers to be enrolled back to school.

Child labour cannot be approached separately from the issue of schooling (Moyi, 2011). Since independence, successive governments in Kenya have laid great emphasis on education as a way to combat poverty resulting in a rapid expansion of education in Kenya. According to the government of Kenya, the FPE policy increased enrolment by about 2.3 million, from 5.9 million in 2002 to 8.2 million in 2007 (Republic of Kenya, 2008). The government of Kenya acknowledges that, despite eliminating school fees, about 1 million children are still out of school and pressure for children to supplement household income remains high (Republic of Kenya, 2008). Despite a growing body of research on child labour, there are still many unanswered questions. For example, reasons for such a large number of children being out of school despite the implementation of FPE policy in Kenya in 2003.

It is clear from the aforementioned national statistics that the number of child labourers is still high. However, the magnitude of the problem is on a slight decline owing partly to FPE. Child labour is a form of child abuse. Thus, Rosati et al (2002) laments that child labour is not only an infringement of the basic rights of the child but also potentially damaging to educational, physiological and psychological development of the child. Child labour undermines the sustainable development of any country. It condemns children and their families to a permanent

downward spiral of poverty and deprivation. At the same time it deprives the countries of their richest resource…their children. More efforts need to be put in place to ensure that the little gains made in the fight against child labour are not lost. These efforts include continuous research on child labour to uncover the various dynamics of the child labour in the country. This will in turn inform policy formulation that will be guided by recent statistics.

The Kenyan population though predominantly rural, is increasingly becoming urbanized. About 68% of Kenyans live in rural areas (KNBS, 2010). The majority of the poor in Kenya live in rural areas and in urban slum settlements with limited access to productive resources and social services (Moyi, 2011). The Child Labour Analytical Report indicated that the bulk of child labourers (80%) is found in the rural areas (KNBS, 2008). A more recent study on child labour in Kenya further indicated that approximately 45% of rural children combine work and school as compared to about 7% of urban children (Moyi, 2011). These statistics show that child labour is more pronounced in the rural areas where agriculture is the main activity. Since the problem is more manifest in rural areas, past studies have focused exclusively on child labour in rural areas, its nature and consequences. However, this does not suggest that urban areas are free of child labour.

While past studies have concentrated on rural areas, current studies should also cover urban areas where the phenomenon of child labour is increasing becoming predominant. Thus, the current comparative study whose main focus was exploring the phenomenon of child labour in rural settings (Kakuzi location) and urban settings (Kibera slum) is quite timely. Kakuzi location is characterized by commercial agriculture which creates the demand for the use of child labour. On the other hand, Kibera slum is characterized by severe poverty where children engage in domestic work among other types of labour, in their households and outside.

Drawing from this background, the current study is guided by the following research questions;

1. What is the nature of child labour in rural and urban settings of Kenya?
2. What is the magnitude of child labour in rural and urban settings of Kenya?
3. What are the determinants of child labour in in rural and urban settings of Kenya?
4. What are the consequences of child labour in rural and urban settings of Kenya?

1.3 Study Objectives

The broad objective of the study was to understand the phenomenon of child labour in rural and urban Kenyan settings by taking the cases of Kakuzi location, Murang'a County and Kibera slum, Nairobi County. The study has four specific objectives namely;

1. To establish the nature of child labour in rural and urban settings of Kenya
2. To determine the magnitude of child labour in rural and urban settings of Kenya
3. To study the determinants of child labour in rural and urban settings of Kenya
4. To examine the consequences of child labour in rural and urban settings of Kenya

1.4 Justification of the study

Child labour is a complex issue and remains a widespread phenomenon throughout the world. Like other countries of Africa and other parts of the developing world, child labour and its worst forms is a teething problem that negatively affects development in Kenya. There is an increasing consensus that the phenomenon is detrimental to the rights and well-being of children, their families and the nation at large (Alila and Njoka, 2009). Hence, the need for continuous research on the phenomenon in order to generate knowledge that is locally relevant which will inform appropriate policy formulation leading to the elimination of the vice in the long run.

While past studies lump together urban and rural areas which tend to obscure the variations that exist, this study examines urban and rural child labour responses separately to bring out the differences and similarities in nature, consequences and determinants of child labour. Indeed, most of the studies have focused exclusively on the rural child labour while few studies have been done on urban child labour. This has necessitated the current study which is a comparative study on urban child labour and rural child labour in Kenya.

The study is meant to strengthen the knowledge base on child labour which undoubtedly needs expansion. According to Njoka et al., (2009: 34) data scarcity remains one of the major hindrances to articulating and understanding the local conceptualizations, nature and extent of child labour in Kenya. Child labour is considered as a "creation of a wide range of factors yet it has not been adequately addressed" (Njeru and Njoka, 2001: 1). These wide range of factors could include; illiteracy, ignorance of the parents, poverty and large family size. The factors that were explored

by this study were referred to as determinants of child labour, were quite diverse ranging from household characteristics to school characteristics. These determinants have an influence on the incidence of child labour. Thus, they require constant research in order to understand the dynamics of child labour in the modern society.

Kenya is yet to come up with a policy specifically addressing the plight of children engaged in child labour in their various forms whether, visible or invisible. The children's Act 2001 is the only national legal instrument that states that children shall be protected from economic exploitation. However, it does not specifically address how the concerned stakeholders can deal with the various forms of child labour occurring both in rural and urban areas. Hence, the current study findings are meant to inform policy makers targeting child labourers working in different sectors in both urban and rural areas.

Child labour is a pressing socio-economic and human rights issue. Children involved in labour worldwide are deprived of adequate education, good health and other basic freedoms (Njoka et al.., 2009:1). Individual children pay the highest price, but communities and countries suffer as well. Ending child labour is a goal in itself; but it is also a powerful way of promoting economic and human development. Children need to be allowed to enjoy their rights such as rights to education which gives them a firm foundation for their future developments in terms of career and even personality. Child labour contributes to a violation of their human rights such as rights to education and good health. Children are the future of any country and thus their welfare need to be guarded by eliminating the major challenges facing them such as child labour.

1.5 Scope and limitations of the study

Although, the study findings were limited to the study sites which include Kakuzi location and Kibera slum, they can be generalized to give characteristics of other areas in the country. The study was limited to 160 respondents who were drawn from households in both Kakuzi location and Kibera slum. The respondents were mothers and female guardians who were involved in bringing up these children thus were better placed to respond to issues regarding child labour in their households and the two areas covered at large.

The study sought to understand the phenomenon of child labour in both rural and urban areas. It focused on the nature, magnitude, determinants and consequences of child labour. On the nature

of child labour, the study limited itself to explore the indicators of child labour and sectors that demand the use of child labour in rural and urban Kenyan settings. The magnitude of child labour was indicated by the number of child labour cases reported in the two study sites. On the determinants of child labour, the study limited itself to understanding the; child's characteristics (age and gender), the parent's characteristics (type of occupation and level of education), household characteristics (household size and income) and school characteristics (costs of schooling and accessibility of schools). The research hypotheses were formulated from the determinants of child labour namely; parent's and household characteristics. The current study was not meant to explain the relationship between child labour and education although it focuses on education as one of the determinants of child labour.

The findings of this study can be generalized to explain the phenomenon of child labour in other parts of the country and the world that share similar characteristics as those of the study sites selected.

1.6 Definition of terms

Child labour; For the purposes of this study, the term refers to any situation whereby a child (aged below 18 years) engages in both paid and unpaid labour activities for more than four hours per day that are mentally, physically, socially or morally dangerous and harmful to the him/her. Payment may be done either in cash or in kind such as being offered food. These labour activities can include; domestic work, farm work activities and hawking of items.

Child work; the term child work refers to any duty performed by a child in the family as part of socialization and has no direct gain. However, if such work hinders children from attending school because of long working hours then it qualifies as child labour.

Household; Kenya (2000a) 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.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

This chapter largely presents the relevant literature aimed at understanding the phenomenon of child labour at global, regional and national levels. Available literature on child labour is organized into a number of themes including; conceptualization of child labour, determinants of child labour, the consequences of child labour and efforts made to curb the problem of child labour. The theories that form the foundation of the study and their relevance to the study as well as the conceptual framework and hypotheses of the study are also discussed systematically in this chapter.

2.2 Conceptualization of child labour

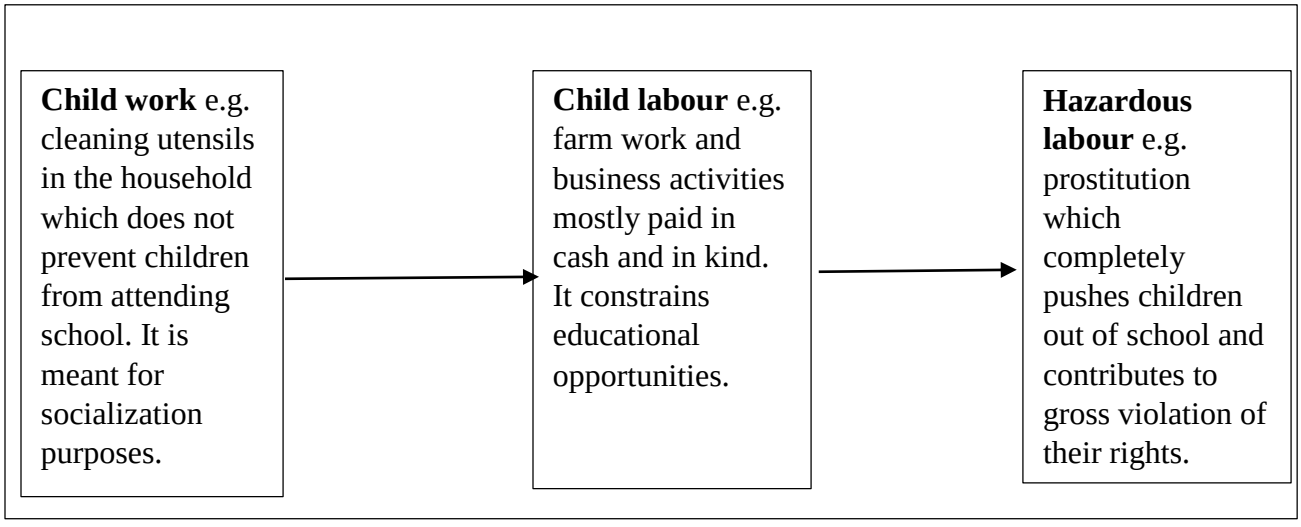
Child labour is conceptualized differently by different societies, institutions and individuals. Thus, it has proved difficult to come up with a universal definition of child labour. The various definitions that have been advanced by different scholars are explored in the following section. This helps to shed light on the conceptualization of child and provide a contrast between child labour and child work.

2.2.1 Definition of child labour

Defining "child labour" is a challenging task. Children in the developing and developed world alike often perform economic activities at a young age. Some perform these activities voluntarily (for example, to increase the amount of available pocket money), while others are forced by the necessity of income for survival. Some children work only a few hours a week or only during peak seasons such as harvest times or festival; while others work full time every day, year-round (Blume, & Breyer, 2011:1). Depending on the workload, some children are still able to combine school attendance and work, while in other cases children are deprived of their right to education due to heavy workload (Boyden and Myers, 1998). The situations presented thus make it difficult to define child labour. The current study thus aimed to the types of activities that are considered child labour in both urban and rural settings of Kenya.

Njoka (2007) outlines that it is possible to conceptualize child work, child labour and worst forms of child labour or hazardous work in a continuum. Child work would be probably at the lower end of the continuum followed by child labour and then hazardous work/labour in an ascending order of aggravation. A child may therefore inadvertently enter child labour and eventually hazardous work when the intention was child work. Njoka et al.., (2009:3) highlights that as a matter of fact, child labour for many is an invisible phenomenon. It is invisible because children work in hidden occupations such as domestic work and prostitution. Hence, as Njoka et al.., (2009:3) suggests, the initial intention of any form of work for children is for socialization purposes which is usually child work. In the African set-up, this socialization is meant to instill a sense of autonomy and responsibility in the child. When does child work qualify to be child labour? Thus, the current study sought to establish the how people in both rural and urban areas of Kenya define child labour. Figure 2.1 shows the conceptualization of child work, child labour and hazardous labour in the form of a continuum.

Figure 2.1: Conceptualization of child work, child labour and hazardous labour



Njoka (2007) states child labour entails a situation of a child (persons under 18 years) working for more than four to six hours. In addition, the child is unsupervised by a responsible adult and exposes the child to hazards or conditions that endanger the physical, mental, moral and social wellbeing of the child. Hazards could also derive from excessive workload, physical condition, and/or intensity of the duration, or hours of work even where the activity is known to be non-hazardous or safe. The definition is not clear since implies that is a child is supervised by a

responsible adult, for instance, a child accompanying the mother to work as casual labourers, may not qualify to be considered as child labour. Another definition of child labour has been advanced by ILO, child labour refers to "work undertaken by persons under age of 18 that harms their mental, physical, or social development and interferes with their schooling by depriving them of opportunity to attend school, by forcing them to drop out of school early, or by requiring them to combine school attendance and excessively long and heavy work" (Blume & Breyer, 2011:2). This definition does not capture what qualifies to be considered as child labour and child work.

According to Omosa et al.., (2006 cited by Mulili 2010:14), child labour in Kenya has been viewed as "any situation where a child sells his or her labour directly or indirectly in exchange for payment and in a situation that denies the child opportunity for development, prevents school attendance and is exploitative". The Kenya Children's Act 2001 is a national legislation which captures the various rights that children are entitled to such as compulsory education and protection from economic exploitation. It is the first national legal instrument to explicitly mention child labour as a harm against which all children should be protected. Hence,

> Every child shall be protected from economic exploitation and any work that is likely to be hazardous or to interfere with the child's education, or to be harmful to the child's health or physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development (Children Act 2001:13).

Some of the definitions have attempted to differentiate between child labour and child work. However, most of them have not contrasted the two and thus, it is difficult to establish where to draw the line between child labour and child work. When does child work qualify to be considered child labour? This question was adequately addressed by the first objective of this study that endeavoured to establish the nature of child labour in both urban and rural areas of Kenya. Child labour for the purposes of this study refers to the both paid and unpaid work activities that are mentally, physically, socially or morally dangerous and harmful to the child. Payment may be done either in cash or in kind such as being offered food.

2.2.2 The nature of child labour

The nature and the extent of child labour, its forms and the severity of its exploitation, vary from one country to another and from one region of the same country to another. According to Bhalotra (2003), children in developed and developing countries engage in different kinds of child labour.

In African countries children engage more in agricultural activities while in the industrialized countries, children engage in export sector factories. Hence, under this theme, literature will be reviewed that will focus on nature of child labour in both rural and urban areas.

2.3.2.1 Rural child labour

Typically, child labour in Kenya thrives in the rural areas where agriculture is the major economic activity. Children out of school are employed as casuals in tea, miraa, coffee, tobacco and sisal farms (Njeru and Njoka, 2001; Muturi, 1994; Zani, 1993). This premise is further supported by Basu (2004) who states that studies done in sub-Saharan Africa suggest that child labour is most prevalent in rural areas. Rural child labour is manifested in a number of sectors. According to Njeru (2009:119), many children among the agricultural communities are involved in planting, weeding, scaring of animals and birds, harvesting and sale of livestock produce.

Hindman (2009) adds that rural child labour is found in the agricultural sector on cotton farms, on tea plantations, and in the cultivation of tea, sugarcane, tobacco, rice, wheat, and other cash crops. In the fishing occupation, children are employed to undertake net mending, actual fishing throughout the night, smoking, storing, transportation and sale in markets or running errands along the beaches (Njeru, 2009:119). These studies depicts that child labour is still prevalent in rural areas and thus the need for continuous research to uncover the dynamics of the phenomenon. Moreover, the studies have failed to capture the occurrence of unpaid child domestic work in most of the rural households. For instance, children may occasionally miss school to take care of their younger siblings while their parents are out working as casual labourers.

2.3.2.2 Urban child labour

According to Kayongo-Male and Walji (1984), in many urban centres or small towns, young children are always very busy in informal sector. For example, children run from bus to bus selling bananas, biscuits and other food as the buses pass through the town. This premise is further supported by Njeru (2009: 120) who states that one of the major users of child labour in Kenya's urban centers is the vending of food items and assorted consumer goods. This depicts that urban centres too as great consumers of child labour and so it is equally important for urban child labour to be studied.

Domestic labour[2] is another form of child labour typically practiced in both rural and urban areas in varying forms. Domestic labour is often sanctioned and rationalized by family perceptions as a community obligations or expectation from children in their normal growing up, mentoring and socialization processes, it may have escaped the attention of an enterprise (Njeru, 2009:121). He argues that it qualifies as an enterprise at two levels. First, at the individual level, it is an income generating activity. Second, an introduction of house girls bureaus in many urban centres has made it lucrative enterprise only that the real beneficiaries are not the employed children but the owners of the employment bureaus who collect the wages and decide what to give to the child workers. Hence, this study attempts to add to the existing knowledge base on urban child labour that has received little attention as compared to rural child labour.

An ILO-IPEC study in seven urban areas in Kenya revealed that of the 42.5 percent of children who were working, only 29.2 percent considered themselves child labourers while the rest (70.8 percent) said they were not (Mutie and Muasya, 2006 cited in Mutie, 2009:88). The study further showed that children work at very early stages even in the urban informal sector. The majority (71.5 percent) of the children surveyed started working at ages between 14 and 16; 20 percent at ages between 11 and 13 and 7.7 percent at ages between 8 and 10. The statistics sharply contrast with the Child Labour Survey Report that was published in 2001 which showed that most of the working children (43.6 percent) were in the age group 10-14 years followed by those in the age group 15-17 years which constituted 30.1 percent (Republic of Kenya, 2001 cited in Mutie 2009:88). Mutie further observes that the disparities can be explained by the dynamics of the rural sector where children are likely to work at a tender age compared to the urban informal sector where awareness levels and compliance with the law is higher. In addition, the relative complexity of the urban informal sector tends to attract older children some of whom seek vocational training through apprenticeships. Thus the current study endeavoured to establish whether similar trends can be observed in the urban areas where majority of the children that work are older children.

[2] For the purposes of this study, domestic labour refers to the engagement of children in household activities such as cooking, washing clothes and cleaning for long hours either in the children's household or outside the household. This is considered a form of child labour since the children are paid either in cash or kind and work for long hours which constrains their educational opportunities and poses health challenges.

2.2.3 Magnitude of child labour

Child labour remains one of the multi-faceted problems affecting children in the world and consequently it is a major challenge to the development of any nation. It is generally evident that no nation is entirely free of child labour whether developed or developing. According to Diallo et al (2013: 8), there were about 168 million child labourers in the world in 2012, of whom more than two thirds (120 million) were in the age group 5 to 14 years old. Child labour is by no means only a problem among older children. In fact, about 4 in 10 child labourers were younger than 12 years (73 million) in 2012. The ILO report by Diallo et al (2013: 11) further indicated the child labour statistics by region. In 2012, the largest child labourers were in Asia and the pacific (77.7 million), followed by sub-Saharan Africa with 59.0 million, Latin America and the Caribbean with 12.5 million and Middle East and North Africa (MENA) with 9.2 million. In relative terms, sub-Saharan Africa ranks highest; about 1 in 5 children engaged in child labour in the region. The ILO report further indicates that more boys than girls were engaged in child labour in 2012. Diallo et al (2013) further states that globally, the difference by sex is about 31.6 million (99.8 million boys compared to 68.2 million girls). From the recent worldwide statistics, it is clear that child labour is increasingly becoming a major problem among the younger children. Hence, the current study focused on establishing whether the global trends were similar to the trends in the Kenya.

The 1998/99 child labour survey in Kenya (later published in 2001) remains the most comprehensive and consolidated data on nature and extent of child labour in Kenya. The report estimates that there are about 1.9 million child labourers aged 5 to 17 in Kenya of whom 34% are in commercial agriculture and fisheries, 23.6% in subsistence agriculture and 17.9% in the domestic sector in 1998-99 (GoK, 2001). In addition, 984,000 (51.8%) of the working children are boys while 910,000 (48.2%) are girls. A recent Child Labour Analytical Report (KNBS, 2008) drawing from the KIHBS 2005/2006 provides the most recent estimation on child labour in Kenya. The report shows a decrease in the number of children working from 1.9 million in 1999 to 1, 012, 184 in 2005/2006. This decrease can be partly attributed to the implementation of the FPE policy by the government in 2003 which increased enrolment by withdrawing children from work. The distribution by age shows a higher age category of the working children (54% were between 15-17 years and 32.1% between 10 and 14 years) compared with 1999 (43.6% in 10-14 age group and 30.1% in 15-17 age bracket). Gender-wise, there was no notable difference since still more boys

(52.7%) accounted for all the working children compared to more or less a similar figure (51.8%) in 1999 (Njoka et al.., 2009:20). The global and the national statistics on child labour reveal a similar trend whereby the boys are more affected by child labour than girls. However, recent statistics on the determinants of child labour such as age and gender is lacking in Kenya which this study sought to bring out.

2.3 Global determinants of child labour

Due to the complexity of child labour, studies have been undertaken to establish the major determinants that perpetuate child labour. Poverty is cited as the primary determinant of child labour. Indeed, many researchers worldwide observe that poverty is the main cause of child labour (Admassie, 2002; Andvig et al., 2001; Manda et al., 2003). However, they are other determinants of child labour as revealed by other scholars who blame the deficient economic and education policies (Hiraoka, 1997; Post, 2002). Others argue that child labour relates to cultural aspects such as gender norms (Delap, 2001 as cited by Nanjunda, 2009) as well as more general determinate issues such as children's age, education, gender and parental employment conditions (Dehejia & Gatti, 2001 as cited by Nanjunda, 2009). These studies points out to the fact that child labour is quite complex and cannot be attributed entirely to one determinant such as poverty.

In Kenya, the factors that give rise to child labour have been associated with family violence, inadequate school facilities, poor quality of schools, a declining economy, and a rapid rural-to-urban migration. Intra-ethnic violence, cattle rustling and banditry have also led to an exodus of children from rural areas into towns (KIPPRA, 2003 cited in Mutie, 2009:89). Hence the reasons for child labour are manifold including chronic poverty, lack of opportunities, socialization patterns and illiteracy. Mutie, however, states that it is also important to note that children may 'choose' to work for their own personal reasons. These may include the urge for self-assertion or self-emancipation. Although many studies have found out that poverty is the main cause of child labour, other studies have identified additional factors linked to the child, parents, household, and school that also contribute to child labour. Hence, due to the diversity of the child labour activities as well as the environments in which it occurs, the study endeavoured to explore various categorizations of the determinants of child labour globally.

According to a study done by Tharmmapornphilas[3] on the "determinants of child labour in Thailand", there are a number of categories of characteristics that influence the incidence of child labour. They include;

i. Child's characteristics
ii. Parents' characteristics
iii. Household characteristics
iv. School characteristics

It adds value to explore these determinants further for the case of child labour in Kenya.

2.3.1 Child's characteristics

Different cultures have different ideas about how children develop and learn, and about the contributions children make to their families and communities. Child's characteristics that may affect child labour include age and gender.

a) **Age**; Age is a major determinant influencing the children's entry into the labour market. In India, children below 14 years gainfully engaged physically and or mentally in any occupation either in agriculture or in industry, are called child labourers. The minimum age considered for child labour is 12 years in Egypt, 14 years in Philippines and Hong Kong. In Peru, this age is 14 years for agriculture sector, 15 years for industry, 16 years for ocean fishing and 18 years for working in ports (Nanjunda, 2009: 89). In Pakistan, for example, the participation rates of girls in wage work exceed those of boys up to age 15, after which they decline in favour of home based work. Thus, the effect of age is likely to be gender-specific (Bhalotra 2000 as cited by Nanjunda 2009:37). These findings show that age and gender are interconnected when it comes to the analysis of child labour. Thus, the current study examined how these two determinants influence the incidence of child labour in a household.
b) **Gender**; According to Fassa et al.., (2010), ideas about gender have a powerful influence on child labour. Girls are less likely to be involved in leisure activities and to attend school, but more likely to engage in unremunerated work in domestic sphere, to begin work earlier and to work for longer hours. However, a study done in Machakos district on child

[3] https://www.google.co.ke/#q=determinants+of+child+labour+in+Thailand (retrieved on 5th March 2014)

domestic labour and the psychosocial wellbeing of children found out that gender preferences in the employment of children as domestic labourers was diminishing and so either a boy or a girl can be employed as a domestic worker (Mulili, 2010:44). The study further revealed that there were 52% females and 48% males involved in child labour and thus the number of girls entering into domestic work was slightly higher than boys. The current study sought to establish whether gender is a main determinant of child labour.

2.3.2 Parent characteristics

There is ample evidence that the education and employment status of the parents affect child labour decision (Grootaert and Kanbur, 1995).

a) **The level of education of the parent**; Parental education plays a persistent and significant role in lowering the incidence of child labour (Brown *et al*, 2003 as cited by Arnal *et al.*., 2003). However, in the African case study the results concerning the effects of parent's education seem to be complex (Bhalotra, 2003). Sharma and Herath (2007) states that less educated parents in rural areas often accept child labour as a social norm. Parents with higher levels of education are likely to send their children to school to obtain better education. Children whose mother has at least primary level education have a greater likelihood of studying full time (Cigno and Rosati 2002 as cited by Sharma and Herath, 2007). The education of the mother and father and the occupation of the father has a significant effect in child schooling in Bangladesh (Khanam, 2004). The current study thus focused on revealing whether the level of education of the mother has any influence on the incidence of child labour in a particular household.

b) **Employment status of the parent**; According to Kayongo-Male and Walji (1984), a parent's occupation provides different opportunities for involving children in their work. Informal sector activities, family businesses, fishing and farming are occupation into which children's work is easily incorporated. White collar work and most modern sector activities do not merge well with children's work. Children not only interfere with adult work in these occupations, but they are also usually unable to make any contributions to such work. However, in developing countries like Kenya such reasons might be different including the fact that when children work in the formal sector, they will be easily noticed. Hence, such employers might end being prosecuted for not upholding children's rights. In contrast,

Kayongo-Male and Walji (1984), Rallings and Nye (1979:216) focused on the effect of wife-mother's employment on the family and indicated some studies have found out that children of working mothers did more household chores than those whose mothers did not work. Hence, Kayongo-Male and Walji (1984) did not seem to agree with this premise since they stated that it might not hold where cheap domestic help is readily available. Thus the study endeavoured to establish whether there is a relationship between type of occupation of the mother and the incidence of child labour in both rural and urban areas.

2.3.3 Household characteristics

The household characteristics that influence the incidence of child labour that will be reviewed for the purposes of this study include; household size and household income.

a) **Household size**; With regard to family size, there is a likelihood that children in housework or family business work increases with every additional sibling. This is because there are more mouths to feed, more work to be done at home and higher schooling costs (Patrinos and Psacharapoulos, 1997; Emerson and Souza, 2008). On the other hand, more brothers and sisters mean more helping hands, which allows for a division of tasks at home. This may lead to more time for school for every child (Patrinos and Psacharopoulos, 1997), or, as alternatives tend to be unequally distributed within households (Buchmann, 2000), to schooling for some and housework or family business work for others. However, each child does not have the same probability of being called on to work; that probability depends on the child's age and gender and on the age and gender of other children in the household (Patrinos and Psacharopoulos 1997). The current study focused on the extent to which household size influences the incidence of child labour in a household.

b) **Household income**; Household income is related to the issue of poverty as a determinant of child labour. The relationship between child labour and poverty is one of the most contentious issue in the child labour discussions. Poverty has been identified as one of the major factors that push children to child labour in sub Saharan Africa (Bass, 2004; Mutie and Muasya, 2006). Where parents are abjectly poor, child labour becomes one of the feasible means of supplementing family income (Mutie, 2009:89). Onyango (2003) claim that household's poverty which is an outcome of lack of economic opportunities exacerbates child labour as children are driven to the labour market by the need to

supplement personal and/or family income. Among the poor households, child labour income sometimes account for between 10 and 40 percent of household income and thereby creates an incentive to send children to work (Alila and Njoka, 2009). It has also been established that although child labour may increase household's income and probability of survival in the short run, it perpetuates household poverty through lower human capital (Galli, 2001). The relationship between child labour and household poverty is still a contentious issue and thus has not been concluded which necessitated the study to further explore this relationship.

2.3.4 School characteristics

The major characteristics of schools that will be reviewed include quality of education which is also linked to cost of schooling and the accessibility of schools. Since schooling is the main competing time use for children, it stands to reason that the cost of schooling would be an important determinant of the likelihood of child work (Siddiqi and Patrinos, 1995). According to Rosati and Hoop (2012: 1), high costs of education and limited access to schools are often seen as important determinants of child labour. Reductions in the cost of education and increased access to schools are therefore advocated as an instrument to reduce the incidence of child labour. Kondylis and Manacorda (2012) have done a study to examine the relationship between distance to school and work and school participation in Tanzania. The study revealed that school proximity leads to a rise in school attendance, but not to a noticeable reduction in child labour. It has been argued that instead of illegalizing child labour, making school attendance compulsory is more effective (Basu, 1998). Justifying this, Basu (1998:16) argues that 'the child's presence in school is easier to monitor than the child's absence from work'. The current study focused on the school characteristics as one of the determinants of urban and rural child labour.

2.4 Consequences of child labour

Child labour has both positive and negative consequences on the individual, the family and the society at large. These negative consequences have both private and social costs which include negative impact on the health and educational attainments of the child labourer as well as the country's economy at large.

a) **Health and wellbeing**: According to Herath and Sharma (2007) poor working environments like closed, dark and ill ventilated rooms damage a child's development. The continuous hours of monotonous work can even result in death. The tasks given to child labourers such as labeling, filling, rolling, fetching and carrying, are simple and repetitive. By performing these tasks, children are not developing a skill so much as being subjected to exhausting, monotonous work. Very few works have been done on the psychological consequences of child labour on the children and handful of literatures are available on this topic. Karna (2005) observes that psychologically affected child labourers may cultivate negative attitude, lying and stealing habits. It may lead to some bad habits like smoking and drinking. Aggression, anti-social behavior and delinquency can also be observed among many child labourers (Karna, 2005). The study attempted to focus on the consequences of child labour and especially the psychological effects which very few studies have focused on.

b) **Education;** Child labour can have harmful effects on health, education, labour market of adults and also on the psychology of the children (O'Donnel et al, 2002). A significant proportion of working children are enrolled in school as well, although there is a lot of evidence confirming the adverse impact of child labour on educational achievement. While the evidence on the effect of child labour on school enrolment is not very strong, there is evidence of a strong negative effect on school attendance, test scores and grade completion (Orazem and Gunnarsson, 2003). However, there are positive consequences of child labour on the education. For example, some children especially in child headed households work in order to pay school fees for their younger siblings. Thus, the study not only examined the negative consequences but also positive consequences in an attempt to understand why child labour thrives despite the implementation of policies that indirectly aim at fighting child labour such as the Free Primary Education policy in Kenya.

c) Economy; On the macroeconomic level (societal level), child labour can have a negative influence on human capital formation of agents who underlie the country's economic future (O'Donnel et al, 2002). Udry (2003) further argues that the primary cost of child labour is the associated reduction in investment in the child's human capital, which occurs chiefly because child labour interferes with schooling. This in turn contributes to the lower future earnings of the child when she enters the adult labour market with lower educational

attainment. For example, Psacharopoulos (1997) shows much lower educational attainment by children who are engaged in child labour in Venezuela and Boliva. Hence, the elimination of child labour contributes to establishment of a sustainable economy since the government will not have to divert resources to deal with child labour. However, some studies that have been done reveal that work has positive consequences on the development of a child. According to the study done by Banergy (2001) in Andra Pradesh community in India, the members feel that employers are providing livelihood or enable them to supplement the family income and saving children from becoming lazy, idle and falling into bad habits. He has further proved that the employers believe that children who go to work at an early age get into the habit of being industrious and laborious which is profitable for them and the society in future (Banergy, 2001). Hence, these consequences of child labour are analyzed at three levels in the study namely; the child, the family/household and the societal/community level.

2.5 Efforts made to curb child labour

Various legislations and policies have been instituted aimed at removing children from the labour market and eventually, promoting their wellbeing. Globally, there are a number of conventions[4] that have been instituted by the United Nations or international organizations. According to Bhargava (2003), the ILO doctrine on child labour states that labour carried out by children of 15 years or younger under conditions which stifle their physical, psychological and intellectual development must be eliminated. Currently, the Minimum Age Convention (No. 138) is the ILO's main instrument on child labour. Unlike the previous conventions, it applies to all sectors of economic activity.

The ILO Minimum Age Convention, 1973 (No.138), and the Convention on the Worst Forms of Child Labour 1999 (No. 182) recognize the child's right to be protected from economic exploitation, from performing any work that is likely to be hazardous or that may interfere with his or her education (ILO/IPEC, 2012). Another international instrument that has been instituted globally focusing on children's rights is the United Nation Convention on the Rights of the Child

[4]A Convention is an international agreement between countries
(http://www.un.org/en/globalissues/briefingpapers/childlabour/intlconvs.shtml, retrieved on 22nd June 2013)

(UN, 1989). This convention seeks to uphold four rights of the children including; survival, development, participation and protection. Any work that threatens these rights is therefore to be called child labour. Thus, the current study endeavors to establish the levels of awareness on the existence of such child labour legislations among the people at the grass root level.

Kenya has equally instituted a number of policies and acts to safeguard the rights of the children. Children's Act 2001 was instituted to uphold the basic rights of children in Kenya. It is considered as one of the best instruments put forward in Kenya regarding children rights. The Children's Act 2001 is an Act of Parliament that provides for the rights of children and seeks to enhance the welfare of children in Kenya such as protecting them from economic exploitation. Manda et al.., (2003:14) asserts that legislation has been the single-most important response of governments to the problem of child labour. Legislation is a powerful instrument in combating the child labour problem as it serves as a deterrent to the economic exploitation of children, and constitutes a basis for preventive measures and punitive action against violators, if fully implemented.

Another policy document focusing on child labour in Kenya is the draft sessional paper on child labour in Kenya (GoK, 2000 cited in Manda et al.., 2003:13). This sessional paper summarizes the government's commitment to fulfilment of its obligations under various international instruments towards the elimination of child labour and addresses the various perspectives of child labour. The paper further highlights the nature and magnitude of the child labour problem, the vulnerability of child workers, determinants and consequences of child labour and the need to mainstream concrete intervention measures to fight child labour.

The employment act is another policy document in Kenya that touches on child labour issues (Manda et al.., 2003:13). The act defines a 'child' as an individual, male or female, who has not attained the age of 16 years. This is contrary to the Children's act that defines a child as an individual who has not attained the age of 18 years. The act prohibits the employment of a child, whether gainfully or otherwise, in an industrial undertaking. Child may however be employed in family business, including in agriculture. Thus, the provisions of this act does not portray domestic work as child labour which poses some major challenges in the fight against child labour. In addition, it depicts that harmonization of policies on child labour is necessary in order to consolidate the efforts that are being made by various stakeholders in an attempt to reduce child labour.

National child labour policy is another instrument in Kenya that is meant to promote children's rights in Kenya. As a matter of fact although Kenya has ratified instruments such as ILO Conventions 138 and 182, it has taken long to enact operational policies such as national child labour policy to back these ratifications and guide action. According to Alila and Njoka (2009), the draft national child labour policy covers a list of worst forms of child labour which includes; sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and forced or compulsory labour among others. However, the draft that was prepared in 2002 is yet to be passed by the Parliament and this poses a major challenge to the fight against child labour. This is because there is lack of a country specific child labour policy that spells out the interventions to be undertaken to deal with child labour occurring in various sector as well as deal with the main setbacks hindering the implementation of such policy.

Free Primary Educations (FPE) is another policy that was implemented in Kenya with the indirect intention to deal with problem of child labour. This program was launched in 2003 by the former President Mwai Kibaki, with the sole purpose of achieving Universal Primary Education by 2015 which is one of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Sifuna (2005) argues that the FPE policy intended to keep children from poor socio-economic backgrounds, especially girls, from failing to participate in primary education or dropping out of school due to inability to pay school fees and other school levies. The FPE programme was thus meant to bring the children from poor backgrounds into school and did not have the direct aim of dealing with child labour. It has been argued that instead of illegalizing child labour, making school attendance compulsory is more effective (Basu, 1998). Justifying this, Basu (1998:16) argues that 'the child's presence in school is easier to monitor than the child's absence from work'. Hence, the current study sought to examine whether there has been any impact regarding child labour as a result of implementation of the FPE policy.

2.6 Summary of the literature discussions on child labour

In concluding the discussion on the review of literature on child labour, we would like to offer a brief summary of the same. Though there is no universal definition of child labour, most of the scholars have pointed out to the fact that child labour is the engagement of a child in activities that endanger the physical, mental, moral and social wellbeing of the child. On the other hand, child work is the engagement of a child in activities that are meant for socialization. However, it not

quite clear on where to draw the line between child labour and child work since most of the children engage in economic activities with the initial intention of child work but with time it ends up becoming child labour.

The statistics reviewed in the literature show that younger children are increasingly being engaged in child labour which necessitated the current study. Most of literature reviewed points out to the fact that poverty is the main cause of child labour as depicted in a number of studies reviewed. Most of the studies reviewed show that child labour is typical in the rural areas where the agricultural sector thrives. Few studies have been undertaken in the urban areas too mainly focusing on the child domestic work that is usually hidden and so more research is required to fully understand domestic work.

2.7 Theoretical framework

Fox and Bayat (2007:29) define theory as "a set of interrelated propositions, concepts and definitions that present a systematic point of view of specifying relationships between variables with a view to predicting and explaining phenomena". All empirical studies should be grounded on theory (Singleton et al.., 1988:140). A theory is a body of knowledge attempting to explain a social reality. It is a way of making sense of a disturbing situation and specifies the relationship between variables, with the purpose of explaining the problem in question. It is important to understand what a 'framework' is, within the context of research. Liehr and Smith (1999:13) see a framework for research as a structure that provides "guidance for the researcher as study questions are fine-tuned, methods for measuring variables are selected and analyses are planned". Once data are collected and analysed, the framework is used as a mirror to check whether the findings agree with the framework or whether there are some discrepancies; where discrepancies exist, a question is asked as to whether or not the framework can be used to explain them.

A theoretical framework refers to the theory/theories that a researcher chooses to guide him/her in his/her research. Thus, a theoretical framework is the application of a theory, or a set of concepts drawn from one and the same theory, to offer an explanation of an event, or shed some light on a particular phenomenon or research problem (Imenda 2014:189). Various theories have been advanced to explain the phenomena of child labour especially in the developing countries. The study is guided by two theories namely; rational choice theory and human capabilities approach.

2.7.1 Rational Choice Theory (RCT)

A pioneering figure in establishing rational choice theory in sociology was George Homans (1961), who set out a basic framework of exchange theory. He grounded the theory on the assumption drawn from behaviourist psychology (Zey, 1998). Basic to all forms of rational choice theory is the assumption that complex social phenomena can be explained in terms of the elementary individual actions of which they are composed. In rational choice theories, individuals are seen as motivated by the wants or goals that express their preferences. They act within specific, given constraints and on the basis of the information that they have about the conditions under which they are acting.

As it is not possible for individuals to achieve all of the various things that they want, they must also make choices in relation to both their goals and the means for attaining these goals. Rational choice theories hold that individuals must anticipate the outcomes of alternatives courses of action and calculate that which will be best for them. Rational individuals choose the alternative that is likely to give them the greatest satisfaction (Heath 1976:3, Carling 1992:27 and Coleman 1973).

This theory is relevant to the current study since it explains the reasons why the young members from poor households are forced to engage in labour. Hence, a household perceive child labour as beneficial since it can supplement the family income especially for the poor households. Consequently, the household does not incur the expenses of educating their children which are considered by the household as expensive at the moment. Thus, the engagement of children in child labour instead of sending them to school is considered a rational choice. This is because the household members want to maximize on the present short term benefits of children helping in supplementing the household income and consequently achieve the greatest satisfaction.

Other children, however, are driven into child labour by the need for self-emancipation thus consider earning a source of income as beneficial at the moment instead of schooling. In the long run, the individual child as well the household are trapped in a vicious cycle of poverty. With little or no education, these children will end up in unskilled types of employment since they lack skills and training to enable them secure the skilled type of employment which are well paying. Consequently, they cannot support their households financially in the future.

However, rational choice theory has been criticized for generally ignoring the social determinants of decisions, choices and actions. The theory also over-rationalizes human thought and action and may be a product of modernity insofar as it privileges an individualized approach to explaining decision-making and action[5]. Due to afore mentioned weaknesses of rational choice theory, the researcher endeavoured to utilize another approach known as human capabilities approach.

Human capabilities approach is more flexible in attempting to explain poverty which has been seen as a major cause of child labour. This is because the capability approach offers a way to reconcile the tension between narrow and broad approaches to poverty by respecting the former, while not losing sight of the latter. Hence, the approach attempts to focus on the individual and the household as well as the community at large in analyzing poverty as a capability deprivation which can occur at all levels.

2.7.2 Human Capabilities Approach

The capability approach which is pioneered by Amartya Sen focuses on the individual and community well-being and social arrangements in society. This approach affirms that human beings share nearly universal capabilities, what makes a human life fulfilling is the opportunity to exercise these capabilities (Sen, 1999). The key idea of the capability approach is that social arrangements should aim to expand people's capabilities - their freedom to promote or achieve what they value doing and being. An essential test of development is whether people have greater freedoms today than they did in the past.

Functionings are defined as 'the various things a person may value doing or being' (Sen 1999:75). In other words, functionings are valuable activities and states that make up people's well-being such as being healthy and well nourished, being safe, being educated, having a good job among others. Capability refers to the freedom to enjoy various functionings. In particular, capability is defined as 'the various combinations of functionings (beings and doings) that the person can achieve (Sen 1999:40). When people are capable, they are not poor as poverty is seen as a deprivation of basic capabilities rather than lowness of income (Sen, 1992). Poverty can be identified in terms of capability deprivation; the approach concentrates on deprivations that are

[5] http://www.enotes.com/research-starters/sociological-theory-rational-choice-theory (16th Feb 2016)

intrinsically important (low income is instrumentally significant). This enables us to see other factors that affect poverty other than income; and the instrumental relation between low income and low capability is variable between different communities and even between different families and individuals (Sen, 1992).

Consequently, households faced with high poverty levels can be seen as having a capability deprivation which prevents them from accessing quality education, good health and high dignity as outlined by Sen. High poverty levels in turn put the children in such households at risk of engaging in child labour in order to supplement their household income. Hence, this theory is relevant for the current study since it explains how the children are curtailed from accessing quality education when they engage in labour to supplement their household income. These children and their households remain trapped in the cycle of poverty since their opportunities for enhancing their capabilities are not utilized. Moreover, child labour has negative consequences on the children's physical and mental health thus making children lose their dignity at an early age leading to low self-esteem.

2.8 Conceptual framework

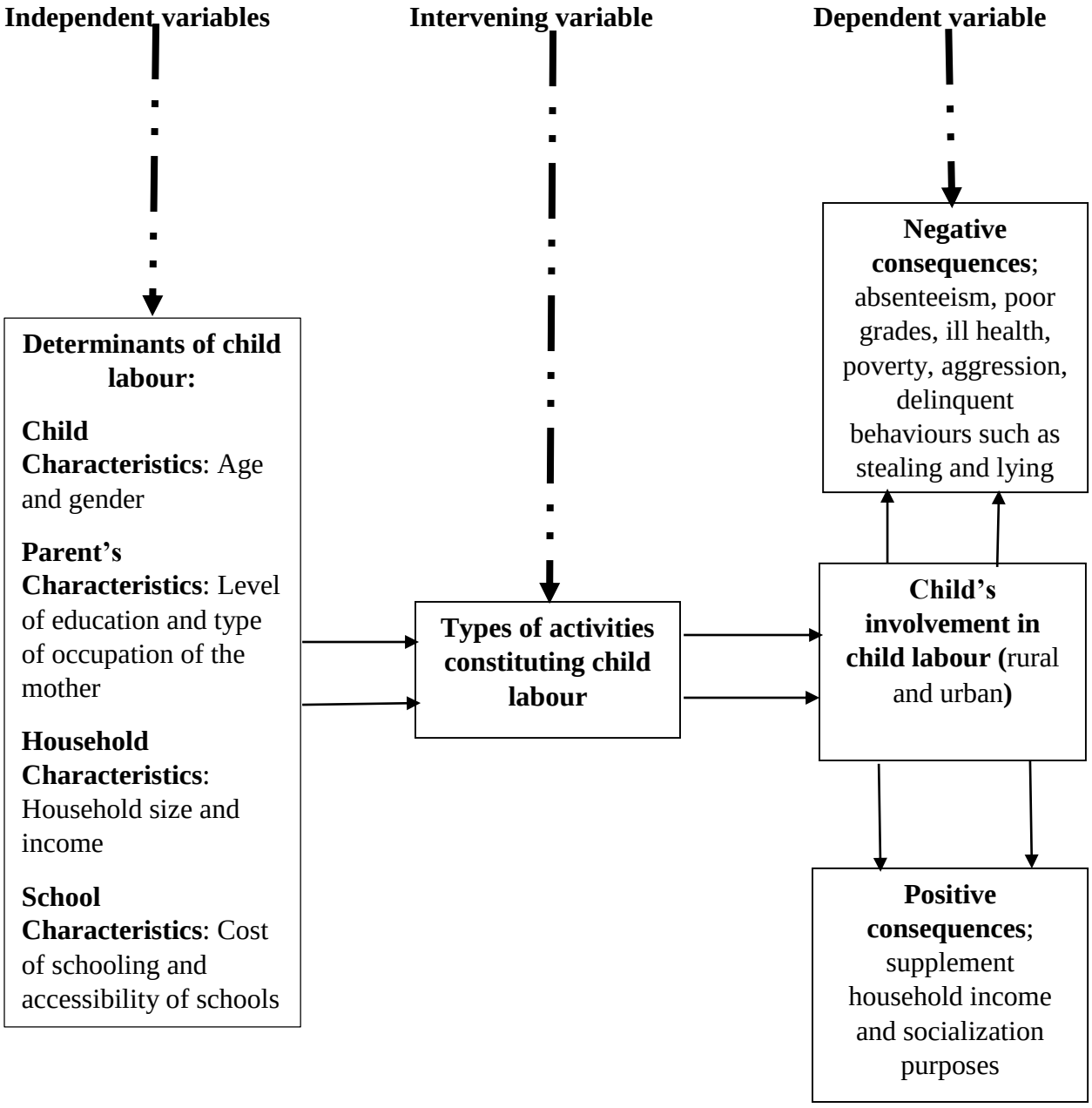
According to Goetz and LeCompte (1984), and Bliss et al.., (1983), a conceptual framework increasingly strengthens and keeps research on track by providing clear links from the literature to the research goals and questions as well as contributing to the formulation of the research design. The conceptual framework for the current study captures three variables as indicated in the schematic representation (see Figure 2.2) namely; independent, intervening and dependent variables. These variables are all in interaction thus contributing to the phenomenon under study; child labour.

The various categories of the independent variables include; child characteristics (age and gender), parent's characteristics (level of education and type of occupation), household characteristics (household size and income) and school characteristics (cost of schooling and accessibility of schools). These variables interact with each other consequently contributing to the types of activities constituting child labour (intervening variable) as shown by the arrows in the Figure 2.2. This eventually leads to the child's involvement in labour (dependent variable), whether full time or part time labour.

For instance, when the household size is relatively large and the parents/guardians are working in the informal sector which is generally characterized by low income, it becomes difficult for such parents to cater for their children's needs. This prompts their children to engage in socio-economic activities such as casual labour to earn an income in order to supplement the household income. These socio-economic activities thus qualify to be considered as child labour since they curtail children's access to education. They can end up experiencing habitual absenteeism from school which negatively affects their performance and in the long run, some of these children may drop out of school to engage in full time labour.

Figure 2.2: Schematic representation of the conceptual framework

Figure 2.1 shows the schematic representation of the conceptual framework outlining how the various variables interact. The arrows show the flow through the framework and the relationship between variables is understood by following the arrow to the next box.



The engagement of children in socio-economic activities that are considered as child labour leads to their involvement in labour which contributes to positive and negative consequences as shown in the Figure 2.1. The positive consequences of child labour include supplementing the family income and for socialization purposes in order to ensure children are not 'lazy'. The negative consequences are many including school absenteeism, poor grades, possibility of children dropping out of school, aggression, poverty as well as development of bad habits such as stealing and lying.

In conclusion, child labour is a complex phenomenon that is as a result of a number of factors such as household, school, child's and parent's characteristics as depicted in the Figure 2.1. The negative consequences of child labour outweigh the positive consequences thus the need for continuous research on the phenomenon in order to build on the existing body of knowledge on child labour.

2.9 Hypotheses of the study

A hypothesis is a conjectural statement of the relation between two or more variables (Kerlinger 1986:17). A good hypothesis needs to be logical, use precise language and should be testable with research or experimentation (Trochim, 2006). It is used to state the relationship between two variables and may be stated as null hypothesis or alternative hypothesis (Buttolph et al.., 2012). In null hypothesis, there is no relationship between two variables, while in alternative hypothesis, the direction of the relationship between two variables is stated.

The current study hypothesized that;

i. Children whose mothers are educated are less likely to be involved in child labour as compared to children whose mothers are uneducated.

ii. Children whose mothers are employed are less likely to be involved in child labour as compared to children whose mothers are unemployed.

iii. Children from small households are less likely to be involved in child labour as compared to children from large households.

iv. Children from households with lower monthly incomes are less likely to be involved in child labour as compared to children from households with higher monthly incomes.

The operationalization of the independent and dependent variables used in the stated hypotheses is shown in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1: Operationalization of variables of the stated hypotheses

Variable	Categories	Items	Indicators
Independent variable	Household characteristics	Household income	Amount of monthly income from household members
		Household size	Number of children and adult members in the household. Number of elderly household members, number of girls/women and boys/men in the household
	Mother's socio-economic background	Level of education of the mother	Highest level of education of each of the mother
		Type of occupation of the mother	Type of occupation of the mother; formal employment, non-formal employment and unemployed
Dependent variable	Child labour	Rural child labour	Children engaged in labour such as agricultural and domestic sectors among others, for four hours or more per day.
		Urban child labour	Children engaged in labour such as hawking and domestic activities among others, for four hours or more per day.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines generally how the current study was undertaken. Research methodology is a scientific system of explicit rules and procedures upon which research is based, and against which claims for knowledge are evaluated (Nachmias and Nachmias, 1996:13). The chapter is organized into the following sub-sections; research design, research sites for the study, target population, sources of data, unit of analysis and unit of observation, sampling design, techniques of data collection, tools of data collection and data analysis. In addition, the field experiences and the ethical considerations in social research have been addressed at the end of this chapter.

3.2 Research design

Research design is the plan, structure and strategy of investigation conceived in order to obtain answers to research questions and control variance (Kerlinger, 1964:275). It involves planning and interpretation of scientific observations (Singleton et al.., 1988:67). The current study adopted a comparative survey research design. "Thinking without comparison is unthinkable. And, in the absence of comparison, so is all scientific thought and scientific research" (Swanson 1971:145). Ragin (1987) states that while virtually all social scientific methods are comparative in this broad sense, in sociology the term comparative method usually is used to refer to a specific kind of comparison, the comparison of whole societies. He further states that comparative sociology is a branch of sociology concerned with cross-societal differences and similarities. Hence, comparison is central to empirical social science as it is practised today.

Comparative research is a broad term that includes both quantitative and qualitative evaluation of social entities (Mills et al.., 2006:621). Social entities may be based on many lines, such as geographical or political ones in the form of cross-national or regional comparisons. The main units of comparison for this study was the urban and rural units based on the geographic locations. More specifically, the similarities and differences in the nature, magnitude, determinants and consequences of child labour are brought out. Neuman (2011) states that a major strength of comparative research is its ability to identify aspects of social life that are general across units such as cultures and geographical locations and aspects limited to one unit alone. Another strength lies in its ability to raise new questions and stimulate theory building. It also encourages the

development of broad or universal concepts that can be used in multi-cultural settings and it can reveal cultural bias.

The comparative survey research design for the current study mainly utilized the quantitative strategy. Quantitative strategy is also known as the traditional or positivistic approach used to answer questions about the relationship between variables by controlling, explaining and predicting the phenomena under study (Leedy, 1997: 102). This design main tool of data collection was the household questionnaire administered to respondents, specifically the mothers/female guardians. The design thus helped the researcher to collect data that described the basic demographic characteristics of the respondents, the nature, magnitude, determinants and consequences of child labour in both rural and urban areas of Kenya.

Qualitative strategy was also used by the researcher to complement the quantitative strategy. Qualitative strategy is used to answer questions about the nature of phenomenon with the purpose of describing and understanding it from the participant's point of view (Leedy, 1997: 102). The tool for collecting qualitative data was the interview guide. It was used to conduct in-depth interviews with the key informants and child labourers. In addition, the interview guide enabled the researcher collect qualitative data from children who participated in the focus group discussions. Hence, the qualitative design helped the researcher to collect diverse information from the policy makers on the nature and consequences of child labour while the child laborers provided information on their employment experience and the reasons that have pushed them into the labour market.

3.3 Research sites for the study

The study sites for the current research were drawn from Murang'a and Nairobi Counties. The rural area which was selected for the purposes of this study was Kakuzi location which lies in Gatanga Sub County in Murang'a County. Murang'a County Development Profile (2013) states that the county experiences high poverty levels. And the 2005/2006 Kenya Integrated Household Budget Survey indicates that about 36 percent live below poverty line in Murang'a. Although, Murang'a County is predominantly agricultural with the major cash crops such as tea, coffee and macadamia and horticulture crops as well as food crops found in the area, the county is food insecure in terms of staple food. The worst hit areas are at the lower side of the county including

Kakuzi location. High poverty levels are a characteristic of such areas thus increase the demand of child labour in the location since the children need to supplement their household income.

On the other hand, the urban area which was selected as the focus of the current study was Kibera slum which lies in Langata Sub County, Nairobi County. Kibera slum is one of the informal settlements in the country which is characterized by severe poverty, poor living conditions, widespread criminality, delinquency and unemployment (UN-Habitat, 2010). Kibera slum was purposively selected as the research site for the current study since it is the largest slum in East and Central Africa. The children living in the slum are at risk of engaging in child labour to supplement their household income due to high poverty levels that is a characteristic of this slum.

3.4 Target population

Bless et al.., (2006: 99) defines target population as the set of elements that the research focuses upon and to which the results obtained by testing the sample should be generalized. These elements can include people and objects as well. The target population included the mothers/female guardians in the two study sites (Kakuzi location and Kibera slum) with children aged between 5 and 17 years who are at risk of engaging in child labour. This is because they are largely involved in the reproductive roles of taking care of the children and thus are better placed to understand the experiences of their children than their counterparts (fathers/male guardians). Additionally, they were more likely to be found at home for interviewing as compared to the fathers/male guardians who mostly work outside the home. This enhanced coherence and consistency in the data collected.

3.5 Sources of data

The study utilized both primary and secondary sources of data. Hall (2008) states that primary data is original data; data that has not been previously collected. Interviews and observations yield primary data. Hall (2008) further states that secondary data is data that has been previously collected, usually for another purpose. It includes administrative records, existing statistics and previous research studies.

Primary data was collected from female respondents, more specifically the mothers/female guardians who are usually found at home during the day undertaking household chores. In addition, the mothers are more involved in the caring and upbringing of their children as compared

to the fathers. Thus, they understand the experiences that their children go through and so they are better placed to respond to the various questions in the questionnaire. Hence, the mothers were interviewed using a questionnaire as the household heads in order to achieve coherence and consistency of the information collected from all the study sites. The researcher mainly obtained quantitative data from the mothers who were the main respondents for the current study.

Other sources of primary data included; key informants such as teachers and children officers as well as children who participated in the FGDs. Case studies targeting child labourers were also done as a follow up in an attempt to enrich the quantitative data collected using the household questionnaires from their mothers/ female guardians. On the other hand, secondary data was obtained from the review of past studies that have been done on child labour that helped the researcher understand the past trends of the phenomenon.

3.6 Unit of analysis and unit of observation

The unit of analysis is the entity around which the variables of interest to the researcher vary (Singleton et al.., 1988:130). This is that which the study attempts to understand. For purposes of the current study, unit of analysis was the child labour. Unit of observation is an element from which information is collected (Singleton et al.., 1988:136). The units of observation include the respondents who were interviewed such as mothers/female guardians, children and key informants such as children officers, village elders, and community leaders such as chiefs.

3.7 Sampling design

Sampling is the process of selecting a subset of cases so as to draw conclusions about the entire set (Singleton et al.., 1988:136). Sampling designs are divided into two broad categories; probability and non-probability designs. Probability sampling is a technique where the samples are gathered in a process that gives all the individuals in the population equal chances of being selected (Singleton et al.., 1988:137). In non-probability sampling, samples are gathered in a process that does not give all the individuals in the population equal chances of being selected (Singleton 1988:137).

The current study adopted both probability and non-probability sampling to obtain respondents from the two study sites. Simple random sampling and cluster sampling were the two probability

sampling techniques that were used. This is because the researcher wanted to ensure representativeness of the sample as well as enable generalization of the findings to the entire population. On the other hand, non-probability sampling techniques were used in situations where personal judgment of the researcher was necessary in order to collect the appropriate data to address the research objectives. More specifically, purposive sampling was used by the researcher as one of the non-probability sampling techniques. The current study therefore utilized both probability and non-probability sampling techniques as outlined in the following sampling procedures:

a) Phase one: Selection of the two study sites

Purposive sampling was used to select the study sites of Kakuzi location and Kibera slum where the research was undertaken. Kakuzi Location was selected as the rural study site since it is a semi-arid area and characterized by high poverty levels unlike the other areas of Murang'a County. High poverty levels thus might create a demand for child labour in the location since the children need to supplement their household income. Kibera informal settlement, an urban slum was selected for the purposes of this study since it is largest slum in East and Central Africa. Additionally, people in the area are faced with high levels of poverty which might encourage children to get into the labour market to supplement their family incomes. In the view of the researcher, the two sites were selected to facilitate comparisons of dynamics of child labour in rural and urban settings.

b) Phase two: Selection of villages in the study sites.

The selection of the villages in the two selected research sites was done depending on the nature of the locations such as the levels of poverty and population size. Kibera slum is divided into 14 villages with varying populations (Mutisya and Yarime, 2011: 203). These villages include; Kianda, Lindi, Soweto East, Gatwekera, Raila, Muru, Mashimoni, Olympic and Laini Saba among others. The informal settlement is characterized with severe poverty that is almost evenly distributed in these villages.

Simple random sampling, more specifically, lottery method was used in order to select the villages from which the sample was drawn. The list of the villages was done which was used as the sampling frame then the names of those villages were assigned numbers. The researcher then wrote the numbers on pieces of paper that were completely folded. The pieces of paper were then dropped

in a container and mixed. Then the researcher picked a paper at a time until the target of two villages was reached. The two villages selected were Lindi and Mashimoni.

Kakuzi location consists of two sub-locations namely; Kinyangi and Gituamba. Kinyangi comprises of 12 villages namely; Kitito, Gaichanjiru Central, Gaichanjiru West, Gaichanjiru South and Lower Kakuzi among others. Poverty levels in Kinyangi sub-location were assumed to be fairly distributed thus simple random sampling was again used to select one village from where the sample was be drawn. Consequently, Lower Kakuzi village was selected in Kinyangi sub location using simple random sampling.

Gituamba on the other hand comprises of 21 villages namely; Ngatho phase 1, Ngatho phase 2, Ngatho phase 3, Ngatho phase 4, Matunda, Rubiru, Silanga A and B, Kaburukia and Kaloleni among others. Four of the villages in the sub locations are densely populated and most of the residents are squatters hence they experience high poverty levels as compared to other villages. In addition, two villages are located in a semi-arid area of Murang'a County bordering Yatta area and so these villages are faced with poverty. Purposive sampling was used to select the one village in Gituamba from which the sample of the households was drawn. Ngatho phase 4 village was purposively selected since it was among the most populous villages in the sub location. Accordingly, two villages were ultimately selected in Kakuzi location namely; Lower Kakuzi and Ngatho Phase 4. Table 3.1 summarizes how the villages were selected in the two study sites;

Table 3.1: Villages selected and sampling techniques used in Kakuzi and Kibera

Research sites	**Villages selected**	**Technique used**	**Remarks**
Kibera	Lindi	Simple random sampling	This sampling technique was appropriate for sampling this village since the poverty levels are fairly distributed in the slum.
	Mashimoni	Simple random sampling	Simple random sampling was used due to the homogeneity of the population in terms of poverty levels.
Kakuzi	Ngatho Phase 4 (Gituamba Sub-location)	Purposive sampling	Purposive sampling was used since the village was among the most populous villages in the sub-location faced with high poverty level
	Lower Kakuzi (Kinyangi Sub-location)	Simple random sampling	The sub-location was characterized by high poverty levels which were assumed to be fairly distributed thus simple random sampling was used to sample one village.

c) Phase three: Selection of households

The selection of households to be covered in every unit was done using cluster sampling in the two study sites. Singh (2007:105) states that in cluster sampling, first the population is divided into clusters, usually along geographical boundaries. Then some clusters[6] are randomly selected from all clusters formed to measure all units within sampled clusters in the end. Cluster sampling is appropriate when a good sampling frame lacks for a dispersed population (Neuman 2011: 161). Hence, this sampling technique was appropriate since the list of households in the two study sites was unavailable which made it difficult to have a sampling frame.

Using this sampling technique, the researcher proceeded to identify clusters in the sampled villages defined by landmarks such as roads and rivers. The identification of clusters was challenging in some villages since it was difficult to establish how the villages are sub-divided. However, the researcher was assisted by the village elders in the respective villages and came up with some clusters. Once these clusters were identified then the researcher randomly sampled some clusters in the villages. The researcher then endeavored to trace and cover accessible households in the selected clusters that had children aged 5 and 17 years. The procedure for the selection of sampling units in Kibera and Kakuzi using cluster sampling is outlined in the following two sections;

i) Selection of sampling units in Kakuzi

The researcher identified 6 clusters in Ngatho phase 4 village using clear landmarks such as roads, rivers and hills. The village consists of approximately 300 households and so every cluster comprised of approximately 50-60 households. One cluster was randomly selected and the researcher covered the accessible households in the cluster. However, the total number of households required could not be reached since some households did not have young children (5 and 17 years) and some mothers/female guardians were absent in other households. Hence, the researcher randomly sampled another cluster in order to reach the target of 40 households that was needed in each of the village.

Using clear landmarks such as roads and rivers, the researcher mapped out 5 clusters in Lower Kakuzi village. The village comprised of approximately 200-250 households. It has fewer

[6] For the purposes of this study, a cluster refers to a sub-village. A village thus consisted of a number of sub-villages that were demarcated by major land marks such as roads, hills or rivers.

households since it lies on a hill overlooking Kakuzi forest and some of the parts of the village were not habitable. The researcher then randomly sampled two clusters in the village. The accessible households in the two clusters with children aged between 5 and 17 years were traced and covered until a target of 40 households was reached by the researcher.

ii) Selection of sampling units of Kibera

At Kibera, the researcher mapped out clusters defined by roads and foot paths in Lindi village. Lindi comprises of two distinct sub-villages demarcated by the main road namely; Lindi A and B. The village is quite densely populated and it was difficult for the researcher to identify smaller clusters. The researcher managed to identify four main clusters in Lindi A. There were numerous sub-clusters in the main clusters defined by how plots are demarcated and structures constructed for rental purposes. The researcher then randomly sampled one cluster and covered the accessible households with children aged between 5 and 17 years until the target of 40 households was reached.

Mashimoni is also a large village and quite populous. Using clear landmarks such as roads and rivers, the researcher identified 8 clusters. The clusters were quite large, each comprising of more than 100 households. The researcher randomly selected one cluster and covered the accessible households with children aged between 5 and 17 years until the desired target of 40 households was reached.

Ultimately, a sample size of 80 households was drawn from each of the two study sites i.e. Kibera slum and Kakuzi location. Overall, the study targeted a sample of 160 households. The determination of the sample size of 80 respondents in each of the two study sites was appropriate depending on the resources including time and finances that were at the disposal of the researcher. Moreover, list of households was unavailable in the villages and thus the use of formulas to calculate the sample size was consequently inapplicable. This large sample size is appropriate since the study is a comparative study and requires a relatively larger sample.

d) Phase four: Selection of key informants

The list of key informants for the current study comprised of area chiefs, village elders, teachers and children officers in the respective study sites. The key informants were purposively selected on the basis of their knowledge on the issues that the study sought to address such as the nature of

child labour and the prevalence of child labour cases in the area. The key informants in Kakuzi location included the following; Acting chief, Kakuzi location, village elder (Ngatho phase 4), village elder (Lower Kakuzi), Teacher (Ngatho Primary School) and Children Officer in charge of Gatanga Sub County. The researcher interviewed the following key informants in Kibera; Senior Chief, Kibera Location, village elder (Lindi), Teacher (Olympic Primary School), Deputy Head teacher (Kibera Primary School) and Children's officer in charge of Langata Sub County.

3.8 Techniques of data collection

The current study was essentially quantitative augmented by qualitative data. The researcher conducted face to face interviews with the mothers/female guardians using a household questionnaire in order to obtain quantitative data. In addition, the researcher was assisted by one adequately trained research assistant in administering the household questionnaires in each of the study site. Hence, Interviewing was the main technique of data collection for the current study while the household questionnaire was the main tool of data collection.

In order to obtain qualitative data, in-depth interviewing technique was adopted when conducting the key informant interviews, case studies and FGDs which supplemented the data from the household questionnaire. The principal researcher conducted four FGDs with the children from various schools in the study sites. More specifically, one FGD was conducted in the each of the selected village in each of the study site. In Kakuzi location, the fieldwork was carried out during the school holidays and so the FGDs could not be done in school. The village elder in each of the villages assisted the researcher in organizing the FGDs in their household.

3.9 Tools of data collection

The household questionnaire was the main data collection tool in the current study. It was administered to all the mothers/female guardians of the households included in the sample. In case the mother/female guardian was absent, the researcher skipped that household and moved on to the next household. The household questionnaire largely comprised close-ended questions and few open-ended questions. The open-ended questions enabled the respondents to give as much information as possible while the close-ended questions comprised of pre-coded responses.

The household questionnaire largely yielded quantitative data. The issues covered by the household questionnaire included; the basic demographic characteristics of the respondents, sources of income and levels of household expenditure, conceptualization of child labour, sectors that demand use of child labour, magnitude of child labour, characteristics of child labourers, consequences of child labour as well as the levels of awareness among the respondents in regard to child labour policies.

An interview guide was designed by the researcher and was used to obtain important information from the key informants such as teachers, children officers, village elders and chiefs. The guide covered such issues as conceptualization of child labour, factors contributing to child labour as well as the knowledge on child labour policies. In addition, the interview guide was used to collect data from children through conducting FGDs. The interview guide contained a summary of key issues to be raised during the interview which ensured that the interview remains as focused as possible and relevant to the study objectives. The key issues in this guide included; conceptualization of child labour, awareness of their peers involved in child labour, sectors demanding the use of child labour as well the consequences of child labour. Interview guide yielded qualitative data that supplemented the quantitative data collected using the household questionnaire.

A case study guide was also designed to conduct an in-depth interviews with child labourers. The guide was meant to understand the child's family background and the employment history as well as their experiences while working in the household or outside. This helped in enriching the data collected using the household questionnaires since the case studies were done as a form of follow up. A copy of the household questionnaire, the key informant interview guide, focus group discussion guide and case study guide for child labourers are attached to the thesis (See Appendices I, II, III and IV)

3.10 Data analysis

Data analysis is the process of bringing order, structure and interpretation to the mass of collected data (Bryman and Burgess, 1994: 66). Quantitative data analysis of the current study involved the use of two types of statistics namely; descriptive and inferential statistics. Babbie (2010: 467) states that descriptive statistics merely summarize a set of sample observations whereas inferential

statistics move beyond the description of specific observations to make inferences about the larger population from which the sample observations were drawn. The current study employed both quantitative and qualitative methods of data analysis considering the wide range of data collected.

During the field work, all completed questionnaires were crosschecked daily and data cleaned to check for completeness, consistency and accuracy. Since the closed-ended questions in the questionnaire were pre-coded, the researcher developed a template using the codes which was used to enter data in Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) for analysis. Frequencies were done after every stage of data entry to identify and correct any possible coding and data entry errors.

The first phase of the quantitative data analysis involved generating descriptive statistics using SPSS such as frequency tables which was used to outline the demographic characteristics of the respondents such as age and marital status. The second phase involved carrying out various statistical tests to assess the relationship and differences between variables of interest. Measures of central tendency and measures of dispersion were used on quantitative variables such as levels of education and income of the household's heads to provide the general findings of the study. Inferential statistics such as the cross tabulation and use of Chi-square were adopted in order to test the hypotheses stated in this study. Chi-square is referred to as a 'goodness of fit' statistic. It is used for the test of significance of association and reflects the strength of the relationship: the greater the chi-square statistic, the stronger the significance (De-Vaus, 2002).

On the other hand, qualitative data from the key informants', case studies and FGDs notes were also reviewed to ensure that relevant information was recorded. The field notes collected using these unstructured interviews from the key informants and the FGDs were reorganized schematically using word tables. Qualitative data from the case studies, FGDs and key informants was used to expound on some of the quantitative components in the study where necessary.

3.11 Field experiences

This section presents information on the field work experiences which includes the challenges faced during the field work. In addition, the researcher has attempted to outline the actual ways in which the various challenges were overcome in order to make her fieldwork successful. The actual fieldwork was undertaken from 26th August 2014 to 30th October 2014.

Bureaucracies at the government offices while obtaining the necessary documents to undertake field work was a challenge to the researcher. These documents included authorization letter to interview children officers in Kakuzi and Kibera from the Director of Children Services. Moreover, an authorization letter was required to interview teachers and pupils in Kibera from Sub County Director of Education in Langata Sub County unlike Kakuzi where such authorization was not mandatory. This was time consuming since the researcher needed to visit an office severally before the documents were approved by the Director of Children Services. However, the researcher remained patient and made sure the necessary documents such as certificate of good conduct and the research permit were obtained in advance since they were needed for the acquisition of other subsequent documents.

During the fieldwork, the researcher came across a number of un co-operative respondents. Some of the respondents were asking for payment before they accepted to be interviewed. This was despite the fact that the researcher had made it clear at the beginning of the interview that the respondents should participate willingly in the study. The researcher took time to explain to the respondents that the research is academic oriented thus no funds were available to pay the respondents. In addition, the researcher clarified that the data collected during the research would help in compiling a thesis which would give an overall perspective of the welfare of the children and the socio-economic status of the households in the area. This would in future help other organizations and government interested in initiating projects targeting children in especially difficult circumstances. The researcher desisted from any attempts of making promises to the respondents of immediate benefits resulting from the research.

Some respondents were not honest in giving the responses to the questions asked during the interview. For instance, some feared admitting that their children were involved in child labour since they thought they would be arrested. The researcher assured them that the research was purely academic and no one would arrest them for admitting that their children were engaged in child labour. The researcher was successful in convincing the respondents to some extent, although, it was difficult to persuade the respondents that they would not be harassed by the authorities especially in Kibera. This showed that these respondents knew child labour was not allowed by law although their children were engaged in labour due to poverty.

The researcher experienced difficulties in accessing some of the key informants such as children's officers and teachers. The key informants had a busy schedule and they found it hard to fit the researcher into their schedule. For instance, the researcher found the pupils at Kibera Primary School doing examinations while the teachers were involved in invigilation of those examinations. Hence, they did not have time to spare for an interview to be conducted and so the researcher had to come back after the examinations were over. The researcher remained patient and persistent until the appointment for conducting the interview was granted.

Finances were also a challenge to the researcher since this was a comparative research comparing rural and urban settings. For instance, one of the villages sampled in Kakuzi location was quite in the interior part of the location which was quite far from where the researcher obtained accommodation. The researcher secured accommodation near the study sites in order to cut on transport costs. In addition, the researcher remained in the study site for some time until the target respondents had been reached. The research allowance given to me by the University of Nairobi was a great boost for successful undertaking of my research.

The researcher also experienced difficulties in understanding how the villages were sub-structured especially in Kibera slum. The researcher planned and toured the villages while accompanied by the village elder in both Lindi and Mashimoni. The village elders then explain how the villages are sub-divided which helped the researcher in sampling of the two villages.

Despite these challenges, the fieldwork was successful to a large extent. The researcher reached the intended respondents in the two study sites. This is because most of the respondents were willing to participate in the research after the researcher explained to them candidly the purpose of the research.

3.12 Ethical considerations

Ethical concerns are considered when conducting survey research (Patton, 2000:404). These guidelines deal with voluntary participation, no harm to respondents, anonymity and confidentiality among others. Child labour is quite a sensitive issue especially since it involves an infringement on the rights of children who are perceived to be passive. Hence, the researcher endeavoured to observe all the ethical considerations involved such as voluntary participation and confidentiality.

After obtaining a letter from the university allowing the researcher to undertake fieldwork, the researcher applied for a research permit from National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI) which gave the researcher authorization to carry out the study in Murang'a and Nairobi Counties within a certain time frame. The permit also requires that the researcher submit the thesis after a period of time in order to ensure dissemination of findings. The researcher also obtained an approval from the Director of Children Services requesting the children officers in the respective study sites to assist with the necessary information. This is because the officers are not allowed to disseminate any information about the children without the approval of the Director, Children Services. The acquisition of these approvals depicted that the researcher was keen on adhering to the professional ethics while undertaking the study.

The researcher took time to train the research assistants on the how to introduce themselves quite clearly and obtain informed consent from the respondents before commencing the interviews. Informed consent was obtained from the respondents verbally after explaining the objectives of the study to every individual respondent and informing them that they were free to participate in the study or not. The respondents were also informed that they were free to terminate the interview in case they felt uncomfortable at any point during the interview.

In addition, confidentiality and anonymity of respondents was assured at the very beginning of the interview. Questions and comments were invited before the interview began. This ensured that the respondents had fully understood the purpose of the research and the possibility of any eventual benefits at the onset of the interview. Thus, most of the respondents participated in the interview willingly and few respondents who felt uncomfortable at any point of the interviewing process were allowed to withdraw.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the results of the data collected and existing relationships among the key variables. The demographic characteristics of the respondents captured by this study are presented at the beginning of this chapter. The rest of the chapter presents the findings of the study as per the research objectives and interprets the findings that are drawn from the quantitative and qualitative data collected. Moreover, Chi-square tests of independence have been done to test the significance of relationships of interest to this study.

4.2 Basic social and demographic characteristics of the respondents.

This study specifically targeted the mothers/female guardians as the respondents. This is because women are mostly involved in the reproductive roles of bringing up children and are better placed to answer the questions on child labour. The basic demographic characteristics examined in this section include; age, marital status, level of education, occupation and the level of income of the respondents. This study covered 80 respondents in Kakuzi location and 80 respondents in Kibera slum.

a) Age of the respondents

Age is an important variable in explaining the characteristics of any population set. The study findings revealed variations of age in Kakuzi and Kibera respectively. The mean age of the respondents in years in Kakuzi Location was 38.1 years while in Kibera slum it was 28.8 years. Table 4.1 summarizes the findings of the age of the respondents in Kakuzi and Kibera.

Table 4.1: Age of the respondents in Kakuzi and Kibera.

Age (years)	Kakuzi		Kibera		Total	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
20-29	17	21.3	51	63.8	68	42.5
30-39	32	40.0	24	30.0	56	35.0
40-49	18	22.5	4	5.0	22	13.8
50-59	9	11.3	1	1.3	10	6.3
60 and above	4	5.0	0	0.0	4	2.5
Total	**80**	**100.0**	**80**	**100.0**	**160**	**100.0**

Source: Survey data (2014)

The findings in Kakuzi show that 30-39 years age bracket had the highest percentage (40%) of the total respondents. On the other hand, the age bracket with the highest percentage in Kibera (63.8%) was 20-29 years. Overall, majority of the respondents in the two study sites (42.5%) fell in the 20-29 years age bracket. This age structure displayed by the findings in both Kakuzi and Kibera is not surprising since Kenya's population has a youthful structure (KNBS, 2009)

b) Marital status of the respondents

Marital status has a vital influence on the children's involvement in labour. Hence, the study examined the marital status of the respondents in the two study sites; Kakuzi and Kibera. Table 4.2 outlines the findings on the marital status of the respondents.

Table 4.2: Marital status of the respondents in Kakuzi and Kibera

Marital status	Kakuzi		Kibera		Total	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Single	4	5.0	11	13.8	15	9.4
Married	66	82.5	67	83.8	133	83.1
Divorced	1	1.3	0	0.0	1	0.6
Separated	2	2.5	0	0.0	2	1.3
Widowed	7	8.8	2	2.5	9	5.6
Total	**80**	**100.0**	**80**	**100.0**	**160**	**100.0**

Source: Survey data (2014)

The findings of the study in Kakuzi show that a vast majority of the respondents (82.5%) were married. Similarly, majority of the respondents in Kibera (83.8%) reported that they were married. All the respondents but 4 (5%) in Kakuzi and 11 (13.8%) in Kibera had a marriage encounter. Marriage was therefore a more common phenomenon in rural areas than in urban areas. This is because girls in rural areas tend to be married at an early age as compared to their urban counterparts. The finding is in agreement with the finding of a survey done by Mwiti (2006:147) that indicated that girls in rural areas in Kenya are more likely to be married by the time they turn 18 years, than their peers who live in urban areas.

c) Level of education of the respondents

The current study sought to examine the level of education of the respondents who were interviewed during the study. Table 4.3 gives a summary of the reported highest level of education of the respondents in Kakuzi location and Kibera slum.

Table 4.3: Level of education of the respondents in Kakuzi and Kibera

Level of education	Kakuzi		Kibera		Total	
	Frequency	**Percent**	**Frequency**	**Percent**	**Frequency**	**Percent**
None	6	7.5	3	3.8	9	5.6
Primary	67	83.8	44	55.0	111	69.4
Secondary	7	8.8	28	35.0	35	21.9
Middle level college	0	0.0	5	6.3	5	3.1
Total	**80**	**100.0**	**80**	**100.0**	**160**	**100.0**

Source: Survey data (2014)

*Middle level college includes vocational training centres and teacher training colleges

As expected, very few mothers had no formal education. They constituted 5.6% of the total sample. The two study sites had a similar patterns in education achievements of the respondents. Majority of the respondents (69.4%) in the two study sites had primary education. However, Kibera had a relatively higher percentage (35%) of women with secondary education as compared to 8.8% in Kakuzi. Generally, women in urban areas have relatively higher education achievement. This is further confirmed by the national statistics that indicate that there are less number of people who have never attended school in urban areas (8%) as compared to rural areas where the 22% have never attended school (KNBS, 2009). People are generally attracted to the urban areas to find better way of life which includes making great education achievements. It was therefore no accident that the study affirmed that the respondents in urban areas were more educated than those in rural areas.

d) Occupation of the respondents

The current study endeavoured to examine the occupation of the respondents in the two study sites. Occupation reflects on the socio-economic status of an individual or household since it is directly linked to wage rates. Table 4.4 outlines the occupation of the respondents in Kakuzi and Kibera.

Table 4.4: Occupation of the respondents in Kakuzi and Kibera

Occupation of the respondent	Kakuzi		Kibera		Total	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Unemployed	0	0.0	27	33.8	27	16.9
Formal employment	1	1.3	5	6.3	6	3.8
Non-formal employment	79	98.7	48	60.0	127	79.4
Total	**80**	**100.0**	**80**	**100.0**	**160**	**100.0**

Source: Survey data (2014)

It was observed that the vast majority of the respondents in Kakuzi (98.7%) worked in the non-formal sector while only 1.3% worked in the formal sector. The non-formal employment included three categories of occupations namely; informal employment, family business and farming. A different trend was observed in Kibera where majority of the respondents (60%) were engaged in non-formal employment while 33.8% of the respondents were unemployed. Majority of the respondents from both sites (79.4%) were engaged in non-formal employment. Given that wage rates in non-formal sector are generally low in Kenya, the findings suggests that majority of the respondents fall in the category of working poor.[7] This finding is in agreement with the finding of a study done by Bangura (2010:54) which found out that poverty rates for the working poor in Kenya tend to be higher in agricultural versus non-agricultural employment and in non-formal versus formal employment.

e) Income of the respondents

The current study also endeavoured to establish the household income of the respondents in the two study sites. The maximum and the minimum monthly incomes in Kakuzi was found to be Ksh. 55,000 and Ksh. 3,000; the corresponding figures for Kibera were Ksh. 4,500 and Ksh. 88,000. Table 4.5 gives a summary on the household income of the respondents in Kakuzi and Kibera.

[7] The working poor are defined as those individuals who are employed and living in households whose income or consumption levels fall below a poverty threshold (Bangura, 2010:54).

Table 4.5: Income of the respondents in Kakuzi and Kibera

Monthly income (In Kshs)	Kakuzi		Kibera		Total	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
1-9,999	49	61.3	22	27.5	71	44.4
10,000-19,999	26	32.5	39	48.8	65	40.6
20,000-29,999	3	3.8	12	15.0	15	9.4
30,000-39,999	2	2.5	5	6.3	7	4.4
40,000 and above	0	0.0	2	2.5	2	1.3
Total	**80**	**100.0**	**80**	**100.0**	**160**	**100.0**

Source (Survey data, 2014)

The findings in Kakuzi revealed that more than half of the respondents (61.3%) have low monthly incomes of less than Ksh. 10,000; the corresponding figures for Kibera was 27.5%. The mean monthly household income was found to be Ksh. 10,636 for Kakuzi and Ksh. 15,494 for Kibera. Consequently, the mean monthly incomes for the two study sites was Ksh. 13,065. It was thus observed that respondents in Kibera had higher monthly incomes as compared to those in Kakuzi. This is because the people living in urban areas have a wide range of opportunities for earning a living as compared to their counterparts in the rural areas who might be limited to the agricultural activities with low incomes. Overall, 44.4% of the total sample earned less than Ksh. 10,000 confirming that majority of the sample was made up of the working poor who were mainly engaged in non-formal employment.

In conclusion, the findings revealed that the respondents had almost similar demographic characteristics. Majority of the respondents in the Kakuzi and Kibera were in 20-29 age group. Regarding marital status, majority of the respondents had a marriage encounter. On education, most of respondents in the two sites had studied up to the primary level of education. However, respondents in Kibera were found to be relatively more educated than those in Kakuzi. The vast majority of respondents in two study sites were engaged in non-formal employment indicating that they fall under the category of the working poor in Kenya. Moreover, close to half of these respondents in the two sites had relatively low monthly incomes of less than Ksh. 10,000. Overall, households from the rural area were relatively poorer.

4.2.1 Basic demographic characteristics of children found in the targeted households.

The study also examined the characteristics of children found in the targeted households. The rationale for exploring these characteristics was to enable the researcher further understand the

socio-economic status of their households. Moreover, this information on children enabled the researcher to show the extent to which child labour has affected school going children in the two sites. These characteristics include; gender of the children, status of children, type of school attended and the level of education. Table 4.6 shows the findings on the gender and the status of the children found in the households targeted during the study.

Table 4.6: Gender and status of the children in the targeted households in Kakuzi and Kibera

Gender of the children in the households	**Kakuzi**		**Kibera**		**Total**	
	Frequency	**Percent**	**Frequency**	**Percent**	**Frequency**	**Percent**
Female	120	52.9	93	51.4	213	52.2
Male	107	47.1	88	48.6	195	47.8
Total	**227**	**100.0**	**181**	**100.0**	**408**	**100.0**
Status of children	**Kakuzi**		**Kibera**		**Total**	
	Frequency	**Percent**	**Frequency**	**Percent**	**Frequency**	**Percent**
In school	201	88.5	159	87.8	360	88.2
Out of school	5	2.2	1	0.6	6	1.5
Not attained school going age	21	9.3	21	11.6	42	10.3
Total	**227**	**100**	**181**	**100**	**408**	**100**

Source: Survey data (2014)

The findings from the two sites indicated that 52.2% of the children captured were females while 47.8% were males. This was an expected statistic since it is reflective of the national statistics which shows that there are more females than males in Kenya (KNBS, 2009). Majority of these children in Kakuzi 201 (88.5%) were already in school. This high enrolment rate in Kakuzi could be attributed to the implementation of the Free Primary Education where most of the levies are catered for by the government. Thus only 2.2% of the children in Kakuzi were completely out of school. This finding is supported by the findings of a study done Oketch & Somerset (2010) that indicated that the existing evidence shows that the FPE has increased enrolment rates and provided opportunities to many children who had previously been excluded from school.

Only 0.6% of the children in Kibera was found to be completely out of school while the staggering majority were in school (87.8%). However, trend in Kibera slum cannot be explained by the implementation of Free Primary Education Policy in Kenya since nearly 80% of these children are enrolled in private schools (See Table 4.7). Some scholars have argued that the introduction of the

FPE policy in some countries has compromised the quality of public education owing to overcrowded classrooms, reduced funds and lowered motivation of teachers (Nishimura & Ogawa, 2009; Oketch & Somerset, 2010: Somerset, 2009). This in turn has led to the rapid emergence of private schools in many low-income countries (UNESCO, 2008). Thus the findings from other studies may explain the reasons for parents in the Kibera slum preferring private education to public education.

The study also sought to establish the type and the level of school that children in both study sites attended. The type of school attended by these children had a reflection on the economic status of the household. The level of schooling of the children depicted the extent to which children transition to the next level of school or education. Table 4.7 gives a summary of the findings on the type and level of school attended by the children in the two sites.

Table 4.7: Type and level of school attended by the children in Kakuzi and Kibera

Type of school	**Kakuzi**		**Kibera**		**Total**	
	Frequency	**Percent**	**Frequency**	**Percent**	**Frequency**	**Percent**
Private school	6	3.0	126	79.2	132	36.7
Public school	195	97.0	33	20.8	228	63.3
Total	**201**	**100.0**	**159**	**100.0**	**360**	**100.0**
Level of school	**Kakuzi**		**Kibera**		**Total**	
	Frequency	**Percent**	**Frequency**	**Percent**	**Frequency**	**Percent**
Primary level	178	88.6	149	93.7	327	90.8
Secondary level	23	11.4	10	6.3	33	9.2
Total	**201**	**100.0**	**159**	**100.0**	**360**	**100.0**

Source: Survey data (2014)

Only 6 (3%) of the children in Kakuzi attended private schools while vast majority of 195 (97%) attended public schools. It was observed by the researcher that most of the schools found in the area are public schools and are quite far apart. This was echoed by one of the respondents:

> *…my younger child who is in nursery school goes to a private school nearby…this is because he cannot walk for long distances since the public school is a bit far…when he gets older he will join his siblings in the public school..* (Female Respondent, Kakuzi)

The study further revealed that the tuition fees for the private schools in Kakuzi was quite high for most of the parents who are working in the informal sector. Thus, these private schools have less pupils as compared to the public schools in Kakuzi. These findings did concur with the findings

of a study done by Nishimura & Yamano (2012:3) that found out that many of the private schools in rural Kenya are small scale private schools.

On the contrary, majority of the children in Kibera slum attended private schools 126 (79.2%) while only 33 (20.8%) attended public schools. Most of the schools in the slum are private schools. These findings are in agreement with the findings of another study conducted in Kibera slum by Tooley & Dixon (2005) that estimated that approximately 70% of the pupils attended private schools between 2003 and 2005. Another study further indicated that the poorest in the slums in Nairobi are forced to enrol their children in private schools in the absence of the public schools in the slums (Oketch *et al*., 2010). The public schools in Kibera are quite far apart as compared to the private schools and so most of the parents resorted to sending their children to private schools though they are struggling to pay the school fees. One of the respondents in Kibera stated:

> *….I would like to take my children to a public school since the school fees for private schools is quite high….these private schools lack the basic facilities including a playground…I wish the county government can help expand the public schools in the area or establish new ones to cater for the large number of children in the area...the public schools in the slum are congested.*. (Female Respondent, Kibera)

The study also examined the level of education of the children found in the targeted households. Nearly 89% (178) of the children in Kakuzi were in primary level of schooling while only 11.4% (23) were in secondary schools. An almost similar trend was observed in Kibera slum where 149 (93.7%) of the children were in primary schools and only 10 (6.3%) were in secondary school. These trends imply that there is low transition rate from the primary level of schooling to the secondary level contributing to low education standards in the study sites. Child labour could be considered as one of the contributing factor to the low transition rates. Once a child gets used to earning their own money, they may view moving on to the next level of education as a burden to the parents/guardians and a waste of time since they can already make some money to cater for their needs. However, in the long run these children end up joining the class of the working poor since they can secure a good job with their low level of education.

In conclusion, overall, 52.2% of the children captured were girls while 47.8% were boys, a statistic that is reflective of the national statistics which shows that there are more females than males in Kenya. Only 1.5% of the children in the two sites were reported to be out of school while a vast majority were enrolled in school. Majority of the children in Kakuzi were enrolled in public

schools. On the contrary, majority of the children in Kibera were enrolled in private schools. Overall, most of the children captured in the study were in primary schools and only a few were in secondary schools.

4.3 The nature of child labour

The first objective of the current study was to examine the nature of child labour[8] in both rural and urban areas. The respondents were asked to describe what they consider as child labour since it is conceptualized differently by different individuals and societies. Additionally, questions on the various sectors that mostly demand the use of child labour were asked. In addition, the study has addressed the sectors that demand the use of child labour in both rural and urban settings.

4.3.1 Description of child labour

Defining child labour is a difficult task since it is defined differently by different societies, organizations, countries and individuals. Hence, there is no conventional definition of the term. Children in the developing and developed world alike often perform economic activities at a young age. Some perform these activities voluntarily (for example, to increase the amount of available pocket money), while others are forced by the necessity of income for survival. Some children work only a few hours a week or only during peak seasons such as harvest times or festival; while others work full time every day, year-round (Blume, & Breyer, 2011:1). Depending on the workload, some children are still able to combine school attendance and work, while in other cases children are deprived of their right to education due to heavy workload (Boyden *et al*, 1998). The situations presented thus make it difficult to define child labour. The respondents (adult females) were asked to define or describe what they consider as child labour in both rural and urban areas. Table 4.8 outlines the various indicators of child labour that were reported by the respondents in the two sites.

[8] For the purposes of this study, the term refers to any situation whereby a child (aged below 18 years) engages in both paid and unpaid labour activities for more than four hours per day that are mentally, physically, socially or morally dangerous and harmful to the him/her. Payment may be done either in cash or in kind such as being offered food.

Table 4.8: Cited indicators of child labour in Kakuzi and Kibera

Indicators of child labour	Kakuzi		Kibera		Total	
	Frequency	**Percent**	**Frequency**	**Percent**	**Frequency**	**Percent**
Activity	64	80	73	91.2	137	85.7
Age + Activity	8	10	5	6.3	13	8.1
Age	2	2.5	0		2	1.3
Duration of work	3	3.8	0		3	1.9
I don't know	3	3.8	2	2.5	5	3.1
Total	**80**	**100**	**80**	**100**	**160**	**100**

Source: Survey data (2014)

In Kakuzi, 80% of the respondents described child labour by the nature of work or activity being undertaken by children in the area. The emphasis of this indicator of child labour was the intensity of the activity that a child was being involved in. Some of them did not have much knowledge on what child labour entails and so they described child labour by giving an example of activity that they consider as a heavy workload for children. Most of the respondents thus observed involvement of children in farm work activities such as digging, weeding and harvesting for payment or working as casual labourers such as *shamba* boys qualify as child labour. These findings revealed quite a different description of child labour which was contrary to studies that usually define child labour on the basis of duration of work per day, timing of the work and age of the children (see Blume & Breyer, 2011 and Njoka, 2007).

Further, 10% of the respondents in Kakuzi defined child labour by using age combined with the nature of the activity being undertaken. Some of the respondents outlined that children below 18 years working as house helps could be termed as child labour. This view was shared by the children who participated in FGD in Lower Kakuzi:

> *....I consider child labour as the engagement of children in heavy domestic work and farm work activities such as digging and taking care of livestock that can take up to five hours....* (FGD participant, Kakuzi)

This assertion is in agreement with the findings of a study done by Njoka (2007) that defined child labour as any situation where a child (persons under 18 years) is working for more than four to six hours per day. However, some of the respondents in Kakuzi reported that children need to be socialized into adult roles but gradually. One of the respondents gave the explanation that:

> *... Children should engage activities such cleaning utensils and washing their own clothes which takes less time...my children engage in these activities during*

> *holidays and weekends. I consider this appropriate for children above ten years of age…* (Female respondent, Kakuzi)

This engagement of children in activities meant to keep them from being idle and assist their parents with light work whenever they can is considered as child work.[9] This type of work does not keep them from school and from concentrating in class since they do not experience excessive fatigue that is a characteristic of the consequences of child labour. Hence "Child work" is mainly described as that work which is not particularly harmful for the child and does not constrain educational opportunities (Boyden and Myers, 1998; Myers, 1999; and Anker, 2000).

In Kibera, 91.2% of the respondents observed that child labour can be defined by the activity or the nature of work that a child undertakes. For instance, most of the respondents pointed to the common observed phenomenon of children washing clothes and other household chores for payment as a good example of children engaged in labour in the slum. Other children are left in the house to undertake all the household chores including taking care of their younger siblings while their parents go out to look for casual jobs. This was echoed by the children who participated in a FGD:

> *…child labour occurs when children are forced to engage in hard labour such as washing clothes for payment…such children are not given enough food and thus mistreated by their employers…they also miss school frequently and eventually may drop out of school..* (FGD Participant, Kibera)

Only 6.3% of the respondents in Kibera gave their description of child labour based on the age of the child and the nature of the activity being undertaken by that particular child. The findings in Kakuzi and Kibera point out to the fact that the understanding of respondents regarding the definition of child labour were quite similar since majority of them described child labour by the activity or the nature of work being undertaken by a child. Hence, they viewed children engaging in activities which translate to heavy workload as children engaged in labour. The emphasis on the duration of work done was not prevalent in both settings.

4.3.2 Sectors that demand child labour in Kakuzi location and Kibera slum

The nature and the extent of child labour, its forms and the severity of its exploitation, vary from one country to another and from one region of the same country to another (Bhalotra, 2003). Thus,

[9] Child work refers to any duty performed by a child in the family as part of socialization and has no direct gain.

rural and urban forms of child labour are manifested differently as revealed by the findings of the current study. Hence, the current study sought to examine various sectors that demand the use of child labour in Kakuzi and Kibera. Table 4.9 outlines the findings of the study on sectors that demand child labour in two sites.

Table 4.9: Sectors that demand child labour in Kakuzi and Kibera

Sectors	**Does this sector entail child labour in Kakuzi?**				
	Yes		**No**		**Total**
	Frequency	**Percent**	**Frequency**	**Percent**	
Agriculture	79	98.8	1	1.3	80(100%)
Domestic work	27	33.8	53	66.3	80(100%)
Quarrying	24	30.0	56	70.0	80(100%)
Industry	7	8.8	73	91.3	80(100%)
Sectors	**Does this sector entail child labour in Kibera?**				
	Yes		**No**		**Total**
	Frequency	**Percent**	**Frequency**	**Percent**	
Domestic work	68	85.0	12	15.0	80(100%)
Hawking	20	25.0	60	75.0	80(100%)
Petty business	6	7.5	74	92.5	80(100%)
Industry	2	2.5	78	97.5	80(100%)

Source: Survey data (2014)

As expected majority of the respondents in Kakuzi (98.8%) observed commercial agriculture is the main sector that demands the use of child labour in the area. The children are involved in farm work activities such as planting, ploughing, weeding, digging and harvesting of crops. These findings of the current study are in agreement with a study done by Njeru (2009) that found out that children in agricultural communities are largely involved in weeding and harvesting of crops. Almost 34% of the respondents in Kakuzi stated that domestic work demanded the use of child labour. This includes household chores such as cooking, fetching water from far water points, collecting firewood and taking care of their younger siblings.

Further, 30% of the respondents in Kakuzi stated quarrying as another sector that demands the use of child labour. Quarrying in Kakuzi mainly involved sand harvesting. Children are involved in sand harvesting and then proceed to transport the sand to the construction sites for sale. Another sector that demanded the use of child labour in Kakuzi was industry which was identified by 8.8% of the respondents. Industry included engagement of children in business activities such as

hawking items, assisting their parents run their family business and boda boda business.[10] The older children especially those in secondary school were involved in boda boda business late in the evenings after school, during weekends and holidays. Some children especially those that are out of school get into conflict with law since they engage in theft activities. The area chief explained:

> *…Boys who are out of school steal pineapples from Delmonte plantations that are nearby and sell them. Some parents are not aware that their children are involved in such activities they leave home early in search of casual jobs and return home late…* (Female Key Informant, Kakuzi)

From the findings, it is quite clear that children are involved in quite a wide range of labour, some of which were brought out during the field work such as boda boda business by few respondents. One of the respondent stated:

> *….older children in the area engage in boda boda business in the evenings after school, during weekends and holidays…those in day schools are most affected... thus, I view this as child labour…* (Female Respondent, Kakuzi)

More than half of the respondents (85%) observed that domestic work was the greatest consumer of child labour in Kibera slum. The respondents admitted that it was still considered a hidden enterprise where girls are the most affected by this problem and thus it was difficult to trace these domestic child labourers. The hidden nature of domestic child labour established by the current study concurred with the findings of a study done by Njeru (2009). He observed that "domestic labour (a form of child labour) is often sanctioned and rationalized by family perceptions as a community obligations or expectation from children in their normal growing up, mentoring and socialization processes, it may have escaped the attention of an enterprise" (Njeru, 2009:121). Moreover, the children who participated in FGDs in both Olympic and Kibera Primary Schools repeatedly mentioned children working as house helps in affluent estates of Nairobi such as Kileleshwa as a common phenomenon in the slum. This finding is similar to the finding of a study done by Machera (2000) who observes that most house helps in the middle income estates of Nairobi are usually children below 16 years of age. Other children miss school at times and

[10] Boda boda is a local term used to describe a mode of passenger transport using a bicycle or motorcycle and is common in rural and urban areas of Kenya.

accompany their mothers to other estates where they help them do household chores such as washing clothes. This was also echoed by a key informant who stated that:

> *…a class two child was burnt while preparing breakfast before she came to school. The child said that the mother was sleeping and she needed to prepare something to eat. Other children bring maize to school in order to pass by the posho mill in the evening on their way home. Some of their parents are working in affluent estates such Kileleshwa and they only come to visit their children on Sundays. Thus, children especially the older ones have to assume adult roles of taking care of their siblings quite early.* (Female key informant, Kibera)

Quite a number of children are also involved in hawking (25%) as outlined by the respondents in Kibera (see Table 4.9). Children sell food items such as groundnuts, *mandazis* and other consumer goods around the slum. This finding is in agreement with a study done by Zani (1993) who found out that children are involved in hawking business on the streets of Mombasa. Thus, hawking as form of child labour is quite rampant in the slum although some parents may now be aware that their children are involved in such activities.

From Table 4.9, the respondents in Kibera reported that other children are involved in petty business (7.5%) while few are working in the industry (2.5%). Those engaging in petty business were involved in collection of plastics, paper bags and scrap metals for sale. Older children were reported by the respondents in Kibera to be working in industry as casuals in construction sites. According to some key informants in Kibera, there are some forms of child labour which could qualify to be considered as worst forms of child labour. They include; prostitution, drug trafficking and begging. A number of children are involved in these forms of child labour although they are not common probably because most of them go unreported. Begging is quite common as reported by the children officer in Lang'ata Sub County:

> *…begging is quite common in the slum and can take different forms; from children begging along the streets to school administrators drafting some proformas for fundraising and giving them to children to beg for money from door to door. Three headmasters in the slum had been sued for this since it is considered a form of child labour...* (Male key informant, Kibera)

The preceding assertion by the children's officer depicts that begging is a common phenomenon in urban areas. This finding is in agreement with the findings of a study done in India on Child Labour and Child Work by George (2010) that found out that children in urban-industrialized centers are involved in such practices as begging which is considered as a form of child labour.

In conclusion, the various sectors that demand the use of child labour were found to be different for both urban and rural areas. Majority of the children in the rural areas of Kakuzi location were engaged in labour in the agricultural sector while in urban areas of Kibera slum majority were engaged in domestic labour. Although domestic sector demanded the use of child labour in rural areas, it was not as rampant in urban areas. In contrast to Kakuzi, findings in Kibera revealed that a number of children were involved in worst forms of child labour such as prostitution, drug trafficking and begging. These cases of child labour often go unreported.

4.4 The magnitude of child labour

One of the objectives of the current study was to investigate the magnitude of child labour in both Kakuzi Location and Kibera Slum. Magnitude refers to the number of child labour cases that were reported by the respondents in their households in the study sites. *Majority of the respondents were not very willing to disclose that there were children engaged in labour especially in the urban area*. The researcher assured them that the study was purely academic and the identity of such respondents would remain anonymous.

The respondents were asked to report whether there were any children in their household who were involved in labour. In addition, the researcher inquired on the duration and timing of their engagement in labour activities. This was meant to clearly bring out the difference between child labour and child work. For instance, a child who is stays home to take care of the siblings while he or she is supposed to be in school could be involved in labour. A child engaged in labour for more than four hours per day could be involved in child labour. The current study relied entirely on what was reported by the respondents; there was no other way of interrogating the cases of child labour reported by the respondents.

4.4.1 Households with children involved in child labour

The study findings revealed that a number of households had children involved in child labour although there were wide variations in the number of cases reported in urban and rural areas. Table 4.10 summarizes the number of households who consented that there were cases of child labour in their households in the two study sites.

Table 4.10: Number of households with children involved in labour in Kakuzi and Kibera

Households with children involved in labour	Kakuzi		Kibera		Total	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Yes	25	31.3	4	5.0	29	18.1
No	55	68.8	76	95.0	131	81.9
Total	**80**	**100.0**	**80**	**100.0**	**160**	**100.0**

Source: Survey data (2014)

It can be established from the findings displayed in Table 4.10 that child labour is apparently more common in Kakuzi as compared to the Kibera. Nearly 32% of the households covered in Kakuzi reported having children engaged in child labour as compared to only 5% in Kibera slum. This finding concurs with a study done by Basu (2004) which outlined that child labour is most prevalent in rural areas in Sub-Saharan Africa. However, findings depicted in Table 4.10 reveal that child labour is quite invisible and thus difficult to detect at the household level. The situation was worse in the urban area (Kibera) where the respondents were not readily willing to admit that there are children engaged in labour. Moreover, most of the children in urban areas tend to engage in labour outside their homes. The 'invisibility'[11] of child labour in urban setting was thus evident as compared to visibility of child labour in rural area (Kakuzi). This may give a false impression that child labour is more prevalent in rural settings than urban settings. More in-depth studies are needed to clarify the matter.

4.4.2 Number of children involved in child labour

The current study further measured the actual number of children in the specific households that were involved in child labour. The respondents who admitted that there were cases of child labour in their households were asked to report the number of children in their households involved in child labour. This helped the researcher establish the magnitude of child labour in the two study sites. Table 4.11 gives a summary of the number of children involved in labour in Kakuzi and Kibera as reported by the respondents.

[11] This study has a methodological weakness that the magnitude of child labour reported depended on the willingness of respondents to report such cases. Generally, due to fear of being reported to the authorities many respondents especially in the urban area were unwilling to consent or concede cases of child labour in their households. This was an inherent weakness that could not be avoided.

Table 4.11: Gender and distribution of children reported to be involved in labour in Kakuzi and Kibera

Gender of the children involved in labour	Kakuzi		Kibera		Total	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Male	25	51.0	3	30.0	28	47.5
Female	24	49.0	7	70.0	31	52.5
Total	**49**	**100.0**	**10**	**100.0**	**59**	**100.0**

Source: Survey data (2014)

A total of 49 children in Kakuzi were reported to be engaged in child labour which accounts for 24.4% of all the school going children that were captured by the study (see Table 4.6). Of these children, 51% were boys while 49% were girls showing that child labour affects both girls and boys on an almost equal measure. However, most of the children were combining work and school and thus few of these child labourers had completely dropped out of school. One of the key informants who was the children's officer in charge of Gatanga Sub-County stated that:

> ..*Majority of the children affected by child labour are boys. Moreover, there is a lot of bhang use in Gatanga and children have not been left out*... (Female Children's Officer, Gatanga)

In Kibera, there was a sharp contrast in terms of gender and the number of children involved in labour found in the targeted households. A total of 10 children were found to be involved in child labour. This accounted for 6.3% percent of all the school going children captured in the study (see Table 4.6). This depicts a seemingly low engagement of children in labour as compared to Kakuzi. Of these child labourers in Kibera, 30% were boys while 70% were girls. Thus, girls were the most affected by child labour than boys in Kibera as captured by the findings. The current study findings contrast with the global findings by Diallo *et al* (2013) that found out that boys are more affected by child labour than girls.

The seemingly low engagement of children in labour in Kibera as compared to Kakuzi can be largely attributed to sensitivity in revealing the prevalence of child labour in urban settings where the respondents might have feared the adverse perceived consequences. The knowledge of the adverse consequences emanates from their awareness of child labour policies in Kenya. In Kibera, 70% of the respondents reported that they were aware of a child labour legislation which could probably translate to higher compliance rates. It is expected that there is a high premium on child education in the urban areas as compared to rural areas which could explain this trend. Moreover,

the findings in Kibera revealed that quite a number of the respondents were stay-at-home mothers thus were not engaged in any form of paid work outside the home. Hence, there was low demand of the use of child labour especially in the domestic sector which is the main sector that demands the use of child labour in Kibera.

Follow up of children engaged in labour was done in order to come up with case studies meant to capture the children's voices. These case studies reinforced the data collected from the respondents since they depicted the experiences of the children engaged in child labour. Figure 4.1 and 4.2 capture those case studies drawn from Kakuzi and Kibera.

Figure 4.1: Kakuzi case study

The child labourer is called Ian Musyoki (not his real name). He is 14 years old. He is a 3rd born in a family of seven children. He is a class five student at a primary school in the neighbourhood. The parents work as casual laborers in the neighbouring farms in the village.

Musyoki works as a casual laborer in the neighbouring farms. He works on weekends and during school holidays. Sometimes he treks for long distances together with his friends in search of employment opportunities. Most of the time he works from 7am to 1pm and he completes the portion of land for digging that has been allocated for him. On the particular day of the interview, he got home at around 4pm since morning. The mother confessed that mostly she does not know where he works from. He had trekked with his friends for almost 15 kilometres from home to a place called Ngoliba where they managed to secure some work for the day. The boy looked quite fatigued. He is paid ksh. 150 per day. He has not come across an employer who treats him badly and also his friends help him whenever he gets tired so that he can finish his allocated portion and go home.

He engages in labour mainly to support his family. His income is used to purchase food for the family and purchase school necessities such as stationery, shoes and school uniforms. In addition, he pays activity and exam fees for himself and the siblings. He stated that he experiences excessive physical fatigue and swollen legs as a result of trekking for long distances in search of employment opportunities. Musyoki would like to quit working since it not good for him and concentrate well on his studies.

The Kakuzi case study depicts the experiences that children go through in search of employment opportunities in the rural area. These employment opportunities are not readily available during some seasons such as dry seasons and so children have to trek for long distances in order to find these opportunities. Most of the times these children are not accompanied by their parents/guardians. The child labourer did not complain of occurrence of any form of exploitation especially from the employers. The case study has also brought out the negative consequences of child labour such as excessive physical fatigue and poor concentration in class. However, the child

labourer stated that other household members are benefiting from his earnings. This is because his earnings are used to purchase food, pay activity fees and examination fees for his siblings. Thus, such a child has been forced into labour in order to supplement personal and/or household income. This situation is depicted by the findings of Onyango (2003) who claims that household's poverty which is an outcome of lack of economic opportunities exacerbates child labour as children are driven to the labour market by the need to supplement personal and/or family income.

The next figure (4.2) depicts the case of child labour in Kibera.

Figure 4.2: Kibera case study

Agnes Adhiambo is a child labourer (not her real name). She is 16 years old and a third born in the family of five children. The mother is the sole breadwinner since the father lives upcountry and engages in farming for subsistence purposes only. The mother operates a food kiosk where she sells roasted chicken to earn a living.

Adhiambo is a 'mother' of one year old girl and she is already out of school. She left school in 2012 when she was a class seven pupil at a public school near the slum. She began working when she was 13 years of age. She has been working for an Indian family in South B where she does household chores such as washing clothes, ironing clothes and cleaning the house. She lamented that she was being underpaid since she was being paid Ksh. 3,000 per month. This is compared to the amount of work that she has to do every day. Her experience at work has not been a pleasant one since she is overworked and only offered a cup of tea after working the entire day without rest. She is paid in cash and promptly.

She said that she had no option other than to work since her mother could not cater for her needs and those of her child. Whenever she goes to work, she leaves her daughter with her neighbor whom she pays ksh. 1,000 per month. With the remaining wages, she assists her mother purchase food for the household and takes of the needs of her child. Adhiambo would like to go back to school but she is a teenage mother. She needs to take care of her daughter since the mother does not earn much out of her business to care of her child as well. Her siblings also engage in child labour during school holidays or whenever they are sent home for school fees.

The Kibera case study outlines the experiences of a child labourer who is completely out of school with the mother as the sole bread winner in the household. She is a teenage mother and had to engage in labour in order to provide for her child. The child labourer lamented that she was being exploited by the employer since her pay was not equivalent to the amount of work that she was doing. It was evident that the child labourer had been pushed into labour due to household poverty. This is because her siblings engaged in labour whenever they were sent home for school fees or during school holidays. Thus, this case study depicts a scenario that is further confirmed by the

finding of Mutie (2009:89) who observed that where parents are abjectly poor, child labour becomes one of the feasible means of supplementing family income.

4.4.3 Duration and timing of child labour

The current study also sought to examine the duration of work (approximate number of hours children are involved in labour) as well as the timing of work (time of the day, week or school calendar when the children engage in labour). Table 4.12 outlines the approximate number of hours children are involved in labour in Kakuzi and Kibera

Table 4.12: Approximate number of hours children work per day in Kakuzi and Kibera

Number of hours	Kakuzi		Kibera		Total	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
4	10	20.4	6	60.0	16	27.1
5	21	42.9	1	10.0	22	37.3
6	16	32.7	0	0.0	16	27.1
7	1	2.0	0	0.0	1	1.7
8	1	2.0	3	30.0	4	6.8
Total	**49**	**100.0**	**10**	**100.0**	**59**	**100.0**

Source: Survey data (2014)

It is clear from the findings in Table 4.12 that majority of the children engaging in labour in Kakuzi (42.9%) work for approximately five hours in a day. In Kibera, 60% of the child labourers worked for four hours while 30% worked for eight hours. These findings concur with the finding of a study done by Njoka (2007) who stated that child labour entails a situation whereby a child engages in labour for four to six hours. Accordingly, this definition would point out that those children engaging in labour for seven and eight hours are involved in hazardous forms of labour.

The current study also sought to examine periods when these child labourers were involved in work. It was clear from the findings that most child labourers in Kakuzi were enrolled in school; of the 25 households that had children engaged in labour, only 2 households (8%) had children who were completely out of school and working full-time. Hence, most of the children worked during school holidays. In addition, 32% of the respondents in Kakuzi stated that children in their households were involved in labour on weekends. However, one of the respondents stated that her children are mostly absent from school since they have to work especially when they lack basic necessities such as food. The respondents who stated that their children were completely out of school cited the lack of non-tuition school fees (examination and activity fees among other

charges) and lack of school uniforms as the major reasons why her children had dropped out of school.

In Kibera, all the respondents with children engaged in labour stated that their children are involved in labour during the school holidays and on weekends occasionally or whenever they are sent home for school fees. However, one of the respondents had a child labourer who was completely out of school. This child labourer had to engage in labour in order to cater for the basic necessities of her child.

The findings in Kakuzi and Kibera on the timing of work were quite similar since majority of the children worked during school holidays thus combined school and work. This means that child labour does not necessarily push children completely out of school although the engagement in labour has a negative impact on their overall school performance consequently contributing to low education standards in the area.

4.5 The determinants of child labour

The current study also endeavoured to investigate the various determinants of child labour in both rural and urban areas which was its third objective. Many studies have found out that poverty is the main cause of child labour while other studies have identified additional factors linked to the child, parents, household and school that also contribute to child labour. Hence, due to the diversity of the child labour as well as the environments in which it occurs, the study explored various categorizations of the determinants of child labour. These categorizations include; child characteristics, parent characteristics, household characteristics and school characteristics. The section that follows examines each of these determinants systematically. Parent and household characteristics are discussed under the hypothesis testing section since they provided the relationships of interest to be tested by this study.

4.5.1 Child's characteristics

Various child's characteristics have an influence to some extent on children's involvement in labour in a particular household. The child's characteristics that were explored by the current study include; age and gender. *Given the few cases of child labour that were reported in Kibera (Kakuzi=49 child labourers, Kibera=10 child labourers), a comparative analysis of these child*

labourers would not be sustained. Accordingly, the study has combined the cases of child labour in the two sites in the analyses of the child's characteristics that follow.

a) Age of the child labourers

Age is a major determinant influencing children's entry into the labour market (Nanjunda, 2009: 89). The current study endeavoured to examine which age group was most affected by child labour. The age of the child labourers were transformed into a number of groups and the findings are summarized in Table 4.13.

Table 4.13: Age of the child labourers in the combined sites

Age group of child labourers	Frequency	Percent
6-9	10	16.9
10-13	18	30.5
14-17	31	52.5
Total	**59**	**100.0**

Source: Survey data (2014)

It is clear that the most affected age group in the two sites was 14-17 years accounting for more than half (52.5%) of the child labourers captured. The older children were more affected by child labour as compared to their younger counterparts. These findings are in agreement with those of the Child Labour Analytical Report (KNBS, 2008) which is a recent estimation of child labour in Kenya. This report indicated that the 54% of the child labourers in Kenya were between 15-17 years. This can be explained by the relative complexity of informal sector especially in the urban areas that call for such children to enroll for apprenticeships and vocational training (Mutie 2008). Consequently, this requirement locks out the younger children out of the informal labour market.

It was interesting to note that quite a number of child labourers (16.9%) begin working at a tender age of between 6 and 9 years. Most of them were involved in undertaking domestic chores at home such as taking care of their younger siblings while their parents worked within or outside home. Others accompanied their parents or elder siblings to look for casual jobs outside the home. These findings concur with the global findings by Diallo et al (2013) that found out that child labour was increasingly becoming a problem among the younger children. Indeed, these global findings establish that about 4 in 10 child labourers were younger than 12 years (73 million) in 2012.

b) Gender of the child labourers

According to Fassa et al.., (2010), ideas about gender have a powerful influence on child labour. Gender and age interact in order to influence the child's involvement in labour. Thus, the two variables were cross tabulated and the findings of the two sites presented in Table 4.14.

Table 4.14: Gender and age of children involved in labour in the combined sites

Age groups of child labourers	Gender of child labourers		Total
	Male	Female	
6-9	3 (30.0%)	7 (70.0%)	**10 (100.0%)**
10-13	8 (44.4%)	10 (55.5%)	**18 (100.0%)**
14-17	17 (54.8%)	14 (45.2%)	**31 (100.0%)**
Total	**28 (47.5%)**	**31 (52.5%)**	**59 (100.0%)**

Source: Survey data (2014)

*Figures in brackets indicate the row percentages

Overall, the findings revealed that there more girls involved in child labour 31 (52.5%) than boys 28 (47.5%) in the two sites. These findings thus do not reflect a huge difference in terms of gender. The findings of this study are not in agreement with the national statistics of child labour as indicated in the Child Labour Report (2001) which shows that boys accounted for majority of child labourers (51.8%) as compared to girls. Further, these findings are in contrary to the global findings by Diallo et al (2013), that show a notable difference by sex of about 31.6 million (99.8 million boys compared to 68.2 million girls). Cases of child labour may go unreported due to the nature of the sector in which girls engage in labour. Girls tend to engage in labour mainly in the domestic sector where it is difficult for such cases of child labour to be detected. Thus, in reality there might be more girls than boys involved in child labour as reported by the current study.

As expected, there are more girls engaged in child labour at the early age (6-9 age group) which accounts for 70% of the cases of child labour captured in that age group. On the other hand, there are more boys are engaged in child labour when they get older (14-17 age group) accounting for 54.8% of cases of child labour captured in that age group. This is because girls are more likely to begin working at a young age in the domestic sphere engaging in unpaid domestic work such as taking care of younger siblings as compared to boys. Boys may start working later and mostly work outside home in paid child work. These findings are in agreement with the findings of a study

done by Fassa *et al* (2010) who stated that girls are more likely to begin work earlier in the domestic sphere as compared to boys who work much later outside the home.

4.5.2 School characteristics

The current study sought to investigate school characteristics such as cost of schooling accessibility of schools which might be the major determinants to child labour. Since schooling is the main competing time use for children, it stands to reason that the cost of schooling would be an important determinant of the likelihood of child work (Siddiqi and Patrinos, 1995). The findings in two sites revealed that most of the child labourers were enrolled in school since they used to work on weekends, during school holidays and whenever they are sent home for school fees. Thus they combined work and school.

Of all households that reported cases of child labour in the two sites (29), only 3 (8%) of those households had child labourers who were out of school. Some of the reasons given by the respondents in explaining why their children were out of school was lack of non-tuition fees such as examination fees and activity fees, school uniforms and long distance to school. This suggests that the cost of schooling has forced some children into the labour market. This was echoed by one of the respondents in Kibera:

> *…I am the sole bread winner in the family. One of my daughters is a teenage mother and she could not continue with her education. This is because I earn little money from the chicken roasting business that I operate and so she has to work in order to provide for her child as well as other household members. Their father left the city and went upcountry. He does not support us in any way…* (Female respondent in Kibera)

Generally, poverty was cited as the main reason why children in these households were completely out of school and engaging in labour. These findings are confirmed by Bass (2004) who argues that even when parents can afford tuition fees, marginal costs like school uniform and books may keep a child away from school.

4.6 Hypotheses testing

The subsequent section covers testing of study's hypotheses (parent's and household characteristics) using Chi-square to show relationships among various variables. There are two different types of Chi-square tests, both involving categorical data; Chi-square for goodness fit

which explores the proportion of cases that fall into various categories of a single variable, and compares these with hypothesized values. Therefore, the goodness of fit test examines only one variable, while the test of independence is concerned with the relationship between two variables.

The current study utilized the Chi-square test of independence. The chi-square test for independence is used to determine whether two categorical variables are related. The concept of independence in Chi-square means that two variables are independent if the classification of a case into a particular category of one variable has no effect on the probability that the case will fall into any particular category of the second variable (Healey 2002:270).

The null hypothesis for this test is that the two attributes are independent. Therefore, statistically significant results are those that indicate some sort of dependence. As always, this puts the burden of proof on the alternative hypothesis of dependence (Albright et al 2011:500).

The current study hypothesized that;

i. Children whose mothers are educated are less likely to be involved in child labour as compared to children whose mothers are uneducated.

ii. Children whose mothers are employed are less likely to be involved in child labour as compared to children whose mothers are unemployed.

iii. Children from small households are less likely to be involved in child labour as compared to children from large households.

iv. Children from households with lower monthly incomes are less likely to be involved in child labour as compared to children from households with higher monthly incomes.

Given the few number of households that reported cases of child labour in Kibera (Kakuzi=25 households, Kibera=4 households), the study cannot sustain a comparative analysis of the two sites. Consequently, the study has combined the cases of child labour reported in the two sites in the analyses of the determinants of child labour (parent's, household and school characteristics) that follow.

4.6.1 Parents' characteristics

The current study sought to understand two characteristics of parents namely; parental education and type of occupation, that might have an influence the incidence of child labour in the household. The findings on the level of education and type of occupation of the mother were the only ones captured for the purposes of this study since the mothers were the target respondents in the two sites.

a) Level of education of the mother

Sharma and Herath (2007) states that parents with high levels of education are likely to send their children to school to obtain better education. The study sought to analyse how the level of education of the mother of a particular child influence the incidence of child labour. In order to perform the Chi-square test of independence, the level of education of the mothers was collapsed into two main categories; literate and illiterate. Table 4.15 outlines the findings on the relationship between the level of education of the mother and child's involvement in labour in the two sites.

Table 4.15: Relationship between the level of education of the mother and child's involvement in labour in the combined sites

Level of education of the mother	Children involved in labour		Total
	Yes	No	
Literate	27(17.9%)	124(82.1%)	**151(100.0%)**
Illiterate	2(22.2%)	7(77.8%)	**9(100.0%)**
Total	**29(18.1%)**	**131(81.9%)**	**160(100.0%)**

Source: Survey data (2014) X^2=0.000 Significance=1.000 df=1

*Figures in brackets indicate the row percentages

It was interesting to find out that out of nine mothers who were illiterate, only two of those mothers had their children involved in child labour. This is contrary to the expected trend since illiteracy or lack of education especially among the mothers is associated with higher incidences of child labour. These findings suggest that there might be an association between the level of education of the mother and the child's involvement in labour.

A Chi-square test of independence was done to ascertain if there was any relationship between these two variables. The null hypothesis was that *children whose mothers are educated are less likely to be involved in child labour as compared to children whose mothers are uneducated*. The

test revealed a Chi-square value of 0.000 with a significance level of 1.000 and a degree of freedom of 1. This shows that there was no relationship between the level of education of the mother and the child's involvement in labour since the significance level of 1.000 is more than the selected alpha value of 0.05. Thus, it was concluded that the two variables are independent or not associated. This indicates that the level of education of the mother does not influence the child's involvement in labour in a particular household thus the null hypothesis was upheld.

The current study findings do not concur with those of Cigno and Rosati (2002) as cited by Sharma and Herath, (2007) who found out that children whose mother has at least primary level education has a greater likelihood of studying full time. It was thus quite surprising for the current study to establish that the variables were independent while past studies have established that parental education plays a significant role in lowering the incidences of child labour (Brown *et al*, 2003 as cited by Arnal *et al*.., 2003). This could be considered as an outlier whereby the current study focused on mothers/female guardians who had similar levels of education. Hence, there was not much variation in the independent variable; the level of education of the mothers/ female guardians was a constant.

b) Type of occupation of the mother

The study also sought to understand how the occupation of the mother influences the involvement of children in labour. The type of occupation of the mother was collapsed into two main categories; employed and unemployed, in order to undertake the Chi-square test of independence. The type occupation of the mother and child's involvement in labour in the two sites were cross tabulated and their relationship tested as shown in Table 4.16.

Table 4.16: Relationship between the type of occupation of the mother and children involvement in labour in the combined sites

Type of occupation of the mother	Children involved in labour		Total
	Yes	No	
Employed	28(21.1%)	105(78.9%)	**133(100.0%)**
Unemployed	1(3.7%)	26(96.3%)	**27(100.0%)**
Total	**29(18.1%)**	**131(81.9%)**	**160(100.0%)**

Source: Survey data (2014) X^2=3.458 Significance=0.063 df=1

*Figures in brackets indicate the row percentages

Employed covers both formal and non-formal types of employment. It can be suggested that the type of occupation of the mother might have some influence on the involvement of the children in labour in that particular household. Consequently, a Chi-square test of independence was done to establish whether any association exists between these two variables. The null hypothesis for this study was that *children whose mothers are employed are less likely to be involved in child labour as compared to children whose mothers are unemployed*.

The test indicated a Chi-square value of 3.458 with a significance level of 0.063 and a degree of freedom of 1. This test revealed that there was no relationship between the type of occupation of the mother and the child's involvement in labour since the significance level of 0.063 is more than the selected alpha value of 0.05. It was concluded that the two variables are independent or not associated and thus the null hypothesis was upheld.

The findings of this study do not concur with those of a study done by Rallings and Nye (1979:216) that focused on the effect of wife-mother's employment on the family. They indicated children of working mothers (whether working in the non-formal or formal sectors) did more household chores than those whose mothers did not work. This implies that there are other factors that influence the incidence of child labour that were beyond the scope of this study. Most of the past studies have focused on the household specific factors that include type of occupation of the parent/guardian as some of the main factors that influence incidence of child labour. Since, the current study did not find any association between the two variables then it would mean that future studies might need to focus more on child specific factors such as personality traits of a child that may propel a child to look for a source of income.

4.6.2 Household characteristics

The study sought to examine the household characteristics as one of the major determinants of child labour. The major household characteristics examined by this study include; household size and household income.

a) Household size

The household size influences the possibility of child's engagement in labour. With regard to household size, there is a likelihood that children in housework or family business work increases with every additional sibling. This is because there are more mouths to feed, more work to done

at home and higher schooling costs (Patrinos and Psacharapoulos, 1997). On the other hand, a higher household size may not necessarily mean more mouths to feed but more hands to complete the allocated work thus the children have more time to study. To facilitate use of Chi-square test of independence, total household size was transformed into two main categories as shown in Table 4.17.

Table 4.17: Relationship between the household size and child's involvement in labour in the combined sites

Total household size	**Children involved in labour**		**Total**
	Yes	**No**	
1-5 members	8(7.8%)	95(92.2%)	**103(100.0%)**
6 members and above	21(36.8%)	36(63.2%)	**57(100.0%)**
Total	**29(18.1%)**	**131(81.9%)**	**160(100.0%)**

Source: Survey data (2014) X^2=18.990 Significance=0.000 df=1

*Figures in brackets indicate the row percentages

It is clear from the Table 4.17 that majority of the households that reported cases of child labour had more than six household members which is a relatively large household size. This suggests that there might be an association between the household size and the child's involvement in labour in a particular household. Thus, a Chi-square test of independence was further undertaken in order to ascertain whether there was any relationship between the two variables. The null hypothesis for the current study was that *children from small households are less likely to be involved in child labour as compared to children from large households*.

The Chi-square test revealed a Chi-square value of 18.990 with a significance level of 0.000 and a degree of freedom of 1. This confirms that there is a relationship between the household size and the child's involvement in labour since the significance level of 0.000 is less than the selected alpha value of 0.05. It was thus concluded that the two variables are dependent or associated. Thus, the null hypothesis of the study was rejected and the alternative hypothesis adopted.

This means that the more the household members, the higher the likelihood of children in that household getting involved in labour. These findings are in agreement with those of Patrinos and Psacharapoulos (1997) and Emerson and Souza (2008) which revealed that a larger household size means that there are more mouths to feed, more work to be done at home and higher schooling

costs. Hence, children in such households might end up in child labour especially in households where the parents belong to the class of the working poor as stated earlier.

b) Household income

Household income is related to the issue of poverty as a determinant of child labour. The relationship between child labour and poverty is one of the most contentious issue in child labour discussions. Poverty has been identified as one of the major factors that push children to child labour in sub Saharan Africa (Bass, 2004; Mutie and Muasya, 2006). The current study endeavoured to establish whether the household income influences the incidence of child labour in a particular household. The mean monthly income for the two sites was found to be Ksh. 13,065. Household income was transformed in a number of categories as indicated in Table 4. 18 and the two variables were then cross tabulated and their relationship tested.

Table 4.18: Relationship between total monthly household income and child's involvement in labour in combined sites

Total household income	**Children involved in labour**		**Total**
	Yes	**No**	
1-9999	20(28.2%)	51(71.8%)	**71(100.0%)**
10000-19999	8(12.3%)	57(87.7%)	**65(100.0%)**
20000 and above	1(4.2%)	23(95.8%)	**24(100.0%)**
Total	**29(18.1%)**	**131(81.9%)**	**160(100.0%)**

Source: Survey data (2014) X^2=9.460 Significance=0.009 df=2

*Figures in brackets indicate the row percentages

Majority of the households that reported cases of child labour (20) had a monthly income of less than Ksh. 10,000. This shows that these households had relatively low monthly incomes and is indicative of the fact that parents of these child labourers belonged to the class of the working poor. This may explain the reasons why children in such households have a higher likelihood of being involved in child labour. It can be hypothesized that the household income may have an influence on the engagement of children in labour in a particular household.

A Chi-square test of independence was done to determine whether or not any relationship exists between these two variables. The null hypothesis for this study was that *children from households with lower monthly incomes are less likely to be involved in child labour as compared to children from households with higher monthly incomes.*

The test revealed a Chi-square value of 9.460 with a significance level of 0.009 and a degree of freedom of 2. This confirms that there is a relationship between the household size and the child's involvement in labour since the significance level of 0.009 is less than the selected value of 0.05. It was thus concluded that the two variables are dependent or associated. Hence, the null hypothesis of the study was rejected and the alternative hypothesis upheld for the current study.

This suggests that the lower the household income, the higher the likelihood of children in that particular household of getting involved in child labour. These findings are in agreement with the findings of a study done by Mutie, (2009:89) that established that in situations where parents are abjectly poor, child labour becomes one of the feasible means of supplementing family income.

In summary, the hypothesis testing of the current study was done using the Chi-square test of independence. The null hypothesis was upheld for the two hypotheses that focused on parent's characteristics (level of education and type of occupation of the mother) and the child's involvement in labour. This is because the significance level of the Chi-square value was more than the selected alpha value of 0.05 which indicated that these variables under test are not associated. However, the null hypotheses were rejected for the two hypotheses that focused on the household characteristics (household income and size). This is because significance level of the Chi-square value was less than the selected alpha value of 0.05. This indicated that the variables are related and dependent on each other.

4.7 Consequences of child labour

Child labour is detrimental to the development of a growing child. One of the objectives of the current study was to examine the consequences of child labour. In Kakuzi, 96% of the respondents with children involved in labour agreed that child labour had some effects on the working child; whether positive or negative. In Kibera, all the respondents with children engaged in labour agreed that child labour had effects on the child labourer.

a) Positive consequences of child labour on the child labourers in Kakuzi and Kibera

Although, child labour is known to have negative consequences on the child labourers, the current study found out that respondents indicated that there are some positive effects of child labour. The positive effects cited by the respondents include; socialization purposes and supplementing the household income. Majority of the respondents in Kakuzi (56%) cited 'socialization' as one of the

positive effects of children engaging in labour; it instills a sense of responsibility in children whereby they are socialized into adult roles such as undertaking household chores such as cooking, cleaning, fetching water and firewood as well as farm work activities. Other respondents (36%) stated that the child labourers earn some income and thus can purchase some necessities such as stationery which the parents may not afford. This was also echoed by children who participated in an FGD in Lower Kakuzi village who confirmed that the children involved in labour use their earnings to purchase food and also pay for their school fees since some have been neglected by their parents/guardians. Nearly 25% of the respondents stated that they have not observed any positive effects on children engaging in labour.

Similar observations were made in Kibera where all the respondents with children engaged in labour (100%) stated it was meant for 'socialization purposes'. This is because these parents/guardians wanted their children to learn how to perform adult roles especially in regard to household chores such as cooking, cleaning and taking care of children. For those children engaging in paid labour outside home, their income was used to supplement household income whereby the household could purchase items such as stationery and other school necessities for the children.

Kakuzi and Kibera findings are thus in agreement with the findings of a study done by Banergy (2001) in Andra Pradesh community in India, where the community members felt that employers are providing livelihood or enable the child labourers to supplement the family income and saving children from becoming lazy, idle and falling into bad habits.

b) Negative consequences of child labour

The reported positive effects of child labour notwithstanding, this study found quite a number of negative consequences of child labour. These negative effects of child labour can be experienced at three levels namely; child, household and community levels.

i) Consequences of child labour at the child's level in Kakuzi and Kibera.

This section outlines the negative consequences of child labour that are experienced by the child labourer himself/herself. In Kakuzi, majority of the respondents (88%) observed that the engagement of children in labour contributed to physical deterioration. This physical deterioration could result from excessive fatigue due to long hours of labour and trekking in search of casual

jobs, retarded growth might result when the child start working at a tender age and consequently these children might end up falling sick due to excessive fatigue. This was further echoed by children who participated in a FGD in Lower Kakuzi Village:

> *….when children engage in hard labour for long hours, they fall sick. They experience chest problems and backache…* (FGD Participant, Kakuzi)

The findings of this study were similar to the findings of Herath and Sharma (2007) who argues that the tasks given to children are simple and repetitive such as digging, harvesting among others. By performing these tasks, children are not developing a skill so much as being subjected to exhausting and monotonous work which is detrimental to the development of the child. More than half of the respondents (57.5%) in Kakuzi stated that child labourers experience low educational performance. This was echoed by a female respondent in Kakuzi:

> ..*My children experience excessive fatigue when they engage in labour for many hours and which goes on for a number of days. This contributes to poor concentration in class which may lead to low performance in school…* (Female respondent in Kakuzi)

Hence, child labourers might have low levels of concentration in class due to excessive fatigue experienced from long hours of engaging in labour. Moreover, these children might lack interest in school when they get used to earning their own money which encourages them to drop out of school in the long run. These findings are in congruence with those of a study done by Udry (2003) who argues child labour contributes to the lower future earnings of the child when she enters the adult labour market with lower educational attainment.

Other respondents (30%) in Kakuzi stated that child labourers might experience some adverse psychological consequences. These include; development of low self-esteem which results from the children engaged in labour being despised by their peers who do not engage in labour. Rebelliousness might result among these children as well as a feeling of being neglected by either their families or the society. In addition, when these child labourers get used to earning their own money, they can engage in use and abuse of drugs. Development of bad habits such as stealing and aggression is also a common adverse effect of child labour. These child labourers can resort to stealing when they cannot secure a casual job.

Almost 24% of the respondents in Kakuzi did not know of any negative consequences on the child labourers that can result from children engaging in labour. The findings from Kakuzi on the

psychological effects on child labourers are in agreement with those of Karna (2005) who observed that psychologically affected child labourers may cultivate negative attitude, lying and stealing habits. It may lead to some bad habits like smoking and drinking.

The findings in Kakuzi were similar to those of Kibera since all the respondents (100%) in Kibera cited excessive fatigue as one of the major negative consequences of child labour on the development of a child. Excessive fatigue results from long hours of labour and may end up making the child fall sick such as experiencing backache. This was confirmed by the children who participated in an FGD in Kibera:

> *…I am aware of two children who spend the whole day washing clothes in my neighbourhood. They really experience a lot of fatigue since they may miss school for three consecutive days while engaging in this type of labour. They live with their elder sister who does not treat them well…* (FGD Participant, Kibera)

Half of the respondents (50%) in Kibera observed that poor grades is another negative effect of child labour on the children engaged in labour. This can result from habitual absenteeism, lack of time to study and excessive fatigue leading to poor concentration in class. This in turn can contribute to possibility of a child dropping out of school in the long run. One of the respondents in Kibera stated that;

> *…sometimes, I usually see children in their school uniforms moving around in the slum collecting scrap metals and plastics for sale during the day when they are supposed to be in school. I don't think such children perform well in school because they miss school most of the time….Their parents are not usually aware of this behaviour unless they get complains from the teachers that their children are not attending school….* (Female respondent, Kibera)

Further, 10% of the respondents in Kibera reported that children in labour may also experience some adverse psychological effects including rebelliousness and developing low self-esteem. Children in labour can become rebellious when they get used to earning their own money thus can provide for themselves and so they refuse to help with any household chores at home. They can also develop low self-esteem as a result of experiencing abuse (verbal, emotional and sexual) at the workplace and also at the community level.

ii) Consequences of child labour at the household's level in Kakuzi and Kibera

There are some negative effects of child labour that have an impact on the particular household where cases of child labour have been reported. The respondents were asked to cite some of the

negative consequences that might result when children in their households are engaged in labour. Majority of the respondents in Kakuzi (33.8%) did not cite any negative consequences that be experienced in a household as a result of children engaging in labour; the corresponding figure for Kibera was 5%. The respondents in Kakuzi and Kibera who reported that they were aware of negative consequences of child labour at the household's level cited the following;

Economic retardation[12]: In Kakuzi, 27.5% of the respondents cited economic retardation as one of the negative consequences of child labour at the household level; the corresponding figure for Kibera was 21.2%. One of the respondents in Kakuzi explained:

> *…the household where children are engaged in labour might be unable to escape from poverty. This is because these children fail to concentrate in their studies and consequently may end up dropping out of school in the long run. Such children cannot attract good employment opportunities due to the low education attainments…* (Female respondent, Kakuzi)

Thus, such a household remains trapped in this cycle due to lack of education which is a prerequisite for obtaining a well-paying job in future. This finding is in agreement with the finding by Udry (2003) who argued that the primary cost of child labour is the associated reduction in investment in the child's human capital, which occurs chiefly because child labour interferes with schooling. This in turn contributes to the lower future earnings of the child when she enters the adult labour market with lower educational attainment

Familial conflicts: Another 25% of the respondents in Kakuzi cited familial conflicts as negative consequence On the contrary, findings in Kibera revealed that a majority of the respondents (66.2%) had observed familial conflicts as a major negative of child labour at the household level. One of the respondents in Kibera explained this:

> *…when a child is engaged in labour, she is constantly in interaction with adults at the workplace who may want to take advantage of her. Such a children can be sexually abused resulting to teenage pregnancy. This can result into conflicts in the family, between the parents as well as between the parents and the child...* (Female respondent in Kibera)

[12] For the purposes of this study, this term was used to describe a situation whereby a household or a community stagnates in the development process due to such challenges as poverty and illiteracy.

Moreover, conflicts may arise over the use of the child's income and in cases where the child labourer is not willing to share his or her earning with the rest of the household members in order to supplement the family income.

Social stigma: Only 10% of the respondents in Kakuzi and Kibera respectively, cited social stigma as one of the negative consequences of child labour at the household level. The household may be considered an outcast in the community since its young members are involved in labour at a tender age. Thus, the household members may feel stigmatized and shun from interacting with other households in the community. This in turn contributes to low self-esteem among the members of such as household.

Bad role models: Nearly 4% of the respondents in Kakuzi cited bad role models as another consequence of child labour; the corresponding figure for Kibera was 5%. Some respondents stated that children in labour act as bad role models to their younger siblings in the household. This was explained by one of the respondents:

> *…when children are engaged in labour in a household, their younger siblings might admire them. This is because they can earn their own money and sometimes support the household with the income….Such child labourers might end up engaging in use and abuse of drugs and their siblings could imitate such behaviours…* (Female respondent in Kakuzi)

This finding is in agreement with the findings of a study done by Karna (2005) who stated that aggression, anti-social behavior and delinquency can also be observed among many child labourers. These behaviours can thus be imitated by the other children in that particular household contributing to role modelling.

There was variation in the levels of knowledge on the negative consequences of child labour at the household level with quite a number stating in Kibera (33.8%) that they are not aware of such consequences. This in contrast with Kibera findings where only 5% reported that they did not know of any negative consequences at the household level. This variation can be attributed to the possibility of the presence of more sensitization campaigns on child labour and its consequences in the urban areas as compared to the rural areas.

iii) Consequences of child labour at the community level in Kakuzi and Kibera

The current study sought to examine the consequences of child labour at the community level. The respondents were asked to list the negative effects that result from child labour and have an impact on the entire community. Majority of the respondents in Kakuzi (56.3%) did not mention any consequences of child labour that they have observed at the community level; the corresponding figure for Kibera was 6.3%. The respondents in Kakuzi and Kibera who reported that they were aware of negative consequences of child labour at the community level cited the following consequences;

Negative peer influence: In Kakuzi, 26.3% of the respondents mentioned negative peer influence as one of the consequences of child labour at the community level. The findings in Kibera contrasted sharply with those of Kakuzi since majority of the respondents (92.5%) cited negative peer influence as one of the consequences. One of the respondents from Kibera stated that:

> *….Children who are not engaged in labour tend to be influenced negatively by the child labourers in the area. This is because they will encourage them to join the class of child labourers in order to own fashionable items…some child laborers even own mobile phones purchased from the wages earned. I discourage my children from keeping such company since they might even end up dropping out of school…* (Female respondent, Kibera)

Moreover, other respondents lamented that child labour has resulted to the development of bad habits such as lying, stealing and abuse of drugs among the child laborers which can result to negative peer influence. This was confirmed by one of the key informant:

> *…I have come across children involved in labour who steal textbooks at school and sell them to provide basic necessities…some have been neglected by their parents. They have to keep lying so as to cover up for their actions…* (Female Key Informant, Kibera)

Negative peer influence is a major consequence for the community since it had to deal with high levels of delinquency and thus development is curtailed in the area. This implies that there might be a relation between delinquency and child labour as was affirmed by a study by Clopper (1970) that concluded that there was a direct relationship between child labour and delinquency. The study found out that besides factors such as poor home conditions and lack of schooling, child labour was a major cause of delinquency.

Economic retardation: Only 13.8% and 10% of the respondents in Kakuzi and Kibera respectively cited economic retardation as one of the adverse effects of child labour at the community level. Respondents stated that it was difficult for any development to take place in the area while children are engaging in labour activities and cannot devote their time to studying. Hence, the place is characterized with poor living standards due to low educational attainments among its community members.

Community conflicts: Only 5% of the respondents in Kakuzi mentioned community conflicts as another consequence of child labour; corresponding figure for Kibera was 1.3%. Conflicts may arise among households in the community especially when some child laborers engage in stealing and destruction of property in the area. This was confirmed by one of the key informants who stated that:

> *.....child laborers are always suspected incase anything goes missing in any household and those members of other households come after them…this results into conflicts between households...* (Female Key Informant, Kakuzi)

It is clear from the findings that a number of negative consequences can result from children engagement in labour in a particular community. However, there were variations in the levels of knowledge on these consequences with majority of the respondents (56.3%) in Kakuzi stating that they did not know of any consequences of child labour at the community level while in Kibera only 6.3% reported not to be aware of any consequences.

4.8 Efforts to curb child labour

Manda et al.., (2003:14) asserts that legislation has been the single-most important response of governments to the problem of child labour. Various legislations and policies both at the international and national levels have been instituted aimed at removing children from the labour market and eventually, promoting their wellbeing. In Kakuzi, majority of the respondents (97.5%) were in agreement that child labour should be curbed in the area while only 2.5% felt that child labour should not be curbed yet. The respondents who disagreed with the viewpoint that child labour should be curbed in the area observed that children are pushed into labour due to household poverty. In Kibera, the trend was similar to the one in Kakuzi since 100% of the respondents were of the opinion that child labour should be curbed in the area noting that it was detrimental to the development of a growing child.

The respondents in Kakuzi and Kibera who agreed with the view that child labour should be curbed were asked to list a number of measures that can be put in place to deal with child labour. Table 4.19 summarizes the reported measures of curbing child labour in Kakuzi and Kibera.

Table 4.19: Reported measures of curbing child labour in Kakuzi and Kibera

Measures to curb child labour	**Kakuzi**		**Kibera**		**Total**	
	Yes	**No**	**Yes**	**No**	**Yes**	**No**
Access to education	25 (31.3%)	55 (68.8%)	21 (26.3%)	59 (73.8%)	46 (28.8%)	114 (71.3%)
Economic empowerment of parents	23 (28.8%)	57 (71.3%)	9 (11.2%)	71 (88.8%)	32 (20.0%)	128 (80.0%)
Sensitization	7 (8.8%)	73 (91.3%)	21 (26.3%)	59 (73.8%)	28 (17.5%)	132 (82.5%)
Proper enforcement of law	14 (17.5%)	66 (82.5%)	44 (55.0%)	36 (45.0%)	58 (36.3%)	102 (63.8%)
Provision of basic necessities	19 (23.8%)	61 (71.3%)	14 (17.5%)	66 (82.5%)	33 (20.6%)	127 (79.4%)

Source: Survey data (2014)

Access to education: In Kakuzi, 31.3% of the respondents cited the improvement of the access to education as one of the measures to curb child labour; the corresponding figure for Kibera was 26.3%. The respondents stated that all the children that have reached school going age should be sent to school. More bursaries should be provided by the county government for the needy bright students that end up dropping out of school due to lack of non-tuition fees such as examination and activity charges. Civil society organizations fighting child labour especially in the urban areas should identify and withdraw such children from labour and ensure they have re-integrated in school in order for them to continue with their education

Economic empowerment of the parents/guardians: Further, 28.8% and 11.2% of the respondents in Kakuzi and Kibera respectively, stated that economic empowerment of parents/guardians could go a long way in ensuring children needs are fully catered for. Most of the children are pushed into child labour due to poverty resulting from lack of employment of their parents/guardians. This was echoed by one of the respondents in Kibera who stated:

> *…the county government officials should make some effort and identify the child laborers in this area. Most of their parents do not have a source of income….they*

> *can initiate some income generating activities or provide employment opportunities for them…* (Female respondent, Kibera)

The county government which is closer to the people should conduct some assessments and assist the needy parents/guardians initiate income generating activities that are meant to cater for the needs of these children so that they be withdrawn from labour.

Sensitization: Sensitization of children, parents and community members on child labour legislations and the importance of education was another measure that was cited by 8.8% and 26.3% of the respondents in Kakuzi and Kibera respectively. The community needs to be sensitized on the rights of children such as rights to education, good health and protection from economic exploitation, in order to avoid violation of such rights. This can be done through chief's barazas where the community members are encouraged to report cases of child labour whenever they arise. This was confirmed by one of the respondents:

> *….i would like the village elders to conduct a door to door campaign which will enable identification of child laborers in the households. Such parents and affected children can then go through a sensitization program spearheaded by the children's department at the county level. This will make them understand the importance of education…* (Female respondent in Kibera)

Community members should be encouraged to assist those children that are neglected and engaging in child labour out of dire need of providing for their basic needs. This initiative can be spearheaded by the civil societies targeting children in especially difficult circumstances.

Proper enforcement of law: Manda et al.., (2003:14) asserts that legislation has been the single-most important response of governments to the problem of child labour. Although legislations have been put in place to curb child labour, some respondents felt that much more needs to be done in regard to implementation of such legislations. Only 17.5% of the respondents in Kakuzi felt that the national and the county governments need to ensure proper enforcement of laws safe guarding the rights of children. More than half of the respondents (55%) in Kibera felt that the laws safeguarding the rights of children and more specifically, protection from economic exploitation were not well implemented in the area. Cases of child labour involve the infringement on the rights of children and those involved such as parents, child laborers and the employers should be reported to the relevant authorities such as chiefs and children officers at the sub county level for the necessary action to be taken.

Provision of basic necessities: Provision of basic necessities was another measure that was cited by 23.8% of the respondents in Kakuzi; the corresponding figure for Kibera was 17.5%. Children involved in labour can be provided with the basic necessities by the county government through the children's department and well-wishers such food, shelter and clothing as well as school necessities. This was further echoed by one of the key informants:

> *….the identification of the affected children should be done regularly…assessments of their needs can be made. The genuine cases can be forwarded to the children's department for inclusion in the social protection program for the OVCs…* (Female Key Informant, Kakuzi)

This will enable them study full-time thus posting better performances in school and consequently higher education attainments will be reached in the area.

The findings in Kakuzi and Kibera on the measures that can be put in place to fight child labour are dissimilar in that in Kakuzi in terms of the measure that was given the top priority. Improvement of the access of education was given the first priority in Kakuzi as compared to Kibera where the respondents cited the proper enforcement of law safeguarding the rights of children as their top priority. In Kibera, the respondents tend to view the lack of good will by the relevant authorities in the national and county government leading to a lack of proper implementation of laws as a major bottleneck to curbing child labour in the area.

4.9 Levels of awareness of child labour policies

The current study also sought to establish the levels of awareness of the respondents on the existing child labour policies/legislations. International legislations that have been put in place in an attempt to end child labour include; the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC), the ILO Minimum Age Convention, 1973 (No.138), and the Convention on the Worst Forms of Child Labour 1999 (No. 182). These legislations recognize the child's right to be protected from economic exploitation, from performing any work that is likely to be hazardous or that may interfere with his or her education (ILO/IPEC, 2012). Children's Act 2001 remains the major legislation in Kenya that protects children from economic exploitation which amounts to child labour. Free Primary Education (FPE) is another policy that was implemented in Kenya in 2003 with the indirect intention to deal with problem of child labour (Kenya, 2008: 8).

The respondents were asked whether they were aware of any legislations that protect the rights of children in Kenya. The findings revealed that 66.2% and 70% of the respondents in Kakuzi and Kibera respectively, were aware of a legislation aimed at protecting the rights of children. Close to half of those respondents who stated that they are aware of such a legislation (48.8%) in Kakuzi mentioned the Constitution of Kenya where the basic human rights including the children rights are enshrined; the corresponding figure for Kibera was 35%. However, it was clear that these respondents did not have specific knowledge on what these children rights entail. In addition, they were not aware that there is a specific Act in the Constitution of Kenya that specifically spells those children rights. This was confirmed by one of the respondents in Kakuzi who stated that:

> *…The Constitution of Kenya contains laws that promote children rights. I learnt this through the local radio station…* (Female respondent, Kakuzi)

Further, 18.8% and 44% of the respondents in Kakuzi and Kibera respectively stated that there are aware of a legislation that protects the rights of children cited the Children's Act. These respondents cited protection from economic exploitation and right to education as some of the entitlements that children have. One of the respondents stated that:

> *…I learnt through a television advert that children have a right to education and that they should be protected from engaging in hard labour that prevents them from going to school…these are some of the rights of children that I now know are included in the Children's Act…* (Female respondent, Kibera)

It is clear from the findings that respondents in Kibera are slightly more knowledgeable on the legislation that seeks to uphold children's rights as compared to those in Kakuzi. More specifically, 44% of the respondents in Kibera were aware of the Children's Act as compares to only 18.8% respondents in Kakuzi who were aware of the Act. This higher levels of awareness in the urban areas can be attributed to more sensitization campaigns against the violation of children's rights that are carried out by civil society organizations that are more vibrant in the slum as compared to rural areas. Moreover, people living in the urban areas have a greater access to many forms of media such as television, radio, billboards, newspapers and internet that usually contain such important information on children's rights.

4.10 Conclusion

This section endeavours to highlight the key findings of the study and the extent to which the objectives of the current study have been addressed. First, the differences between phenomenon of child labour in Kakuzi and Kibera have been brought out. On the nature of child labour, the findings established that commercial agriculture in Kakuzi was the major sector that demands the use of child labour as compared to domestic labour in Kibera slum. On the magnitude of child labour, the cases of child labour reported suggested that child labour was apparently more prevalent in rural areas (31.3%) than urban areas (5%).

On the age of the child laborers, the older children (14-17 age group) were more affected by child labour than their younger counterparts. There were more girls involved in child labour than boys in the two study sites. Chi-square tests of independence were done to test the relationships between and among various variables of the study's hypotheses. The Chi-square test revealed that the level of education of the mother and the child's involvement in labour were independent or not associated. Similarly, Chi-square test did not find any association between the type of occupation of the mother and the child's involvement in labour. Hence, the null hypotheses were upheld for the variables that focused on parent's characteristics. On the household characteristics, the Chi-square tests of independence revealed that there is was an association between the household income and household size and the child's involvement in labour. Thus, the null hypotheses were rejected and the alternative hypotheses adopted for the current study.

The findings in Kakuzi and Kibera also revealed both positive and negative consequences that might result from the child's involvement in labour activities. The positive consequences include; socialization purposes and supplementing family income. The negative consequences were analysed at three levels; the child's, the household's and the community's level. These consequences range from the physical effects such as excessive fatigue and poor health, psychological effects such as development of low self-esteem and bad habits such as stealing and lying and the education effects such as poor grades in school leading to low educational attainment.

On the measures to be put in place to address the problem of child labour, majority of the respondents in Kakuzi gave priority to the improvement of access to education for the children while majority of the respondents in Kibera stated that there needs to be proper enforcement of the

existing child labour legislations in the area. It was also evident from the findings that close to half of the respondents in Kibera (44%) are aware of Children's Act as a major legislation in Kenya that seeks to protect children from economic exploitation as compared to only 18.8% respondents in Kakuzi who were aware of the Children's Act. In conclusion, the objectives of the current study to a large extent have been addressed by the findings that have been presented in this chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

The current study basically endeavoured to understand the phenomenon of child labour in the rural and urban Kenyan settings by taking cases of Kakuzi location, Murang'a County and Kibera slum, Nairobi County. The specific objectives of the study were to establish the nature, magnitude, determinants and consequences of child labour. This chapter provides a synopsis of the key findings obtained during the study followed by the conclusions that lead to the recommendations for policy and further research.

5.2 Summary of the study's key findings

The study focused on mothers/female guardians as the main respondents. The study thus attempted to outline the basic demographic characteristics of these respondents. On the age of the respondents, the mean age of the respondents in years Kakuzi Location was 38.1 years while in Kibera slum was 28.8 years. This implies that respondents in Kibera had children at a tender age as compared to respondents in Kakuzi. The findings on marital status of the respondents revealed that majority of the respondents from Kakuzi and Kibera were married (83.1%) and hence there are no major differences in term of marital status in the two study sites. The study findings depicted that education standards in Kibera are more advanced as compared to those of Kakuzi since a quite number of respondents in Kibera have gone up to the secondary level of education and a few have attended a middle level college. Majority of the respondents in the two study sites were engaged in non-formal employment. It was also observed that respondents in Kibera had higher monthly household incomes as compared to those in Kakuzi.

On the basic characteristics of the children found in the targeted households, majority of those children were girls which is reflective of the national statistics. The vast majority of those children were in school. The children in Kakuzi mainly attended public schools. On the other hand, those in Kibera slum studied in private schools. Majority of these children were in primary schools and only a few in secondary which was indicative of low transition rates in the two study sites.

The study attempted to establish the nature of child labour as its first specific objective. The findings in Kakuzi and Kibera on the description of child labour were similar since majority of the

respondents in the two study sites defined child labour by the activity or the nature of work being undertaken by the children. Additionally the respondents were asked to rank the sectors that demanded child labour in their localities. As expected, majority of the respondents ranked commercial agriculture (98.8%) as the main sector that demands the use of child labour in Kakuzi On the other hand, domestic work was ranked top by most of the respondents in Kibera (85%) as the greatest consumer of child labour in the slum.

The second specific objective of this study was to establish the magnitude of child labour. The findings revealed that child labour was still more common in the rural areas based on the number of cases of child labour reported in Kakuzi and Kibera. Nearly 32% of all the households targeted in Kakuzi were reported to have children engaged in labour while only 5% of the households in Kibera had child laborers. In the urban areas, it was clear from the interviews with the key informants that child domestic work is hidden thus difficult to detect since it happens mostly outside the household. This could also explain why the current study found few cases of child labour in Kibera slum. This could be the reason why most of the past studies have shunned undertaking research on child labour in the urban areas. In Kakuzi, boys were slightly more affected by child labour than girls. In Kibera, the trend was different since most of the cases of child labour were reported among the girls as compared to boys.

Further, the study sought to examine the determinants of child labour as its third specific objective. Considering the few cases of child labour that were reported in Kibera, (Kakuzi=25 households, Kibera=4 households), a comparative analysis of the determinants of child labour would not be valid. Accordingly, the cases of child labour were combined for the analyses to be done. Determinants of child labour were categorized into four groups namely; child's characteristics (age and gender), parent's characteristics (level of education and type of occupation), household characteristics (household size and income) and school characteristics (cost of schooling and accessibility of schools).

On the age of the child laborers, the older children were more affected by child labour (14-17 age group) as compared to their younger counterparts. There were more girls involved in child labour than boys in the two sites. Majority of the mothers to the child laborers had little or no education (none and primary level) suggesting that there might be a relationship between the level of education of the mother and the child's involvement in labour. Similarly, majority of the mothers

to the child laborers in the two sites were engaged in non-formal employment. The total household size for most of the households of the child laborers was usually six and/or more household members indicating that the household size might have an influence on the child's involvement in labour. Most of the child laborers belonged to households with relatively low incomes; less than Ksh. 10,000 monthly income. On establishing the effect of the school characteristics on the incidence of child labour, it was evident that majority of the child laborers in Kakuzi and Kibera were enrolled in school. They usually engaged in labour on weekends and school holidays or whenever they sent home for non-tuition school fees and the parent is unable to raise such money. Hence, the cost of schooling could have influence on the incidence of child labour in the two study sites.

The fourth specific objective of this study was to examine the consequences of child labour. The consequences of child labour may be positive or negative. The findings of the study in Kakuzi and Kibera revealed two positive consequences of child labour; socialization purposes and to supplement the household income. The negative consequences were further explored at three levels namely; the child's level, the household's level and the community's level. It was established in Kakuzi and Kibera that the major negative consequence of child labour on the child labourer was the physical deterioration resulting from excessive fatigue resulting from long hours of labour. At the household level, economic retardation was cited as one of the negative consequence of child labour. This is because child laborers are unable to access education which is necessary in order to secure a well-paying job in future thus the household remains trapped in the vicious cycle of poverty. At the community level, negative peer influence and economic retardation were the two major consequences of child labour. This implies children might not do well in school while others may end up dropping out of school thus such communities will be characterised by low education standards and consequently lack of development in the community.

On measuring the efforts made to curb child labour, majority of the respondents in Kakuzi and Kibera stated that child labour should be curbed in the area. The respondents reported that a number of measures could be put in place including; improvement of the access to education by the county government through provision of more bursaries to the bright and needy students in the area, economic empowerment of the parents of the affected children, sensitization and awareness creation on the child labour legislations among others.

It was also evident from the findings that close to half of the respondents in Kibera (44%) were aware of Children's Act as a major legislation in Kenya that seeks to protect children from economic exploitation as compared to only 18.8% respondents in Kakuzi who were aware of the Children's Act.

Chi-square tests were done to establish whether any association exists between the selected variables in the stated hypotheses. More specifically, the Chi-square test of independence was adopted. The first hypothesis sought to establish whether the level of education of the mother and the child's involvement in labour were associated. The test revealed a Chi-square value of 0.000 with a significance level of 1.000 and a degree of freedom of 1. Hence, the test results did not find any relationship between the level of education of the mother and the child's involvement in labour since the significance level of 1.000 was more than the selected alpha value of 0.05. It was concluded that the two variables are independent or not associated thus the null hypothesis was upheld. This indicates that there might be other factors that influence child's involvement in labour other than the level of education of the mother that were outside the scope of this study.

The second hypothesis for the current study was that the type of occupation of the mother does not influence the child's involvement in labour. The test indicated a Chi-square value of 3.458 with a significance level of 0.063 and a degree of freedom of 1. Thus, the test did not find any relationship between type of occupation of the mother and the child's involvement in labour since the significance level of 0.063 was more than the selected alpha value of 0.05. It was thus concluded that the two variables are independent or not associated. The null hypothesis was upheld.

The third hypothesis sought to establish whether any association exists between the household size and the child's involvement in labour in a particular household. The Chi-square test revealed a Chi-square value of 18.990 with a significance level of 0.000 and a degree of freedom of 1. Hence, the test results confirmed that there was a relationship between the household size and the child's involvement in labour since the significance level of 0.000 was less than the selected alpha value of 0.05. It was thus resolved that the two variables are dependent or associated. The larger the household size, the higher the likelihood of children in that particular household getting involved in labour. Thus, the null hypothesis of the study was rejected and the alternative hypothesis adopted.

The fourth hypothesis sought to determines if any association exists between household income and the child's involvement in labour. The test revealed a Chi-square value of 9.460 with a significance level of 0.009 and a degree of freedom of 2. Thus, the test indicated that there was a relationship between the household income and the child's involvement in labour since the significance level of 0.009 was less than the selected alpha value of 0.05. It was thus resolved that the two variables are dependent or associated. Hence, the null hypothesis of the study was rejected and the alternative hypothesis upheld for the current study. This suggests that the lower the household income, the higher the likelihood of children in that particular household of getting involved in child labour.

5.3 Conclusions

A number of conclusions can be drawn from the findings of this study. First, the main sector demanding the use of child labour in the urban areas is commercial agriculture while domestic work is a great consumer of child labour in the urban areas. The 'invisibility' of child labour in the urban setting (Kibera slum) was quite evident as compared to the visibility of child labour in the rural setting (Kakuzi). This was illustrated by the few cases of child labour reported by respondents in Kibera slum as compared to Kakuzi, away from the common knowledge that child labour is rampant in the slums.

Second, overall there were more girls than boys involved in labour in the two combined sites. This was demonstrated by the higher number of girls reported to be engaged in labour in Kakuzi and Kibera as compared to the boys. Additionally, the older children were more affected by child labour (14-17 age group) as compared to their younger counterparts (6-9 age group). This could be attributed to the relative complexity of the informal sector which requires apprenticeships where children tend to work which locks out the younger children.

Third, it was clear from the findings that children are no longer working on a full time basis. This is because most of child laborers captured by the study engage in labour during weekends and during school holidays. It is a sure evidence that child labour is on a decline especially in the developing countries such as Kenya. Hence, the continued efforts of sensitization of the public on the existing laws on child labour as well as supporting the affected children might see child labour gradually decline to its minimum level in the near future.

Fourth, the study did not find any association between the parent's characteristics (level of education type of occupation of the mother) and the child's involvement in labour in a particular household. Past studies have found that parental education significantly lowers the incidence of child labour in a household. Hence, this finding calls for more focus on the child specific factors such as the personality traits that might have an influence on the incidence of child labour unlike the past studies that have tended to focus on the household factors as the main determinants of child labour.

Fifth, it was evident that most of the respondents especially in Kakuzi are not aware of the negative consequences of child labour at the household and the community level. This was confirmed by the fact that majority of these respondents were unable to state consequences of child labour that may affect the household and the community at large. This suggests that sensitization campaigns need to be undertaken to ensure the community members understand these consequences. Consequently, the community members should join the county and national government in the fight against child labour in their localities.

Sixth, the study established that majority of the respondents in the rural and urban areas are aware of that there are laws safeguarding the rights of children. However, low levels of knowledge on these laws was quite evident and more specifically, the Children's Act which seeks to protect children from economic exploitation. This was illustrated by the fact that most of these respondents could not pin point the contents of such laws.

Lastly, it can be concluded that various aspects of the phenomenon of child labour in both rural and urban areas were quite similar. This was confirmed by the almost similar trends that was observed while examining the determinants and the consequences of child labour as well as the levels of awareness of child labour policies. However, major differences were evident in the nature of child labour in rural and urban areas. Commercial agriculture was cited as the major sector that demanded the use of child labour while domestic work consumed child labour in the urban areas. This difference was brought about by the different opportunities for earning a source of income that for the children in rural and urban areas.

5.4 Recommendations

The findings of this study have important implications in fight against child labour in Kakuzi and Kibera as well as Kenya at large. Based on these findings, the following recommendations are suggested that could ensure the reduction in the incidence of child labour in rural and urban settings of Kenya. They also provide guidelines for further research

5.4.1 Recommendations for policy

1. There is need for the national government to come up with a comprehensive national child labour policy informed by the recent studies on child labour done in various parts of the country. Consequently, the county governments should tailor make interventions informed by the national policy that are best suited to deal with cases of child labour in the respective counties. This will go a long way in ensuring the gains made of declining child labour in the country as shown by the statistics, are not lost.
2. The study recommends that sensitization campaigns spearheaded by the county governments and supported by civil society organizations to improve the levels of knowledge on the child labour policies/legislations especially in the rural areas. Moreover, people need to be enlightened on the consequences of child labour at the household and community levels to ensure that elimination of child labour becomes the concern of every community member.
3. The national and the county governments need to put in place measures to ensure that the affected children withdrawn from labour can be re-integrated back into schools so that they can continue with their education.
4. The national government needs to work towards the removal of charges such as activity and examination fees levied on children in public schools to ensure they remain in school on a full time basis. This will enable children stop engaging in labour on weekends, during school holidays and whenever they are sent home for school fees.
5. At the community level, young members of the community should be engaged in constructive recreation activities such as talent search events especially during school holidays. This will ensure the prevalence of child labour is reduced since the current study found out that majority of children engage in labour during school holidays.

5.4.2 Recommendations for further research

To further knowledge in this area, a need for additional research is necessary owing to the emerging gaps that fell outside the remit of this study. The study recommends the following as areas for further research;

1. A modification of the methodology for future studies on child labour where by tracer project can be done to cover the subjects themselves; child laborers. This can help give more accurate measurement of the dynamics of child labour as opposed to obtaining second hand information from the parents/guardians.
2. A further exploration of psychological consequences of child labour on the development of a child should be done. This is because literature on the psychological effects of child labour is scarce due to a lack of focus by most studies.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

Household questionnaire

Hello. My name is Grace Mugo and I am a Master of Arts student at the Department of Sociology and Social Work in the University of Nairobi. I am conducting a research child labour in rural and urban Kenyan settings; a comparative study of Kakuzi location, Murang'a County and Kibera slum. The findings of this study will be used to write an M.A thesis. However, the findings will also help in understanding the factors that explain the practice of child labour in rural and urban setting. I would highly appreciate your patience and time spent to answer the following questions. All information collected will be treated as confidential and thus will not be disclosed to any other parties. Thank you in advance for your continued cooperation.

Target population

Household heads (Preferably mothers or female guardians)

Section A: Questionnaire log book

1. Questionnaire number_____
2. Date of the interview_____
3. Name of the administrative location_____

Section B: Background information of the respondent

4. Name of the respondent_____
5. Age of the respondent (*in complete years*) _____
6. Position of the respondent in the household ( ) 1. Father ( ) 2. Mother ( ) 3. Guardian ( ) 4. Others (*specify*) _____
7. Marital status of the respondent ( ) 1. Single ( ) 2. Married ( ) 3. Divorced ( ) 4. Separated ( ) 5. Widowed ( ) 6. Others (specify)_____

Section C: Household characteristics

8. How many adults live in this household?

Female_____ Male_____ Total_____

9. What are the characteristics of children living in this household? (*17 years and below*)

Name	**Age**	**Gender**	**School status**		**Remarks**
			Primary (private/public)	**Secondary (private/public)**	

10. Does the father stay with the family? ( ) 1. Yes ( ) 2. No
11. What is the father's **highest** level of education? (*Where appropriate*)
    ( ) 1. None ( ) 2. Primary ( ) 3. Secondary ( ) 4. Middle level college ( ) 5. University ( ) 6. Others (*specify*) _____
12. What is the mother's **highest** level of education? ( ) 1. None ( ) 2. Primary ( ) 3. Secondary ( ) 4. Middle level college ( ) 5. University ( ) 6. Others (*specify*) _____
13. What is the occupation of the father? (*where appropriate*) ( ) 1. Formal employment ( ) 2. Informal employment ( ) 3. Family business ( ) 4. Farming ( ) 5. Others (specify)_____
14. What is the occupation of the mother? ( ) 1. Formal employment ( ) 2. Informal employment ( ) 3. Family business ( ) 4. Farming ( ) 5. Others (specify)_____
15. a) What are the major sources of household income? ( ) 1. Formal employment ( ) 2. Casual jobs ( ) 3. Business ( ) 4. Farming ( ) 5. Livestock keeping ( ) 6. Donations from friends and relatives ( ) 7. Others (Specify)_____

    b) For each of the sources of income, specify how much you get per month

Sources of income	**Monthly income**	**Remarks**
1. Formal employment		
2. Casual jobs		
3. Business		
4. Farming		
5. Livestock keeping		
6. Donations from friends and relatives		

7. Others (*Specify*)_____		

16. What is the average household expenditure per month on the following items?

Item	**Kshs**	**Item**	**Kshs.**
Education		Clothing	
Health		Transport	
Food		Others (specify)_____	
Total			

Section D: Nature and magnitude of child labour

17. In your own words, what do you consider to be child labour?

_____

_____

18. What type of socio-economic activities are children in this area involved in?

1._____ 4._____

2._____ 5._____

3._____ 6. Others (*Specify*) _____

19. Which of the above mentioned activities do you consider as child labour-related activities?

1._____ 4._____

2._____ 5._____

3._____ 6. _____

20. a) Which sectors in this area demand the use of child labour? (*applies to the urban households; Rank them from the most popular sector with child labour*) ( ) 1. Hawking ( ) 2. Domestic work ( ) 3. Industry ( ) 4. Restaurant/hotel ( ) 5. Others (*specify*) _____

a) Which sectors in this area demand the use of child labour? (*Applies to the rural households*) ( ) 1. Commercial agriculture ( ) 2. Quarrying ( ) 3. Domestic work ( ) 4. Others (*specify*) _____

Section E: Determinants of child labour

21. Are there any children in this household who are involved in child labour related activities?

    ( ) 1. Yes ( ) 2. No

22. If YES, how many children in the household are involved in child labour?

    Female_____ Male_____ Total_____

23. What are the characteristics of those children involved in child labour in this household?

Child	**Gender**	**Age**	**Approximate hours of work per day**	**In school/ out of school**	**Grade**
Child 1					
Child 2					
Child 3					
Child 4					
Child 5					
Child 6					
Child 7					
Child 8					

24. Are the working children in this household enrolled in school? ( ) 1. Yes ( ) 2. No
25. If YES, when do they mainly engage in work? ( ) 1. In the evenings after school ( ) 2. In the morning before they go to school ( ) 3. On weekends ( ) 4. During school holidays ( ) 6. Others (*specify*) _____
26. If No, why are they not enrolled in school? ( ) 1. Lack of school fees ( ) 2. Lack of school uniforms ( ) 3. School is too far ( ) 4. Others (*specify*)_____
27. On average, how much is each working child paid per day? (*In Kshs*.) _____
28. In your own view, why are the children in this household involved in child labour? (*Probe for the pull and push factors to child labour*)
    a) Push factors; ( ) 1. Purchase food ( ) 2. Pay school fees for self ( ) 3. Pay school fees for siblings ( ) 4. Purchase school necessities (school uniforms and stationery) ( ) 5. Earn pocket money ( ) 6. Peer influence ( ) 7. Others (specify) _____
    b) Pull factors; ( ) 1. Motivation to earn own money ( ) 2. Lack of interest in school ( ) 3. Good pay ( ) 3. Quality of education is low ( ) 4. Others (specify) _____

Section F: Consequences of child labour

29. In your own opinion, do you think the engagement of the children from this household in child labour activities has any effect on the working child (ren)? ( ) 1. Yes ( ) 2. No
30. If YES, list some of the main effects (positive and negative) to the working child.
    a) Positive effects of child labour on the working child (ren) ( ) 1. Pay school fees ( ) 2. Purchase school necessities (school uniforms and stationery) ( ) 3. Pay transport ( ) 4. Discourages idleness among children ( ) 5. Others (specify)_____
    b) Negative effects of child labour on the working child (ren) ( ) 1. Poor grades in school ( ) 2. Absenteeism in school ( ) 3. Physical fatigue ( ) 4. Aggression ( ) 5. Delinquent behaviours such as lying and stealing ( ) 6. Others (specify)_____
31. What do you consider to be the negative effects of child labour at;
    a) Household level_____
    b) Community level_____
32. In your view, should child labour be curbed in this area? ( ) 1. Yes ( ) 2. No
33. If NO, why not? _____
34. If YES, what measures should be taken to curb child labour in this area?

_____

_____

35. Are you aware of any legislations in Kenya that protect children from economic exploitation? ( ) 1. Yes ( ) 2. No ( ) 3. I don't know
36. If YES, list some of the child labour legislations that you know

1._____ 2. _____

3._____ 4. _____

The end

Thank you for your time

APPENDIX II

Key informant interview guide

Hello. My name is Grace Mugo and I am a Master of Arts student at the Department of Sociology and Social Work in the University of Nairobi. I am conducting a research child labour in rural and urban Kenyan settings; a comparative study of Kakuzi location, Murang'a County and Kibera slum. The findings of this study will be used to write an M.A thesis. All information collected will be treated as confidential and thus will not be disclosed to any other parties for unknown intentions. Thank you in advance for your continued cooperation.

Target population

Children officers, teachers, village elders and chiefs.

General information on child labour

1) What is child labour in your own opinion?
2) Type of activities considered as child labour activities (*probe on whether they are aware of any children in the area engaging in child labour*)
3) Push and Pull factors to child labour
4) Please, name the main sectors that demand the use of child labour in the area
5) Consequences faced by children as a result of engaging in child labour (*Probe on the educational, health, social and economic consequences*)
6) Awareness of any legislations prohibiting child labour (*Explain your answer*)
7) Measures that can be undertaken to curb child labour in the area

The end

Thank you for your time

APPENDIX III

Focus group discussion guide

Hello. My name is Grace Mugo and I am a Master of Arts student at the Department of Sociology and Social Work in the University of Nairobi. I am conducting a research child labour in rural and urban Kenyan settings; a comparative study of Kakuzi location, Murang'a County and Kibera slum. The findings of this study will be used to write an M.A thesis. All information collected will be treated as confidential and thus will not be disclosed to any other parties for unknown intentions. Thank you in advance for your continued cooperation.

Target population

Children aged 5-17 years

General information on child labour

1) What is child labour in your own opinion?
2) Type of activities considered as child labour activities (*probe on whether they are aware of any of their peers who are involved child labour*)
3) Push and Pull factors to child labour (*Probe for the reasons why children engage in child labour in the area*)
4) Please, name the main sectors in which children work in the area
5) Consequences faced by children as a result of engaging in child labour (*Probe on the educational, health, social and economic consequences*)
6) Measures that can be undertaken to curb child labour in the area

The end

Thank you for your time

APPENDIX IV

Case study guide for child labourers

Hello. My name is Grace Mugo and I am a Master of Arts student at the Department of Sociology and Social Work in the University of Nairobi. I am conducting a research child labour in rural and urban Kenyan settings; a comparative study of Kakuzi location, Murang'a County and Kibera slum. The findings of this study will be used to write an M.A thesis. All information collected will be treated as confidential and thus will not be disclosed to any other parties for unknown intentions. Thank you in advance for your continued cooperation.

Target population

Children aged 5-17 years engaged in labour

Case history guide for the child laborers

1. Background characteristics such as gender, age, level of education, in/out of school
2. Family background of the child laborers (*probe for the parent's occupation and other siblings that might be working*)
3. Employment experience (*probe for age at first employment, conditions of employment, type and nature of employment, reasons for employment, amount and mode of payment*)

The end

Thank you for your time

APPENDIX V

Research permit

NACOSTI

NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION

Telephone: +254-20-2213471, 2241349, 310571, 2219420
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When replying please quote

9th Floor, Utalii House
Uhuru Highway
P.O. Box 30623-00100
NAIROBI-KENYA

Ref: No.

Date:

25th August, 2014

NACOSTI/P/14/3000/3123

Grace Kathure Mugo
University of Nairobi
P.O. Box 30197-00100
NAIROBI.

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Following your application for authority to carry out research on ***"Understanding the phenomenon of child labour: A comparative study of Kakuzi Location and Kibera Slum in Murang'a and Nairobi Counties,"*** I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in **Murang'a and Nairobi Counties** for a period ending **31st December, 2016.**

You are advised to report to **the County Commissioners and the County Directors of Education, Murang'a and Nairobi Counties** before embarking on the research project.

On completion of the research, you are expected to submit **two hard copies and one soft copy in pdf** of the research report/thesis to our office.

DR. S. K. LANGAT, OGW
FOR: SECRETARY/CEO

Copy to:

The County Commissioner
The County Director of Education
Murang'a County.

National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation is ISO 9001: 2008 Certified