CHILD LABOUR ON THE STREETS OF MOMBASA: ITS NATURE, UNDERLYING FACTORS AND CONSEQUENCES.

By

ZANI, AGNES P.

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment for the degree of Master of Arts in the University of Nairobi.

1993

DECLARATION

This thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University.

Zani, Agnes P.

This thesis has been submitted for examination with my approval as University supervisor.

Dr. MAURI YAMBO

DEDICATION

For my daughter Natalie

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Most sincere appreciation goes to my supervisor, Dr. Mauri Yambo without whose advise and guidance, this thesis could not have been written.

To my parents, I would like to extend my gratitude for the encouragement and support accorded to me throughout my studies, and to my friend Kathleen Anangwe, for always being there.

My most profound thanks go to the children who were working on the streets for their willingness and enthusiasm in sharing their experiences with the hope that their lives may be improved.

This study would not have been possible without the financial assistance given to me by the DANIDA Mission and for this I am truly thankful especially to Karin Steffensen.

Finally I am grateful to Agnes Andallo and Mildred Sumba for their careful typing of the scripts. However, for any short coming in this thesis, I am entirely responsible.

ABSTRACT

The study deals with the problem of child labour on the streets of Mombasa. It focusses on three aspects namely, the nature, factors and consequences of child labour. From the literature review and basing on the study's theoretical framework of reference group theory, four hypothesis are formulated. The study utilized a multi-stage sampling frame and data was collected using an interview schedule and observation. The testing of the hypotheses led to certain salient findings.

The educational background of the child did not influence who they would work for. This showed that children were unselective about their work and worked wherever that work was available. Regarding the type of work done the study revealed that the majority of the children (77%) were involved in selling foodstuffs along the streets. Most of the work was being done for employers (non-relatives),which accounted for 73% of the cases. Employers housed the children in 52% of the cases.

Most of the children (86%), complained of various problems related to their work. They worked under poor conditions such as long hours, had poor sleeping facilities, ate unbalanced meals and were mistreated by employers. Despite this, 73% of the children still enjoyed their work.

In terms of factors that brought children to work, the study found out that the nature of father's occupation was important in influencing the children to work. It was concluded that the children

whose fathers were in sporadic and temporary employment or had no jobs at all were more likely to work. Most of the mothers also had low occupational status which further heightened the need for the child to work.

The study also found out that those children who were already working had played a crucial role in influencing other children to join the labour market through constant interaction. The children working on the streets had previous knowledge of other such children who they had been in contact with. The study concluded that the children who had been working on the streets had acted as a reference group and influenced the children to work on the streets.

Finally, regarding the health status of the children, the study established that meal constituents affected health status of the child. Thus whether the children had balanced or unbalanced meals would have an impact on their health. However, a working condition such as number of hours worked did not determine the child's health status. The study concluded that there was no significant relationship between working hours and child's health status.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 PROBLEM STATEMENT

Child labour has traditionally been regarded in the social sciences as a problem of underdevelopment and poverty (Onyango, 1988:163). Child labour was a problem as early as the nineteenth century in Western countries where children had to work outside their families in industries. However, with development, the problem has almost been eradicated (Mendelievich, 1979:4).

Children have always worked in traditional African societies. However, the notion that child labour is a social problem, a phenomenon hindering the harmonious physical and mental development of the child, is a recent development. This interpretation of child labour and the accompanying idea that a child should be protected against it came to the fore when paid child labour became common (Mendelievich, 1979:3).

Child labour involves an exchange of a child's manual effort for monetary reward or other requirements. It can be described as any physical engagement by the child directed at alleviating adult burden (Amukam, 1986:73). A child is one who by virtue of his age, has mental and physical disadvantages which necessitate his protection by law. In Kenya, anyone below the age of eighteen years is considered to be a child.

It is important to make a clear distinction between child labour within the family and paid child labour. While the former is considered to have an essential socialization function, the latter tends to take place outside the family and could be exploitative

(Mendelievich, 1979:3). Paid child labour outside the family is the subject of the present research. What gives reason for concern is that this work places too heavy a burden on the child. It is work that endangers the child's safety, health or welfare. It takes advantage of the defenselessness of the child and exploits the child as a cheap substitute for adult labour. It impedes the child's education and training and thus prejudices his future. Child labour of this kind is the object of national and international concern (ILO report, 1983:4).

A growing number of children between the age of four and seventeen years work in the streets of urban towns in Kenya doing various jobs, for example selling newspapers, shining shoes, roasting maize and washing cars. Mombasa town has a high rate of children involved in labour activities on the streets. Through observation, the researcher noted that Mombasa has many school age children who walk up and down the streets selling goods ranging from food stuffs to clothes. These children start work very early and sometimes can be seen working at dawn. Some of these children are not doing the work for themselves or for their families but are employed by middle class Arabs, Indians or Africans who sometimes house them.

Bwibo and Onyango (1986:34) note that exploitative child labour is practiced when children work away from home. Children are seen working in market places, on commercial farms, in factories, at bus stations and in homes as domestic servants. However, Melo (1985:62) notes that labour within the family can become exploitative when

cultural child labour occurs at the expense of formal education. Child labour results in educational deprivation, social disadvantage and poor health and physical development. It is extremely controversial not only because it involves so many children who work illegally but also because it is characterized by abuse and exploitation. Child labour is also a crucial problem because it affects one of the most vulnerable groups, children (United Nations, 1991:48).

It is worth noting that not all work is harmful for the child. The ILO report (1983:vi) points out that some activities under regulated conditions may have positive effects on the child and the society at large. Most of these children utilize the money they get for the benefit of the whole family. Some do useful things with it, for example educating their younger brothers and sisters. They are able to fend for themselves, buy clothes and earn a little pocket money. They are also able to stay away from mischief due to idleness, especially in cases where they do not go to school.

These short term benefits are however counteracted by the long term effects that this sort of labour has on the child. Basic protection for the lives and the normal growth of the world's children is not only the greatest of all humanitarian causes, it is also the greatest of all practical investments (United Nations, 1991:7). The choices which today's children will have to make in the future can only be made wisely by a population which has been adequately prepared to face those challenges.

Kayongo-Male and Walji (1984:9) state that although informal

observation shows that Kenyan children work in various sectors of the economy, there are few Ph.D and M.A. dissertations which have dealt with the problem of child labour in Kenya, especially that of paid child labour, outside the family context.

The ILO report (1983:7) comments that global figures on working children are of limited reliability and, therefore, utility. In themselves, they tell us nothing about the nature of the work children are doing or the circumstances under which the work is being done. This leaves many questions about child labour unanswered. The study hopes to come up with more precise information on certain salient aspects, namely the nature, factors and consequences of child labour on the streets. There is need to study in detail different situations so as to understand better the reasons for differences in the incidence of child labour among socio-economic groups, regions and countries and to identify the appropriate points of intervention.

It is hoped that the study will come up with definite data which will show the magnitude of various relationships. Most of the information on child labour has been in the form of general statements; for example, about the positive relationship between child labour and poverty. However, this has not been tested scientifically, through empirical research. This study attempts to examine this relationship and ascertain its magnitude.

This study will act as an impetus for more research into the area of child labourers on the streets, which has been neglected. This study also complements research on child labourers on the

streets which have been done in other countries. The notion of child labourers on the streets in the form of hawkers has been given prominence by various scholars outside Kenya. These include Ekwe (1986:11), Okpara (1986:52), Vinolia and Fubara (1986:64) and Ngochukwu (1986:15"). All these studies have been conducted in Nigeria and this study seeks to ascertain to what extent their findings correspond to the ones of the Mombasa case.

There is need for serious concern over the problem of child labour since in many urban centers and small towns, young children often work. In Voi, for example, children run from bus to bus, selling bananas, biscuits and other food stuffs as the buses pass through the town. These children can be seen working until close up to midnight. Child labour can also have far-reaching consequences on the child which could be detrimental for the country at large. A report on the study of the World's children (United Nations, 1991:42) states that over much of Africa and Latin America, children have been allowed to suffer first and most, not last and least. This therefore calls for a systematic sociological research as the phenomenon of child labourers on the streets is a reality.

Despite policies and programmes aimed at curbing the problem of child labour, the practice is still widespread. Various Government officials and social workers have publicly condemned the practice and appealed for an end to it. However, this cannot be realized unless vigorous effort is put into studying the phenomenon. This study investigates reasons for the children's involvement in this

activity, it's nature and consequences to bring a greater understanding of the practice.

1.2 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

This study has three main objectives. The first is to find out the nature of child labour in Mombasa. Various issues are investigated. These include the characteristics of the children in terms of age, sex and birth order. A hypothesis is formulated to test the relationship between educational background and the person for whom the child works. Further analysis is conducted on the kinds of work that children do and conditions of work such as income, hours of work, what food the child eats and where the child sleeps, and when the child rests.

Another objective is to find out factors that brought these children to work. Two factors are investigated in this study, namely father's occupation and the influence of other children. However, other factors which are brought up by the children themselves are also highlighted.

Two consequences of child labour are analyzed in the study. First, focus is directed at whether working conditions in terms of number of hours worked had direct impact on the children's health status. Second, the children's aspirations are investigated in order to find out how they have been shaped by their work.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW.

Mendelievich (1979:3) asserts that to a greater or lesser extent, children in every type of society have always taken part and still do take part in those economic activities which are necessary if the group to which they belong is to survive. Since time began, children in most societies throughout the world have been encouraged by their parents to learn skills, do things for themselves and generally help in tasks related to the needs of the family. The work was their education and how they imbibed the cultural values of their society (Kayongo-Male and Walji, 1984:1).

There are different types of child labour. Rodgers and Standing (1981:1) devised a typology of child activity patterns. They came up with five major categories, namely domestic work, non domestic-non-monetary work, tied and bonded labour, paid labour and marginal economic activities.

Briefly, domestic work includes cleaning, cooking, child care and other domestic chores undertaken by children in almost all societies. Non-domestic-non-monetary work is a child activity found in subsistence economies. It includes such work as farm work, hunting and gathering. Tied and bonded labour entails children working as unpaid household servants for the landlord, usually for some minimum board and lodging. Paid labour can be found in various forms, for example in industry as in the case of carpet making in Pakistan (Hafeez, 1979:121) and brick-making, reported by Salazar (1988:49). Another system involves the paid labour of children as domestic servants of distant kin.

Marginal economic activities are characterized by their irregularity and short term nature, though some of those individuals practicing the activities may do so on a regular basis. Marginal semi economic activities of this type include the selling of newspapers, "looking after" cars, shoe-shining, selling of sweets and other small items. This category forms the core of this study.

2.1.0 THE NATURE OF CHILD LABOUR

2.1.1 Characteristics of the Children

a) Age, Sex and Birth Order of the Child

Children begin to work at different ages, in various countries or areas all over the world. There is therefore no fixed age at which children begin or stop work. Rodriguez (1979:128) states that city children begin work virtually as soon as they can get away from home. This is at about the age of seven years. Boyden and Bequele (1988:24) support this view when they state that a significant number of children are involved in employment at a very early age.

In the developmental analysis of the child, the fourth stage which begins around the age of six years, and extends over five or six years, is important in determining the child's future. The chief danger of this period is the presence of conditions that may lead to the development of a sense of inadequacy and inferiority, as is the case of children engaging in paid labour.

Gatchalian (1988:80) found 23% of his total sample of 403 children in wood based and clothing industries, to be below the age

of 10 years. Abdalla's survey (1988:32) had almost similar findings where 28% were below 10 years. His study covered 50 workers of whom 48 were boys and 2 girls. He found out that of these 50 children, 14 were of age four and a half to 10 years, 21 between 11 to 13 years, 12 were the age of 14 years and 3 were 15 years. The average age was 11.7. The majority were in the 11 to 13 years category.

Marroquin (1988:66) had a sample of 23 young workers from the gold panning industry in Peru of whom 21 were males and two females. Unlike Abdalla (1988:32), he found out that nearly all those in the sample were between 15 and 18 years and one was 12 years. The majority in Marroquin's sample were in the 15 to 18 age group category, while in Abdalla's study (1988:32), only 6% were in the category of 15 years and above.

From the literature reviewed, it is clear that there is a wide differential of ages at which children work and this variation cuts across different regions and countries. The youngest age at which children have been found working is four and a half years (Abdalla, 1988:32). These children were found in the leather tanning industry in Cairo, Egypt. It was also noted that in most of the studies, where both male and female children were surveyed, the bigger percentage consisted of male children. The reason for this is that these studies were undertaken in industrial enterprises, while more girls, where they are employed, tend to concentrate in the domestic sector.

Most of the studies have grouped ages using different intervals. This makes it difficult to compare studies to find out exactly what percentage of a certain age work for a specific case. Moreover, there has been no fixed limit of lower ages and higher ages. This study will deal with each age group separately in order to obtain specific percentages of each age of the children found working.

Ebigho and Izuora (1986:5) found that birth order is related to involvement in child work. Their study focused on children working in two major markets in Enugu, namely Ogbete main market and Kenyata market, and had a sample of 70 children. Out of this sample, first borns accounted for 27%, second borns, 21.6% and third borns, 27% of the total sample. These in total formed 75.6%. However, this study was conducted in Nigeria. There are no studies in Kenya which relate birth order to paid child labour.

b) Educational Attainment and Participation in Work

Involvement in child-labour greatly reduces for the children the chance of acquiring complete and satisfactory educational standards. This is because very few children can attend school and work at the same time. The two activities usually run concurrently. Those who attend school and also work, find it extremely difficult to give their school work the attention it deserves. They therefore end up doing badly at school. For most children, the choice to be made is that of either attending school or working. Mendelievich (1979:51) underscores this point when he says that those who work

during their childhood years have no chance of going to school and obtaining qualifications which might help them escape from their state of poverty. Inevitably, when their extreme destitution obliges them to look for an immediate source of livelihood, their lack of qualifications keeps them in low paid, unqualified jobs. He gives the case of Indonesia, where labour inspectors established that some children had received some education or are still in school. However, a large percentage had not been to school. In central Java 65%, in East Java, 57%, and in North Sulaven, 20% of the children had never been to school.

Kanbargi (1988:101) gives poverty as the reason for children not attending school. In his sample of 49 children, only 6 had four or more years of schooling. This shows the low level of educational attainment by most child labourers. However, he offers a narrow view, since he ignores other factors that could lead to their low educational levels apart from poverty. Boyden and Bequele (1988:5) go further to give other reasons why children may work rather than attend school. These include parent's confidence that working children are gaining valuable skills and experience. They note that this idea is ill founded because child labourers concentrate on unskilled and simple routines which offer little opportunity for transfer to other more remunerative, safer and more interesting occupations.

Sometimes parents are reluctant to send their children to school due to accompanying costs of school, which they may not be able to meet. Sometimes the long term rewards of school are not

appreciated because the value of child labour to such parents is immediate.

Although Boyden and Bequele (1988:5) adopt a more multi-dimensional approach to the problem of why children have low educational levels, they fail to spell out the various educational levels that children have attained. Ebigbo and Izuora (1986:6) found school attendance to be high among child labourers. In a study conducted in Nigeria, they found that 61 out of the 70 (87%) children interviewed had attended primary school. Only 9 (13%) had not attended school.

A study by Salazar (1988:56) concurs with that of Ebigho and Izuora (1986:7) in that most children had received some schooling. However, she notes that very few, less than 6.2%, had completed their primary education. In her survey of children working in quarries, she found that 50% of the child labourers were attending school at the time of the survey. The remaining children were not receiving any education because their income was needed by their families. Abdalla's study (1988:39) revealed that out of 50 respondents, 24 were attending school or were at least planning to do so. A further 13 of the children had never been enrolled and 10 had completed their primary grades. There is lack of clarity from these studies about the level of education, number of years spend in school or qualifications that these children have achieved. Most of the studies have also been conducted outside Kenya and need an update. The present study starts from the premise that most children have received some elementary education, but in the

majority of cases, the standard of education received is very low, mainly basic and primary education.

The above discussions have dealt with educational attainment of the children but have not interpreted the impact this may have on the work the children do. This analysis forms the basis of the study's hypothesis one (H_1) which relates educational background of the child to a specific variable, namely, who the child works for. It tries to find out if children are selective in their work and if this is influenced by their educational background. It is hypothesized that the child's educational background will contribute to the choice of who to work for. Thus the child will undertake work selectively by choosing who to work for.

Mendelievich (1979:10) asserts that in general, children take up a job because it is the only type of job open at the time. They have very little choice of what work they want to do. They could also take up a job because one or more members of the family are already doing that job or because it needs no special qualifications. Often children are expected to work for motives detached from direct emotional incentive (Adams 1957:109).

By testing hypothesis one (H_1) it will be possible to tell whether the educational background of the child influences who the child works for. This may further suggest whether it is realistic to seek a solution to the problem of child labour in terms of what attracts them to work from the educational background of the children. Adams (1957:109) is of the view that only education can repair losses of child labour. It alone has the power of organizing

a child's activities with some reference to the life he will later lead. It will also give the child a clue to what to select and what to eliminate when he comes into contact with contemporary social and industrial conditions.

2.1.2 The Kinds of Work that Children do

Children are exposed to many situations in which they labour. Thus we find children working in underground mines, bonded children, children employed as cheap and seasonal labour, children in numerous industrial workshops and service establishments and children in street trades. Gatchalian (1988:81) notes that child workers are mostly employed by small scale enterprises. In his study, 72% of children employed in wood industry and about 82% in cloth manufacturing were working in firms which had less than 29 workers. In the firms surveyed, adults were normally hired to work on more skilled and delicate tasks, while children were assigned to tasks requiring little or no training.

Unlike Gatchalian (1988:81), Rodriguez (1979:125) puts more emphasis on the informal sector. He observes that all the jobs in this sector such as shoe-blacks and car-washers are done by children. These are organized in specific streets or districts by the adults who exploit them. These are not the self-employed shoe-blacks or newspaper boys of former times. These are informal businesses run by adults with the aim of exploiting children. This view concurs with that in this study where children are considered to be employed to do specific tasks for adults. This study however

differs from Rodriguez's in terms of the work offered which mainly involves selling of items in the streets.

Another aspect of child exploitation is given by Dyorough (1986:46) who notes that the incidence of child labour is so high in Nigeria that in some economic activities for example bus conducting, children have replaced adults. However Dyorough (1986:46) puts more emphasis on bus conducting and not street trading which is the focus of this study.

Boyden and Bequele (1988:24) give reasons for the extensive use of children in the labour market. They stipulate that employers find child workers especially attractive on account of their innate characteristics such as docility, speed and visual acuity. They can also be paid low wages and they offer flexibility in situations of fluctuating and unstable market conditions. Other employers are attracted by such qualities in children as, for example, nimble fingers and keen eyesight, depending on the work to be done (Kanbargi, 1988:93).

More often than not children are casual workers. Usually their employment does not provide any form of binding agreements with their employers. Children's work may be risky where they have to undertake work for which they are not physically prepared. Children are more likely to suffer occupational injuries, owing to inattention, insufficient knowledge of work, fatigue, poor judgement and because the tools at work are not designed for children but for adults.

On the kind of work done (Ebigho and Izuora, 1986:6) found 50 out of 70 child-labourers (65%) to be involved in hawking activities. Ten, (14.3%) were trade apprentices helping to sell goods at the market. Eight, (11.4%) were transporting goods for customers using wheelbarrows and 2 (2.86%) attended to machines for grinding local food stuffs. This study attempts to highlight the different kinds of work that the children do in the streets.

2:1:3 Conditions of Work

Most children in paid labour work under exploitative conditions that jeopardize their physical and mental well-being. Their suffering is made worse because most of the jobs they do are designed for adults not children. The situation is further made worse because children are more vulnerable than adults in physical, psychological and organizational terms.

Children who work on the streets are exposed to occupational risks. Some sleep where they work, for example, in market stalls or on the streets. Usually, they work in a dirty and unhygienic atmosphere. These children are usually badly clothed and undernourished. They do not have enough protein, calcium and vitamins. Their diet is usually poor and unbalanced. Some may go hungry for days or may only be allowed to feed on left overs (Marroquin, 1988:72)

Ebigho and Izuora (1986:7) deal with the issue of where children obtain food from. They found that 46 of the 70 children working (65.7%) were catered for by parents. Twenty four (34.9%)

were catered for by guardians. The study was not exhaustive in analyzing such issues as where the child sleeps and eats, and more importantly, what kind of food the child eats. This study intends to give an in depth focus on these issues.

In the case of street traders, Mendelievich (1979:42), shows that they are exposed until late night to the vagarities of weather, dirt, traffic hazards and police detention on grounds of vagrancy. These jobs are usually carried out in crowded places. Children are exposed to bodily injuries and disabilities arising from motor accidents and assaults. They are also exposed to infectious diseases. However, these are given as mere generalizations.

The ILO report (1983:12) states that a child's development and well-being are not taken into consideration by most child employers. They ignore the fact that a child is not an adult and thus not physically capable of adult work without it having repercussions. The child labourers are not given enough time to rest, let alone play, which is only part of the child's normal development. They also suffer from extreme fatigue due to the fact that their powers of resistance and muscular strength are below that of adults, yet they are obliged to do as much as, or sometimes even more than, the adults.

Moreover, most of the undertakings do not provide health insurance or any kind of social security. Children's working conditions remain poor. Mendelievich (1979:36) states that if children worked in the formal sector, where they would be acknowledged to exist, maybe their conditions would be better. However, they are

mostly to be found in the informal factor, where their presence tends to be ignored. Children, therefore, continue to make a submissive and defenseless work force, with few possibilities of negotiating their conditions of work.

In terms of remuneration, it is indicated by the ILO report (1983:12) that sometimes children receive no pay. Such is the case in many of the so called apprenticeship schemes found in small enterprises, and informal sector settings. Where they are paid, they almost invariably receive low wages. This appears to be one of the reasons for widespread use of child labour. In a study by Abdalla (1988:33), it was found out that among the child workers with regular employment, approximately 60% were wage employees, 36% were paid apprentices and the rest were unpaid family labour who received only some pocket money. This clarifies the different kinds of remuneration systems that could exist in an enterprise.

Boyden and Bequele (1988:4) concur with Abdalla (1988:33). They note that there is a marked tendency to undervalue children's work. Their earnings are usually lower than those of adults even where the jobs performed are the same. This shows to what extent children are exploited. They all agree on the point that children are usually lowly paid. A study by Marroquin, (1988:67) underscores this same point. His study shows the differentials between adult's and children's pay, with children receiving much lower wages than adults. To illustrate to what extent children's work is underpaid, Mendelievich (1979:40) states that sometimes children are only given tips.

The income of street traders is irregular. Most of their income depends on various factors, such as the kind of goods the child is selling and the demand for them. Other factors to be considered include where the goods are sold and the time when the work is conducted.

The length of time paid child labourers work varies considerably according to the availability of work, whether they go to school or not, whether they have other jobs, or for how long the employer needs them (Mendelievich, 1979:37). Marroquin (1988:71) reports that the working day lasts 8 hours from 7 am to 4 pm, with a lunch break between 12 pm to 1 pm. However, the girls work for longer hours in food preparation and cooking in the factories. They start work at about 4 or 5 am and work till 7 pm. They work for about 14 to 15 hours a day and receive lower wages than the boys. They also have no holidays and sometimes work on Sundays. The findings show that children work for longer hours than those stipulated by the labour laws. This view is shared by Kanbargi (1988:100) who states that, generally, children work from between 6.30am and 7am to between 6pm and 7pm with a tea and lunch break in between. They work overall for between 9 and 10 hours per day.

A study by Salazar (1988:54), found that 20% of the children who were interviewed in the brickyard said that they worked five to seven hours a day. Another 20% worked for eight to nine hours a day and 60% worked two to five hours a day. From her findings, only 20% worked for over eight hours, which is the average number of hours that one should work. These findings contradict those of

Marroquin (1988:71) and Kanbargi (1988:100) who found that most of the children worked for more than eight hours; and those of Abdalla (1988:34), who found the average working hours to be 12.8 per day or 77.5 hours per week.

Although, these figures are comprehensive, it is difficult to re-categorize them in order to clarify how many hours children work per day because they have been grouped in a wide range of hours. Also there is disagreement among those scholars as to whether the majority of the children work for less or more than eight hours, a variable which is examined later in this study.

2.2.0 FACTORS THAT CONTRIBUTE TO CHILD LABOUR.

2.2.1 Socio-economic Status of Family, Father's Occupation and the Incidence of Child Labour.

Child labour is rampant in developing countries, and this can be attributed to the fact that most of these families are poor. Poverty forces children to go to work in order to supplement the little, if any income from their parents (Boyden and Bequele, 1988:4). Child workers are not free, their recruitment is more responsive to social obligation than to market forces. Parents depend on these earnings. They send their children to work despite knowing the disadvantages to their physical and educational well being.

Kayongo-Male and Walji (1984:2) observe that children are encouraged to work in order to improve the family's socio-economic status. When wealth is unevenly distributed among families in a community, poorer children may be exploited by the better off

families as cheap labourers. Agnelli (1986:17) shifts emphasis to the rural areas. She sees poverty and the seemingly fewer opportunities to develop as factors that push children from rural to urban areas. Abdalla's study (1988:37) also supports the general assumption that child labour is readily supplied by poor families who depend on their off-spring for income. When the parents in Abdalla's sample were asked why they sent their children to work, where respondents gave more than one answer to a question, 90% replied that the family needed the child's income, 56% mentioned that their income was irregular, 48% said that they could not afford the cost of schooling while 20% gave the unemployment of the household head as a reason.

Another study in Bangkok (Mendelievich, 1979:9) shares the same view as that of Abdalla (1988:31). However, Mendelievich (1979:9) enumerates other reasons apart from poverty that contribute to child labour and notes that two or more of the reasons or even all of them may be have been put forward by the same child.

Reasons given	Percentage
Poverty	23.4
Assist parents in household economic activity	32.9
Parents want them to work	26.3
Need to earn own living	7.9
Better than doing nothing	6.9
Other reasons	2.6

Marroquin's (1988:56) study found that the majority of the respondents had migrated to work because of lack of economic resources within the family. A smaller number had migrated for other reasons such as family problems caused by economic difficulties. A few had migrated out of a sense of adventure. Other reasons were family problems and a sense of adventure.

Salazar (1988:59) goes a step further in trying to expound some of the reasons causing poverty. She concludes that child labour in Colombia, is a widespread phenomenon, a response to severe poverty arising from extremely high rates of adult unemployment and underemployment in both rural and urban areas.

The picture concerning poverty is made even more bleak by a United Nations report (1990:9) which states that the average expenditure on education and health in developing countries has declined from an estimated 25% in 1986 to around 18% in 1989. The World Bank's latest report estimates that without action to change current trends, Africans in poverty will account for one third of all the World's poor by the year 2,000.

Most of the studies have been generalized and no direct relationship has been sought between poverty and child labour. This study isolates one variable, namely the nature of father's occupation and how this perpetuates child labour practice according to the reasons that the children themselves have for working. Studies all concur that poverty plays a crucial role in bringing about a child's involvement in labour. Less clear is how this poverty has been analyzed, which could vary from culture to

culture. This study examines the nature of father's occupation and relates it to the reasons for the child working in order to ascertain how father's occupation influences the child to work through reasons given by the child for working in study's second hypothesis (H_2). This might help to explain how certain factors, namely, the nature of father's occupation can contribute directly to child labour.

Marroquin's survey (1988:86), shows that child work corresponds closely to the father's employment status. Thus the incidence of child labour among families in which the father has regular employment is much lower than among those in which he is either in sporadic employment or is unemployed. However, the study did not relate father's occupation with any other specific variable. This study attempts to relate nature of father's occupation and reasons given by the children themselves for working in order to find out if the reasons given have any relationship with father's occupation. The employment status of the mother also significantly affects child labour. Mothers who are either self-employed or irregularly employed are more likely to have children who work than those who are in full employment. Parental occupation can be critical in ascertaining the participation of young people in the labour force, since adult income influences the degree of dependence on children's earnings.

It is hypothesized that the children whose fathers had permanent and secure occupations were not likely to have financial related reasons for working as compared to those whose fathers held occupations which are sporadic and temporary in nature or those

who had no occupations at all.

Ebigbo and Izuora (1986:5) found the fathers of the child labourers were mainly farmers (20%), artisans (20%) and members of the armed forces, including prison warders (18.6%) only 12.86% were civil servants and only one child's father was a medical doctor. Mothers were mainly petty traders (55.7%), peasant farmers (11.4%) and housewives (1.17%). Kayongo-Male and Walji (1984:1) add that occupation has an effect on how a parent will socialize the child. For example, parents with white collar jobs tend to give their children more freedom of choice than those parents working in blue collar jobs, based on their experiences.

2.2.2 Influence of Other Already Working Children

Influence is a means of persuasion (Parsons,1976:367). It is bringing about a decision on the alter's part to act in a certain way because it is felt to be a "good thing" for him.

Influence can be exemplified by the frequency of interaction between the potential child labourer and other already working children. Knowledge of what a particular kind of work entails, received from the already working child, can interest and encourage a non-working child to engage in that work.

In Peltzer's study (1988:34) it was found that the reasons for working were financial problems, followed by peer group influence. Knowledge of what that work entails, received from the already working child can interest and encourage a non working child to join the labour force.

Although peer groups play an important role in contributing to child labour, peer group influence has received little attention by scholars. Most of the emphasis on factors that lead children to work has been put on economic factors, to the detriment of such social factors as group pressure. Accordingly, the third hypothesis (H_3) attempts to find out whether those children who were working had been influenced to join the work by other children. The relationship between the children who were working and how they came to know of the job is tested to ascertain whether there had been influence from already working children in drawing the children to work.

2.2.3 Other Factors that Contribute to Child Labour

Mendelievich (1979:4) points out that the phenomenon of child labour must be set against its social background. The exploitation of children is one result of the complex nature of society, not only in developing countries but also in some regions of the developed world. The notion of child labour is rooted in the traditions and attitudes of the regions where it is practiced, as a remnant of the past, a form of resistance to change. He also notes that there is an idea in developing countries that a child who is no longer a baby should not be maintained without him working. There is a belief that children must work from an early age to contribute to the family's up keep and thus the necessity to have many children. Children also work in order to continue the family's tradition. Thus Mendelievich (1979:6) sees legislation in developing countries aimed

at eliminating child labour. not working because child work in considered normal.

Mendelievich (1979:9) also mentions another factor that could contribute to the practice of child labour. This is that of a family in strife. The tension and uncertainty at home could make a child feel like being away from that situation and working may be the alternative open to him. Where also the parent or parents are physically unfit, and cannot therefore, adequately cater for the family, the children might be forced to work.

Other social determinants which contribute to the practice of child labour include school organization. Boyden and Bequele (1988:6) point out that one of the most serious problems in many countries is the high drop out rate and the poor quality of education. Teachers may be poorly trained, poorly prepared and overworked. Many schools do not have an adequate infrastructure. The curriculum may be out of touch with local needs and aspirations. The school may also be at complete variance with the resources and skill requirements of the labour market. There is a sévere shortage of schools and sometimes these are too far for the child to attend. These weaknesses in education may be an added incentive for parents to send their children to work, rather than to school, especially given that most of the school expenses are extremely high. Agnelli (1986:51) also states that the context and form of education is often questionable, and unsuited to the children of the most deprived. The educational system may be based on that of the developed countries and does not address the problems of those it

is directed to. School therefore creates high expectations in children which cannot be realized. Moreover, children may feel obliged to work because they are doing badly at school. This could partly result as a deficiency by the teachers in capturing the child's attention, or when a child's effort is not recognized by the teacher, which is discouraging for the pupil.

Mendelievich (1979:9) adds that parents could view their children's school attendance as a waste of time. This may be the case where the value of school is not understood or perceived to exist. Most parents may not themselves have been to school. They may therefore not realize the importance or necessity of educating their children and thus encourage them to work.

According to Salazar (1988:57) the reason for this is that parents feel that schooling does not guarantee better jobs, for their children. They do not, therefore, see the need of taking their children to school. They find it preferable for them to learn a trade. In many communities, school attendance is seen to have no significant impact on employment prospects. Parents consider children working as a particularly effective means of acquiring a trade. In a study by Abdalla (1988:41), only 16% of the parents saw no particular use for child's work, other than income accrued. On the other hand, 36% felt that their children were developing important skills.

Other factors that sometimes hinder children from being taken to school include social values. In some communities, girls are hindered from attending school because it is believed that they will

marry soon, and all that they really need to know is work which will be related to their future roles.

Because of these problems, most parents are forced with the inevitable need to send their children to labour, which they view as an activity that will benefit the family. School, therefore loses in importance. The child in most cases misses out on this valuable resource of education.

2.3.0 CONSEQUENCES OF CHILD LABOUR

The consequences of child labour are as varied as the causes. The world-wide concern with child labour arises in large part from the implications for the child's health, physical, educational and intellectual development. The implications for health and physical development depend on such factors as the nature and intensity of the work and working conditions. The impact on education and intellectual development and lifetime opportunities hinges on the skill intensity of the work concerned and the availability of possibilities for schooling and training. Thus, the welfare implications of economic activity by children must be viewed in a socio-economic context within which children grow and work.

Where children's safety and health are not provided for, fatal accidents are likely to occur. Children working in battery shops are exposed to high levels of lead, while those working in metal workshops are exposed to high concentrations of toxic vapour and corrosive liquids. Children working as garbage collectors in towns are exposed to a wide array of infections (United Nations, 1990:62).

Children have suffered ruptured eardrums when engaged in deep sea fishing and risked physical deformities in archaic leather tanning workshops in the Middle East. Salazar (1988:58) adds that many of the children engaged in brick making had burns and bruises on their hands and feet and spoke of various injuries caused by handling the bricks. Ukpaki (1979:63) supports this view when he states that the physical and moral dangers that children are exposed to are immense.

Exposure to poor working conditions can bring about serious damage to the central nervous system. In the case of child labourers working on the streets, these are exposed to various dangers. The chance of a child being knocked down by a car are high because of fatigue and loss of concentration, on the part of the child.

2:3:1 The Effect of Child Labour on the Health of the Child

The vulnerability of children is increased by the high incidence of malnutrition and undernourishment which they experience. When children are required to perform heavy tasks that use up scarce reserves of energy, an imbalance arises between their energy needs and supply, thereby weakening them further and making them less resistant to diseases.

Further, their work raises their nutritional requirements, which they are mostly unable to meet (Naidu, 1986:10). While some of the health problems can be dictated immediately, others surface after a long gestation period. Some of the conditions under which

children work, for example in excessive heat, damp and dusty conditions are likely to create a milieu which favours the transmission of communicable diseases such as tuberculosis and rheumatic fever. Gastro-intestinal diseases thrive and spread in the absence of clean water and inadequate toilet facilities. Prolonged exposure to chemicals and toxic substances such as lead, mercury and benzene can have serious health consequences on the child according to the ILO report (1983:16).

Kanbargi (1988:102) also spells out some of the health problems children may have while working. Some children suffer from eye fatigue and leg and back deformities because of continuous squatting. Handling chemically treated raw wool leads to breathing problems and lung infections. Of the 49 children who were interviewed in his study, 20 had never had any health problem, but 29 complained of various ailments including fever, coughs and colds, backaches, diarrhoea and dysentery. The incidence of skin diseases was high. Several had scabies and eye problems (Salazar,1988:58).

This observation is also by Salazar (1988:58), where about two thirds of the children who were interviewed had ailments such as back pains, headaches and frequent colds due to exposure to strong winds and heat. They said, nevertheless that they rarely missed a working day owing to illness.

All the above cited studies have mentioned various ailments that children suffer from and implied that these are due to some of the conditions under which they work, but none has related any condition to health status of the child. This study isolates one of

these conditions, namely working long hours and relates it to the child's health status. This lacuna forms the core of the study's fourth hypothesis (H_4) which states that length of working hours determines the health status of the child. By testing this hypothesis the study is able to find out if such a condition has direct impact on the child due to working.

Some of the extreme working conditions could lead to permanent mental problems due to constant depressions. Moreover, children are not covered medically for accidents at work. When workers are sick, they may have to treat themselves because their companions and employers are busy and have neither time nor the inclination to provide assistance. Marroquin's (1988:74) study revealed that the majority of the respondents relied on self cure and in only one of the cases, did the employer provide medical attention.

2:3:2 Educational, Social and Mental Repercussions

A child's participation in the labour force clearly reduces the potential for schooling and educational development. Given the low education and skill content of many jobs in which working children are involved, the possibilities of acquiring remunerative and satisfying skills becomes still more remote. Thus children find themselves locked in unskilled, low paying, unpleasant and unsafe working conditions and thus permanently disadvantaged in the labour market (Mendelievich, 1979:53).

Those children who attempt to work and still attend school do

not manage to excel in their school work because of giving it divided attention. The lifetime opportunities of these children are, therefore, jeopardized because of not receiving an adequate education.

Socially, we need to ask the question, what happens to the children when they have outlined their usefulness as children? Children who work rarely have access to recreational activities. For those who have free time, due to boredom, this time is wasted and may lead to vagrancy. The child who works on the streets can quickly be led astray into begging, delinquency and other social evils.

Mental repercussions come about because the age at which a child begins work, coincides with a period of profound mental change in the child. Involvement in child labour does not allow the normal needs and tendencies of puberty and adolescence to be satisfied. They are instead converted into a premature "pseudo"-maturity. This has a permanent limiting and disturbing effect on the psychology of the child. When the child becomes an adult he cannot fully comprehend the adult world. This, coupled with his inadequate general education, restricts his ability to make significant contribution to the society in which he lives (Mendelievich, 1979:3)

Another alarming feature of child labour is that where the child is separated from his family and works away from it for long periods. Little attention is paid to these children and they are inadequately supervised. Consequently, they lead a semi-independent life from an early age (Mendelievich, 1979:35)

Every effort should be made to prevent the separation of children from their families. United Nations (1990:23) supports the view that due regard should be paid to the desirability of continuity in a child's upbringing in his or her own cultural milieu. This is because the family has the primary responsibility for the nurturing and protection of children from infancy to adolescence. Introduction of children to the culture, value, and norms of their society begins in the family. For the full and harmonious development of their personality, children should grow-up in a family environment, in a atmosphere of happiness, love and understanding. Accordingly, all institutions of society should respect and support the efforts of parents and other care givers to nurture and care for children in a family environment.

2.3.3 The Child's Perception of his Own Work

Without doubt, a child's labour has the profound effect of temporarily alleviating family poverty and increasing production, but it also has a definite impact on the child himself. Kayongo-Male and Walji (1984:10) note that a child could be alienated from his labour if it has a negative impact on him. Alienation from work results largely from the use of labour only as a means to an end rather than an end in itself. Work in itself should have some value outside the wage it brings. A child who spends little time integrating with other children may become introverted and if he is criticized often, he may hate work. In general, how a child will view his work will depend on his experience with work as a child. Children who have

had positive work experience tend to approach new work activities more positively and vice versa.

Children tend to be satisfied with their low pay and with their work in general. The reason behind this job satisfaction lies in their low level of job expectations. They are content with the fact that they are receiving some income and that they are not unemployed (Mendelievich, 1979:36). The child labourers and their families superficially benefit from child labour. However, the benefactors are the private employers and the government (Dyorough 1986:49).

Child labour has both short term and long term effects on the child. Although there may be immediate economic advantage which may be necessary and useful, and not forgetting that the child may enjoy his participation in the labour activity, it is important to emphasize both the short term and essentially the long term effects on the child.

2.4 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The reference group theory is applied in this study in an attempt to analyze the factors that make children work.

2.4.1 Reference and Peer Group Influence on Child Labour Practices

The fact that men may shape their attitudes by reference to groups, other than their own, is perhaps the most distinctive contribution of reference group theory (Herbert and Singer, 1968:4). Reference groups are, therefore, groups to which individuals aspire

to attain and maintain membership.

Reference groups also provide a frame of reference for self-evaluation and attitude formation (Merton, 1957:283). The choice of reference groups is often based on simple assumptions about motivation. The individual chooses a normative reference group so that in fantasy or ultimately, in fact, he can feel himself part of the group.

The children working on the streets, found themselves caught up in rapid social change. This forced them to make an evaluation about the new roles that they can play to enhance their own and their family's survival. Their reference group, which consisted of those already working, provided for them an appropriate model.

Most children also choose reference groups which are not extremely beyond their reach. They could, therefore, attempt to aspire to be like them. Some similarity in status attributes between the individual and the reference group must be perceived or imagined in order for the comparison to occur at all.

The influence of the reference group may arise from different reasons. Kelman (1961:510) distinguishes three processes of social influence, namely compliance, identification and internalization. Identification occurs, when an individual adopts behavior from another person or group because this behavior is associated with a satisfying self defining relationship to this person or group. Identification may also serve to maintain an individual's relationship to a group in which his self definition is anchored. In the case of identification, the child takes up the work in order to maintain the

relationship existing with the individual influencing him. This may occur in the case where influence is coming from a friend with whom the relationship can be sustained by the child involving himself in work. The medium of work enables the child to be with the friend and thus the child is influenced to work. The identification process is relevant in terms of the analysis where a relationship is sought between how the child came to know of work and whether there had been any interaction with that person influencing the child to work.

An important reference group in this study was the peer group. Sagarin (1978:45) asserts that a child's own participation with persons of his own age, at succeeding levels is recognized as being highly significant in his socialization. It is in these groups that a child learns to function more independently, to acquire and test skills and beliefs that earn him a place among people of the same generation.

It is for these reasons that the peer group members whom the children interact with are able to influence and socialize the children to adopt values like their own. For example, those children already working, because they exhibit the influence of a peer group are able to woe the non working children, also to start working. The peer group is a reference group whose values, standards and beliefs guide the child in carrying out his actions and in evaluating himself.

Conger (1975:97) states that earlier, children would look to their parents and other adults for guidance because the adults were in fact, the best, most experienced guardians to the social and vocational roles that the younger generation could eventually

assume. In the more recent past, characterized by a moderate rate of social change, the young have to look more to their peers and less to their parents and other adults for clues to successful adaptation.

In the study, most of the parents to whom the children could look up to for guidance had low levels of education, which are now inadequate. The parents find their models are not suitable for the children. The children finally turn to their peers, who seem to have the way out of this dilemma and are apt to copy them. Peer groups play a big role in influencing children to participate in activities that the peer groups accept and internalize.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

3.1 SITE DESCRIPTION

This research was conducted in Mombasa district during the months of October and November 1991. Mombasa is the smallest district in Kenya covering an area of 275 square kilometres. It is situated along the East Coast of Kenya between the latitudes of 5° 55" South and 4° 10" South and between longitudes 39° 34" East and 39° 44" West. Mombasa borders Kilifi district to the North, Kwale district to the South and West and the Indian Ocean to the East. It has the largest sea port harbour in Eastern Africa. The district is subdivided into four divisions: The Island, the North mainland called Kisauni, the South West (Likoni) and the West mainland of Changamwe (Kenya, 1979:2).

Mombasa district's land use includes the areas under residential premises, industrial and commercial units, harbour, airport, manufacturing, local shopping centers, railway, communication systems, social services, educational and training institutions and some agriculture (Kenya, 1989:7).

Climatically, Mombasa is hot and humid. The maximum and minimum mean annual temperatures are 30.1c and 23.4c respectively. The main resources of the district are a good natural harbour that links the country with the rest of the world, which is important in terms of trade. The warm climate is good for agriculture and tourist attraction. It also has a well established infrastructure for both commercial and industrial purposes (Kenya, 1989:2).

A large number of the labour force is engaged in the informal sector. This includes street vendors dealing mostly with petty commodities such as vegetables, fruits, coconuts, roast cassava or maize, selling of tea and coffee, handcraft making and selling (Kenya, 1989:6). What is of concern here is that more and more children are getting lured into this sector.

3.2 SAMPLING DESIGN

This research incorporates various sampling techniques in order to, as far as possible, obtain a representative sample. The choice of the site of Mombasa district was selected purposefully, for a number of reasons. First and foremost, this is where the practice of child labour activities on the streets was noted, by the researcher, to be very high. Secondly, the researcher's familiarity with this area enhanced the choice of the site. This would facilitate data collection.

A multi-stage sampling design was used to ensure representativeness at every level. Sudman (1976:131) states that this design requires selection in several steps where complete population lists are not available. This was the case for the child labourers because, so far, there have been no lists compiled to establish those involved in labour activities in terms of their numbers or magnitude. Adopting a multi-stage sampling design was hoped would reduce bias and increase precision of the results since it would be enhanced by using random methods.

In the first stage the four divisions: Likoni, Kisauni, Island and Changamwe were outlined. Secondly, the electoral areas (Municipal wards) within the four divisions were listed. These are 23 in number (Kenya, 1989:11). Four are found in Likoni, seven in Kisauni, five in Changamwe and seven in the Island as indicated below:

Division	Electoral Areas (Municipal Wards)
Likoni	Likoni Mtongwe Shika Adabu Ganjoni
Kisauni	Kisauni Bamburi Kongowea Mwakirunge Makadara Kizingo Mji-wa-kale
Changamwe	Changamwe Port Reitz Miritini Kipevu Tudor
Island	Tononoka King'orani Kilindini Mwembe-Tayari Bondeni Shimanzi Majengo

Thirdly, out of the 23 electoral areas, 12 areas, which constitute about 50% of the population were selected. A simple mathematical formula was used to pick a representative number of electoral areas from each division.

Likoni	4/23 x 12 = 2 (electoral areas)
Kisauni	7/23 x 12 = 4 (electoral areas)
Changamwe	5/23 x 12 = 2 (electoral areas)
Island	7/23 x 12 = 4 (electoral areas)
	required = 12 electoral areas

Fourthly, a simple random technique was used to decide which electoral areas would be selected. This technique ensures that every element in the population has a known, non-zero probability of selection (Sudman, 1976:49). This was done using the lottery method because the study was dealing at this stage with few areas. For Likoni, four pieces of paper containing the names of the four electoral areas were folded and put into a tin. The tin was shaken and the researcher picked 2 pieces of paper out of the tin. These contained the two names of the electoral areas from where the respondents would be sought from. The resultant two areas for Likoni were Likoni and Ganjoni.

The same procedure was then repeated for Kisauni which had seven electoral areas. The areas that were randomly picked were Kisauni, Bamburi, Kongowea and Mji-wa-kale. For Changamwe, the areas that were randomly selected were two, Changamwe and Miritini. Finally, for the Island the areas of Kilindini, Mwembe-Tayari, Bondeni and Shimanzi were randomly incorporated into the study. Lastly, an availability sample was used. Children, those individuals of up to 17 years, found working on the streets of the selected areas were incorporated into the study.

The research utilized a sample of 100 respondents. This was considered to be a representative sample. There have been no figures drawn up yet for this category of child labourers on the streets, thus it was difficult to tell exactly what proportion of these children the sample represented. A larger sample would have been ample, but this was restricted to 100 respondents due to constraints of time, labour and money. Moser and Kalton (1957:118) assert that one must accept the limitations imposed by a shortage of resources and try to utilize the available sample to the best advantage.

A mathematical formula was used to distribute the respondents among the chosen electoral areas. From Likoni, where respondents were sought from two electoral areas, 17 respondents came from Likoni and Ganjoni areas. This number was obtained by using the formula:-

2/12 x 100 = 16.6 (17) respondents

Seventeen, was divided into two to give the number of respondents to be obtained from each electoral area. Thus from Likoni, 9 respondents were sought and from Ganjoni, 8 respondents were obtained. This gave a close number of equal respondents from the two electoral areas.

The above procedure was repeated for Changamwe from where also seventeen respondents would be obtained. Nine respondents were selected from Changamwe area and 8 respondents from Miritini area. For Kisauni, 33 respondents were obtained from four electoral areas. From each electoral area, about 8 respondents were to be incorporated in the study.

(4/12) x 100 = 33.3 (33)

The number of 33 respondents was divided by 4 to give the number of respondents to be obtained from each electoral area. These were

33/4 = 8.5

Eight respondents were obtained from three electoral areas, namely Bamburi, Kongowea and Mji-wa-kale and 9 respondents were obtained from Kisauni area.

This same procedure was repeated for the Island from where also four electoral areas were used to draw the sample. Nine respondents came from Mwembe-Tayari while 8 respondents came from Kilindini, Bondeni and Shimanzi electoral areas.

In this way, it was hoped that each electoral area chosen was represented sufficiently with an almost equal number of respondents coming from the chosen electoral areas. The total of all respondents from the various electoral areas added up to 100 respondents.

The unit of analysis was the child labourer on the streets. The research confined itself to this category, to the exclusion of, for example children in domestic work, the child's employer or relative.

Those who were incorporated in the study were those who were identified during the time the research was being conducted. This enabled the researcher to work only with those children already working on the streets.

The unit of analysis was suitable because it enabled the study to utilize the child's own experience in labour. The researcher opted to get information from the child labourers themselves and not from their families, parents or employers. Morice (1981:153) supports

this stand, when he says that children at work should make the core of the samples. He commends questioning the children themselves. The child was interviewed on the streets, which limited influence from the employer who might have distorted the picture. In this way the researcher hoped to collect first hand information from the respondents themselves.

3.3 METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION

The history of research on children and employment contains a wide variety of methods of data collection, from the standard procedures of historians to quite specialized forms of inquiry designed specifically to overcome problems inherent in studying children (Hull, 1981:55). Some of these methods include direct observation, community level studies, sample surveys and analysis of census data.

The main technique of data collection which this study used was the face to face interview. This was based on an interview schedule. This method was found by the researcher to be appropriate because it facilitates probing, and can be used in areas where there are high levels of illiteracy. It also provides an opportunity for clarifications where questions directed to the respondent are not clear. The interview schedule contained both structured and unstructured questions. Structured or close ended questions were those which gave the respondent a limited number of answers from which to choose. However, a code for "others", allowed the respondent to add information that had not been given

in the options.

Open-ended or unstructured questions gave the respondents the freedom to decide on the form, detail and length of their answers. These helped to gain more insight and knowledge, some of which was not anticipated, from the respondents.

The questionnaire had a short introductory part with easy questions in order to put the respondent in a relaxed and less suspicious mood. This was followed by questions containing important variables which were put forward to the respondent. These were constructed in simple language in order to avoid ambiguities and misunderstandings. Although the questionnaire was constructed in English, it was essential for it to be translated into Kiswahili which is the commonly used language in Mombasa district. The actual data collection exercise was therefore done in Kiswahili.

The researcher was required to create rapport with the respondents before attempting to get answers to the questions. Rewards were avoided as far as possible because this may have encouraged the respondent to become artificial and dishonest. During the data collection, the researchers tried as far as was possible to take the respondents to less crowded areas to avoid unnecessary crowding from curious passersby.

Another method of data collection that was used in the study was that of observation. Costner (1971:4) states that this method entails systematic observation and recording which is done according to explicit procedures which permit replication. It has rules which should be followed which permit the use of logic of scientific

inference. Observation assists in answering certain questions that the respondent may be evasive about.

The first part of the questionnaire used an observation schedule, where information about the physical appearance of the respondent and the nature of surroundings was observed. Observation was also used to confirm some of the answers given by the respondent for example on the kind of work done, which was visible to the researcher. The health status of the child was also analyzed using observation on the general condition of the child.

Finally, the study made use of secondary data to highlight some of the aspects of child labour. The study utilized both qualitative and quantitative data.

The study was conducted by this researcher and the work took a period of two months to complete. The first two weeks were spent surveying the chosen electoral areas in order to establish the whereabouts of the working children and at what time it was suitable to interview them. Each questionnaire took about 30 minutes to complete. Some of this time was used creating rapport with the respondent and looking for an ideal place for the interview.

3.4 PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED DURING DATA COLLECTION

Some of the children viewed the researchers with a lot of fear and suspicion. Mostly, they are used to someone calling them or attracting their attention in order to buy their wares. They were surprised when the researchers seemed to be interested in asking them various questions. The researcher had to try hard to first

create rapport with the children before interviewing them. One way of doing this was to start with a short informal introduction in order to put the child in a relaxed mood.

In other cases, the children answered a number of questions but refused to respond to some. This could have been out of forgetfulness or mere refusal to talk. The researcher therefore, in such cases had to gently probe further to encourage the child to answer the evaded question. The researcher had to reassure the children that no harm would befall them by answering these questions.

It was also difficult to explain to the children that they were simply involved in a research because most did not know of such a thing. Mostly, they answered the questions because they were convinced to do so rather than because they understood why they had to participate in the interview.

There was also the problem of inaccurate information. Some children who were working for employers, out of fear of victimization gave distorted information. Where this was detected, as the interview proceeded, the researcher pursued that angle to try to illicit the truth from the child. In some instances, the child corrected the answers after such reassurance was given.

The children were interviewed as they went about their work. This created a problem where some of the children felt that their time was being wasted and that their goods were getting delayed in being sold. The researcher counteracted this problem by buying some of the wares as the interview proceeded so that the child

would not feel that their time was being wasted for nothing.

Most of the passersby were very curious as to what was going on when they saw the researcher talking to the children for a while. This attracted groups of curious on-lookers, thus making the interview difficult to conduct. The researcher tried to counteract this problem by trying to interview the children in isolated places or seated in a restaurant, where the child was willing to accompany the researcher to such a place. However, this was not possible in some cases, for example in the ferry where a number of children were working. Everyone is stagnant as they wait to cross to the other side. It was hoped that this did not influence the child to exaggerate or conceal information for the sake of the curious eavesdroppers.

Some respondents simply felt impatient and threatened to walk away. The researcher, in such cases tried hard to convince the child to continue answering the questions. In one instance, hardly had the interview began, when the child ran away, leaving the researcher with no option but to look for another child to approach. Some of the children however, became cooperative and resumed the interview.

It was impossible to obtain complete data lists of children working on the streets since such figures have not been compiled yet. This created a limitation in achieving a completely random selection of the children to be incorporated in this study. The study employed a multi-stage sampling device to enhance randomness though this was not totally achieved.

There was also, in some instances the problem of recall. Out of forgetfulness the children were unable to give dates as to when they started working, or when they were last in hospital. Some were able after probing to give approximate dates. Most of the children did not know the names of some of the ailments they suffered from. Through probing, the researcher tried to get a description of the ailments in order to categorize the kind of health problem the child suffered from. There was also the element of indefiniteness in some of the answers to questions for example, that concerning the time when the child started or stopped working. It came out that mostly, they had no definite time when they started work. Most also stopped working when their goods were sold off. Thus the researcher had to rely on approximations of when work started and ended using the average time given by the child. On the whole, however, most of the children were cooperative and willing to be interviewed. A large number were very enthusiastic and had no problems, queries or suspicions, thus in such cases the interview proceeded smoothly.

3.5 HYPOTHESES

This study has four hypotheses which are tested in chapter four. The operational definitions of key variables are given after each hypothesis.

H. The Child's Educational Background Determines who the Child Works For

Independent Variable: Child's Educational Background

This refers to number of years in school. It is divided into two categories namely those with zero to four years of schooling and those with five to ten years of schooling.

Dependent Variable: Who Child Works For.

A child has an option of working for three different categories of people. These are employer (non-relative), relative and self.

H_1 The Nature of Father's Occupation Determines the Child's Reasons for Joining the Labour Market

Independent Variable: The Nature of Father's Occupation.

This refers to the type of occupation that fathers held. Father's occupations are divided into three groups. The first group consists of father's occupations that are secure and permanent in nature and therefore provide a steady income flow. The second group was of occupations that are sporadic and temporary in nature. This means that at certain times the head of the household may not earn an income. Finally, was the category of those whose fathers did not have occupations or the children did not know of their father's occupations. The categories of those whose fathers had sporadic and temporary occupations and those with no occupation were grouped together in order to be able to apply the chi-square test.

Dependent Variable: Child's Reasons for Joining the Labour Market.

The reasons for working are divided into two groups. Children who worked due to financial problems, and those children working due to non-financially related problems such as to be away from home, family strife and children working out of choice and hoping to benefit from work.

H_3 Working Children Who Act as a Reference Group Influence Other Non-working Children into the Practice.

Independent Variable: Working Children Who Act as a Reference Group.

These were those children who were already working on the streets who may have influenced other children to join the labour force. Indicators such as whether presently working children had known other children who were working on the streets whom they had interacted with are used.

Dependent variable: Other Non-working Children into the Practice.

These are the children presently working who before they started working knew other children who were by then working on the streets.

H_4 Length of Working Hours Determines the Health Status of the Child.

Independent Variable: Length of Working Hours.

Hours was divided into two groups, those working for less than eight hours and those working for more than eight hours which was considered to be working for long periods.

Dependent Variable: Health Status of the Child

This refers to the well being of the child in terms of health. The children indicated whether they had a health problem or not. To be able to cross-tabulate health status with other variables, it was divided into two categories of those who had a health problem and those who did not have a health problem.

3.6 METHODS OF DATA ANALYSIS

Data from the field was scrutinized for errors, omissions and ambiguous classifications before proceeding to coding and tabulations.

Data from the field was fed into the computer, and analysis proceeded, using the Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS). Subsequently, frequencies, percentages and means, were obtained. From these, data analysis proceeded to the cross tabulation of important variables from the study. The data was subjected to appropriate statistical measures and tests of significance to find out whether it supported or rejected the initially set hypotheses.

The study employed descriptive statistics such as frequencies, percentage and mean, and inferential statistics such as the chi-square, Phi tests and stepwise regression. Qualitative data obtained was used to present convincing arguments to supplement quantitative data analysis techniques.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

The findings in this chapter are based on a sample of 100 children working on the streets of Mombasa. The aim of the study was to find out the nature of their work, the factors that lead to their involvement in this work and, finally, the consequences of their labour. This chapter presents and discusses the findings of the study using descriptive and inferential statistics. It also includes the testing of the hypotheses.

4.1.0 THE NATURE OF CHILD LABOUR

4.1.1 Characteristics of the Children

Table 1 shows that most of the children were of ages 15 to 17 years. These formed 71% of the total sample population. These were followed by the children aged between 12 to 14 years, who accounted for 19% of the sample. Those aged between 6 to 8 years formed only 4% of the total population.

The findings show that the majority of the children working on the streets were above 12 years old (90%). This data set suggests that those working on the streets were not very young. The reason for this may have been that they had spent some years at school first and then dropped out in order to work.

Table 1: Ages of the Children

Age	Number	Percentage
6 - 8	4	4
9 - 11	6	6
12 - 14	19	19
15 - 17	71	71
Total	100	100

Source: Survey Data.

The mean age of the children was 14.3 years. This was higher than the 11.7 years reported in Abdalla's study (1988:32). The findings in this study complemented those of Marroquin (1988:66) who, in a sample of 23, found the majority of children to be of ages between 15 and 18 years. This indicates that the majority of children were nearly adults since they were in their late adolescent years.

The majority of the children working on the streets were male, a fact which was observed during data collection. These formed 86% of the total sample population. The fact that there were very few girls working on the streets confirms the cultural practice which usually inhibits the female child from working outside the home unsupervised. These findings show that boys can easily work on the streets because they are seen to be able to cope better with the challenges of working on the streets, which are hard and demanding.

The majority of the children (52%) were muslims and religion could have played a role in restricting girls to work in the streets. According to the muslim religious practice, women are seen as people who the society has to take extra caution to protect and keep away

from the dangers that are inherent out side the home. This can seen in the practice of muslim women wearing "bui bui", a costume which completely covers the woman from head to toe.

Data collected on the children's educational attainment revealed that 9 (9%) had received no education at all, (77) 77% had received some primary school education, while 14 (14%) had gone to secondary school. We can conclude that the majority 91% had at least received some education.

Table 2: Educational Attainment of the Children

Level of Education	Number	Percentage
Primary	77	77
Secondary	14	14
No education	9	9
Total	100	100

Source: Survey Data.

These findings confirm those of Ebigho and Izuora (1986:6) who found school attendance to be high among child labourers where 87% of their sample of 70 children had attended primary school.

Data on number of years spent at school showed that the majority (54%) had up to four years in school, while 46% had five to ten years in school. In this study at least 91% of the children had been to school for varying number of years. It can be inferred that child labour hinders children from proceeding with their studies since these children stopped school to start working on the streets.

Further information was sought as to whether the children were presently attending school. Only 23 (23%) were going to school

at the time the study was conducted. A larger percentage (77%) were not attending school. This shows that, out of the 91 children who had been to school, 68 (74.7%) dropped out of school. This accounted for a very large percentage of children who had dropped out of school, in order to work. This data set indicates that children who work on the streets have basic education, because 91% had at least been to school. The fact that many drop out of school is a result of the economic strain put on them, resulting in the need to leave school in order to obtain a job.

Studies by Salazar (1988:56) had also shown that most children receive some schooling, but very few, less than 6.2%, had completed their primary education. In her survey, she found out that 50% of the child labourers were attending school at the time of the survey. In Mombasa, only 23% were going to school at this time of the study.

This study's first hypothesis relates educational background of the child and who the child works for in a bid to find out if with more education the children become selective about who to work for. This argument formed the basis of the study's first hypothesis (H_1) which states that educational background determines who the child works for.

Table 3: Who Child Works For and Educational Background of the Child

	Level of Education		
Who Child Works For	0 to 4 years	5 to 10 years	Row Total
Self	8 (14.8%)	5 (10.9%)	13 (13%)
Relative	8 (14.8%)	6 (13.0%)	14 (14%)
Employer (non-relative)	38 (70.4%)	35 (76.1%)	73 (73%)
Column Total	54 (100%)	46 (100%)	100 (100%)

Source: Survey Data.
NB: Figures in brackets indicate column percentages.
X^2 = 0.465 with 2 df, not significant at 95% confidence level.

The table shows that the majority of children (70.4%) who had zero to four years of schooling were working for a non-relative. Likewise the majority of those with five to ten years in school (76.1%) worked for a non-relative. This finding suggests that number of years in school does not bias the children in their choice of who to work for. In both cases, the majority of the children were working for employers (non-relatives).

A chi-square test revealed that there was no significant relationship between years spent in school and the child's choice of who to work for. This study rejected the hypothesis that the educational background of the child determines who child will work for. The study therefore concluded that educational background in terms of number of years spent at school did not contribute in making the children more selective about the choice of employer. This reveals that the children were ready to work for anyone provided they got money, which may be the primary motive to work, rather than privileges or other attractions which would influence choice of employer due to education received. This also reveals that

the children are realistic about the opportunities open to them, and are not selective about their employers.

A further analysis was conducted to relate sex of the child to the level of education attained. The following results were obtained.

Table 4: Level of Education and Sex

Level of Education	Sex: Male	Sex: Female	Row Total
No Education	7 (8.1%)	2 (14.3%)	9 (9%)
Primary	68 (79.1%)	9 (64.3%)	77 (77%)
Secondary	11 (12.8%)	3 (21.4%)	14 (14%)
Column Total	86 (100%)	14 (100%)	100 (100%)

Source: Survey Data.
NB: Figures in brackets indicate column percentages.
X^2 = 1.49 with 2 df, not significant at 95% confidence level.

An analysis, using the percentages obtained revealed that a greater percentage of male children had attended primary school, whilst a larger proportion of female children had also attended primary school. A large percentage of female children had received no education at all, as compared to the male children, a fact which may be due to the cultural practice of not educating girls since they would be married off. Education is seen by such parents as playing a minimal role. A chi-square test revealed that there was no significant relationship between level of education and sex of the child. The study therefore concluded that the sex of the child did not determine the standard of education attained by that child.

The study was interested in finding out the birth position, regardless of age of the working child. The findings revealed that

the majority of the children were first, second or third born. These formed 59% of the total sample. This is shown in table 5 below.

Table 5: **Birth Position of the Child.**

Birth position	Number	Percentage
First	21	21
Second	21	21
Third	17	17
Fourth	20	20
Fifth	7	7
Sixth	7	7
Seventh	4	4
Ninth & above	3	3
Total	100	100

Source: Survey Data

It can be concluded from table 5 that most of the children who were engaged in labour activities were older children in the family. The rest of the other birth positions accounted for only 41% of the sample population. These findings confirm those of Ebigho and Izuora (1986:5). In their study first borns accounted for 27% of their sample of 70 children. Second borns accounted for 21.6% and third borns, 27%. These formed a total of 75.6% of those who were first, second and third born members of their families.

Older children tend to be put into situations that are challenging as compared to their siblings. This could be in order to prepare them to teach their younger brother and sisters, thus set a good example. Their help is also usually required in an attempt

to alleviate adult economic burdens and since they work, sometimes there is no need for the younger children also to work. More social pressure is exerted on older children to ease the burden on the parents. Sometimes the older children work to be able to give opportunities such as education, which they didn't get to their younger brothers and sisters.

Observations were made about the physical appearance of the children working on the streets. These were based on the condition of the hair and clothes. Of the children analyzed, 45(45%) had kempt hair, while 55 (55%) had unkempt hair. On the kind of clothing the child was wearing, the study revealed that a large number 52 (52%) were wearing clothes that were tattered and dirty. Four (4%) were wearing clothes that were dirty but not tattered, while 26(26%) wore clothes that were clean and not tattered. Eighteen (18%) were wearing clothes that were clean but tattered. Only (26%) of the children had clean and untorn clothes. This reveals the poor condition of clothing of the children. This was further worsened by the fact that a large number, 40 (40%) were working barefoot. Another 30(30%) wore slippers. Only 30(30%) could afford shoes. As was mentioned earlier on in this chapter, data on religious affiliation of the respondents showed that the majority of the children were muslims. These formed 52% of the total population. Catholics and Protestants accounted for 23% and 25% respectively of the total population sample. None of the children belonged to the Hindu religious faith.

The findings in this study based on religion were different from those of Ebigho and Izuora (1986:6) who found that most of the children in their sample were predominantly Catholic (62.86%), 17.14% belonged to indigenous Nigerian sects, 12.15% were Anglicans and 7.14% from other denominations. None of the children in their sample were muslims. The reason for a higher percentage of muslims which was obtained in this sample could be the result of the general dominance by muslims in the Coast Province.

Data on ethnic groups to which the children belonged, was analyzed in an attempt to find out whether the children involved in working on the streets came from indigenous ethnic groups in the Coast Province. These accounted for 76% of the total population sample, followed by 21% from ethnic groups not indigenous to the Coast Province and 3% of non Kenyans. This showed that most of the children involved in the work came from Coast Province.

Table 6: Ethnic Groups to Which Children Belong

Ethnic group	Number	Percentage
Digo	20	20
Giriama	20	20
Chonyi	11	11
Duruma	20	20
Pokomo	2	2
Taita	6	6
Luhya	3	3
Luo	7	7
Kikuyu	5	5
Kamba	3	3
Chagga/Baganda	3	3
Total	100	100

Source: Survey Data

Although majority of the children came from ethnic groups indigenous to Coast Province , data on home districts to which the children belonged showed that only 4(4%) of the children came from Mombasa district, where the work was being conducted. Some came from neighbouring districts like Kwale 37 (37%) and Kilifi 30 (30%). Other children, 26% came from other districts such as Kisumu, Kitui, Garissa, Murang'a and Kakamega. This data set suggests that Mombasa, as a town had economic attractions which made these children come from neighbouring districts to work instead of working in their own districts. This also sheds light on the reason for their being employed and housed since they did not stay in their own homes which are outside the district. With Mombasa being an urban town, it is likely that families who lived here had more

economic potential to support their families who did not have to send children to work. Most of the children who are working came from other districts which were less urbanized, which encouraged them to send their children to work because they could not support them adequately.

4.1.2 Types of Work that Children Do

The children were involved in a variety of jobs. Common among these was the selling of different types of foodstuffs, along the streets. These are shown in table 7.

Table 7: **Type of Jobs Done By Children**

Job	Number	Percentage
Sell "barafu" (ice)	28	28
Sell Peanuts/Popcorn/sweets	39	39
Sell Polythene Bags	18	18
Roast Maize/Cassava	10	10
Wash/Look after cars	2	2
Tour guide	3	3
Total	100	100

Source: Survey Data

A total of 77 (77%) of the children were engaged in work that involved the selling of some sort of foodstuff. These were "barafu" (ice), peanuts, popcorn, sweets, maize and cassava. The popularity of selling foodstuffs, especially " barafu"is enhanced by Mombasa's hot and humid climate. Selling of "barafu" is booming business because people buy the ice in an attempt to cool off the effects of

the heat. Another 18% were selling other goods apart from foodstuffs, namely polythene bags. Majority of these children are found around market areas. The polythene bags are sold to market shoppers for them to carry their bought goods in. Where the children were employed, the goods for selling were supplied to them by their employers. Those who were self employed or were working for a relative obtained their goods from these relatives, or saved money from their profits in order to buy more goods to sell. Only 5(5%) were doing work that did not involve selling. These were tour guides and those washing or looking after cars.

The culture of selling items on the streets especially foodstuffs is characteristic of Mombasa town where different categories of people including adults can be observed selling tea, coconut drinks and snacks on the streets. The tourist industry, which Mombasa enhances could be a factor that encourages all sorts of trades on the streets. More recently, this phenomenon can be observed at the beaches where now people have even set kiosks to sell a variety of antiques to the tourists.

The findings show that the selling of items, especially foodstuffs on the streets is the most common job that these children working on the streets of Mombasa are engaged in. Ebigho and Izuora (1986:6) in their study of 70 children working in the streets also found most of the children in their sample (65%) were involved in hawking activities.

Further analysis of age and type of work done, showed that the children of ages up to 13 years were engaged only in the selling

of "barafu" (ice) and foodstuffs like popcorn, peanuts or sweets. Those aged 14 and 15 years were also selling polythene bags and roasting maize or cassava. Sixteen to seventeen year olds were engaged in all the mentioned activities which were being conducted in the streets. These are shown in table 8.

Table 8: Age and Type of Work Done

Age in years	Type of work done: Sells "barafu"	Sells peanuts, popcorn, sweets	Sells polythene bags	Roast Maize/Cassava	Wash, look after cars	Tour guide	Total
7	1 (33.3%)	4 (100%)					4(100%)
9		2 (66.7%)					3(100%)
11	2 (40%)	3 (100%)					3(100%)
12	2 (40%)	3 (60%)					5(100%)
13	2 (22.2%)	3 (60%)					5(100%)
14	5 (29.4%)	4 (44.5%)	3 (33.3%)	2 (11.8%)			9(100%)
15	3 (13%)	6 (35.2%)	2 (11.8%)	4 (17.4%)	1 (5.9%)	1 (5.9%)	17(100%
16	13 (41.9%)	9 (39.1%)	4 (17.4%)	4 (12.9%)	1 (4.4%)	2 (8.7%)	23(100%
17		5 (16.2%)	9 (29%)				31(100%
Total	28 (28%)	39 (39%)	18 (18%)	10 (10%)	2 (2%)	3 (3%)	100 (100%)

Source: Survey Data
NB: Figures in brackets indicate row percentages.

We can conclude from the foregoing table that whilst the younger children were engaged in limited activities, the scope of these tended to widen as the age of the children increased. This could be due to the fact that the children tend to become more experienced and confident at their work as time goes by and can venture to other businesses apart from the ones they previously conducted. We can relate this to the fact that most 14 to 17 year olds are favoured because they have a wider scope of work than

their younger counterparts.

No female children were involved in the selling of barafu or guiding tourists as table 9 shows. Only 1 (7.1%) of the female children was engaged in washing cars. The majority of the female children were selling small food items such as peanuts, popcorn and sweets. Apart from age, sex also played a role in work differentiations with male children having a wider scope than females.

Table 9: Sex and Type of Work Done

Sex	Type of work done: Sells "barafu" (ice)	Sells peanuts, popcorn, sweets	Sells polythene bags	Roast Maize/Cassava	Wash, look after cars	Tour guide	Row Total
Male	28 (32.6%)	31 (36.0%)	15 (17.4%)	8 (9.3%)	1 (1.2%)	3(3.5%)	86 (100%)
Female		8 (57.1%)	3 21.4%)	2 (14.3)	1 (7.2%)		14 (100%)
Column Total	28 (28%)	39 (39%)	18 (18%)	10 (10%)	2 (2%)	3 (3%)	100 (100%)

Source: Survey Data
NB: Figures in brackets indicate row percentages.

In terms of how long the children had been working, it was found from the study that although a significant number, 26(26%), had worked for almost a year or more, which was considered to be a long time, the largest percentage (44%) had worked for only less than three months prior to the study, which suggests that they did not have experience. Thirty (30%) of the children had worked for a period ranging from three months to nine months. The fact that the largest percentage had worked for less than three months shows

that their work does not entail any sort of training, basically it is work that can be learned on the job.

Data on intended stay in work showed that 15(15%) intended to stop in the following three months, 7(7%) were working only up to when schools opened, 6(6%) till they get school fees and 14(14%) till their results came out, whilst 23(23%) hoped to stop working on the streets when they got better jobs. Only 10(10%) intended to work for a long period and 18(18%) did not want to anticipate on what the future held in store for them. This indicates that child labour on the streets is usually temporary with children fluctuating in and out of the market. There were seven cases of children who did not respond to this question. These were probably those children who had no plans concerning their work in terms of organizing what they will do with themselves in the next few months and were probably concerned just about the present. This further illustrates the lack of stability in the kind of work children do since they can join or leave the market, as they desire.

Table 10: Intended Stay in Work

Length of Stay in Work	Number	Percentage
Till they get better job	23	23
Within next three months	15	15
Till schools open	7	7
Don't intend to stop	10	10
Do not know	18	18
Till results come out	14	14
Till get school fees	6	6
Total	93	93

Source: Survey Data
NB: Number of missing observations = 7

Further information on the nature of the work revealed that the majority of the children had been employed to do the work for someone else. Data on who the children were working for revealed that a small percentage (13%) were doing the work for themselves whilst 14% were working for a relative. The largest percentage (73%) were employed by non-relatives.

The fact that such a large percentage (73%) were employed by non-relatives suggests that there were certain attractions that these children had identified in this category. One of these could be a fixed, consistent wage to which they would be entitled to, in contrast to working for a relative who may feel complacent about paying wages in cash because they are housing the child. We can conclude that there were certain prospects and privileges inherent in working for a non relative employer.

A further analysis revealed that the majority (65.7%) of those working for a non relative were working for Asians and Arabs, 32.9% were working for Africans and 1.4% for Europeans. This preference for Asians and Arabs may be the result of benefits given and socially they may feel superior to other working children by working for these races.

Further information concerning whom the children stayed with showed that 52 (52%) stayed with their employer, 30 (30%) with a relative and only 18(18%) with parents. The reason for these children staying with the employer is due to the fact that, as was found out, most live outside Mombasa district. These are also children for whom commuting would be difficult. In order for them to be able to start the work early enough, the employer maintains them in his house. Out of 73 children who worked for employers a large number, 52 (71.2%) also stayed with the employer. Only 21 (28.8%) stayed elsewhere. In total, 48 (48%) of the children did not stay with the employer.

These findings differ significantly from those of Vinolia and Fubara (1986:64) where the majority of children lived with their parents (40%). Those who lived with a sister or brother accounted for 23.3%, while 20% lived with a cousin and 16.6% with a stranger. None of the children was reported to be living with their employer. This gives a contrast to the kind of workers the children in Mombasa form who work for employers and also stay with them instead of staying with parents or relatives.

When the children were generally asked what made them come to work, the following reasons were given.

Table 11: Reasons for Working

	Reason	Number	Percentage
Financial	Lack of School fees	26	26
	Family financial problems	46	46
Non-Financial	To have a brighter future	6	6
	Enjoys work	6	6
	Nothing to do at home	10	10
	To be away from home	6	6
	Total	100	100

Source: Survey Data

The majority of the children (72%) gave reasons centering around financial problems, which further supports the view that low socio-economic status contributes significantly to involvement in child labour. Ten (10%) had nothing to do at home and therefore, worked because of idleness. Six (6%) wanted to be away from home probably due to family strife or pressure. Family stability did not, therefore, feature significantly as a factor leading to child labour as envisaged by Agnelli (1986:50). Only 6(6%) worked because they enjoyed their work and another 6(6%) because they saw it as a way to a brighter future.

Data on presence of parents showed that ninety four (94%) of the children had both parents alive and 6(6%) had both or one parent dead. Of those whose parents were alive, 48 (86.8%) stayed with the employer. The reason for children staying with employers was not because their own parents were dead but the fact that they had been left in the rural areas by the children who had come to work in Mombasa town. It was therefore concluded that a parent's presence or absence did not influence the child's participation in labour since in the study most of the parents were alive and yet the children were working. These findings contradicted those of Marroquin (1988:66) where he concluded that the absence of one or both of the parents would necessitate the child to work. In his sample, at least one third of the children had lost at least one parent, which showed that when a parent is absent, his or her off offspring will join the labour market.

4.1.3 Conditions of Work

Observations of the surroundings around which these children worked revealed that many (80%) worked in crowded places, including markets, mosques and streets, where the child hoped to get more customers. This also entailed the child mixing and mingling with many people which could result in the child getting pushed or hurt by adults. Fifty-five (55%) of the children were found working in dirty surroundings whilst 45(45%) were working along cleaner surroundings or streets. Sixty-six (66%) were working in surroundings which were noisy with lots of activities going on like

trading. Only 34(34%) were working in atmospheres which were relatively quiet.

The observations on the kind of surroundings children work in helps to reveal the kind of hardships that children have to undergo, while doing their work. They are not protected, under any circumstances, and work in surroundings that may make their work dangerous. They are exposed to crowds, traffic, vagarities of weather and the general hustle and bustle of streets, without any sort of protection, and they are inadequately equipped.

In relation to working hours it was found out that most of the children 74(74%) worked for more than eight hours. Only 26(26%) worked for less than eight hours per day. This revealed that most of the children work for more hours than they should since eight hours is the stipulated time that any worker, even an adult worker should spend at work. However, most of the children are taken advantage of by being over worked since they work mostly in the informal sector.

Salazar (1988:51) found 20% of the children were working for more than eight hours. This percentage was much lower than that obtained in this study. This showed a difference between those children who are monitored by the parents because then it would be more difficult for them to be overworked in contrast with those working away from parents since their work cannot be monitored by them.

An analysis of the number of hours worked and for whom the child worked revealed that 76.7% of the children who stayed with a

relative worked for more than eight hours, whilst only 23.3% worked for less than eight hours. Likewise, a larger percentage (82.7%) of those who stayed with an employer worked more than eight hours. Of the children staying with parents, (55.6%) worked for less than eight hours. This is indicated in the table 12 below.

Table 12: **Who Child Stays With and Number of Hours Worked**

	Number of Hours		
Who child stays with	Less than eight hours	More than eight hours	Row Total
Relatives	7 (23.3%)	23 (76.7%)	30 (100%)
Employer	9 (17.3%)	43 (82.7%)	52 (100%)
Parents	10 (55.6%)	8 (44.4%)	18 (100%)
Column Total	26 (26%)	74 (74%)	100 (100%)

Source: Survey Data
NB: Figures in brackets indicate row percentages
X^2 = 8.982 with 2 df, significant at 95% confidence level.

We can conclude from the above findings that a larger percentage of the children staying with relatives or an employer were working for more than eight hours while for those staying with parents, a larger percentage worked for less than eight hours. A possible explanation to this could be that when children were working for relatives or employers, the work was structured and scheduled in such a way that the work in the streets takes first priority. For those who were working for their parents, the work they did on the streets might have been an extension of other

duties performed in the house and therefore the work in the streets could be done at will.

A chi-square test showed that there was a significant relationship between who the child stayed with and the number of hours that the child worked. It can be concluded that who the child stayed with. contributed significantly to the number of hours that a child would be required to work.

Children who were given offs on different days of the week accounted for 69% of the total population sample. The rest were not given any offs. These therefore worked for the whole week without rest. Majority of children (39%) went on their offs on Sundays. Some were given the whole weekend off, but these accounted only for a small percentage (14%). For those who were given offs on a weekday, mostly it was the muslim children who went off on Fridays, so that they could pray. Others were allowed to choose a convenient day to go which in some cases would vary from week to week.

In the area of remuneration, data showed that 11(11%) of the children were not paid for the work they did. The rest of the children 89(89%) received salaries per month ranging from the Ksh. 200 to Ksh 800. A large number of the children (31.5%) received moderate salaries of between Ksh. 501 to Ksh 600, followed by those receiving Ksh. 401 to Ksh 500 who accounted for 24.7%. A substantial number, 14 (15.7%) received salaries of between Ksh. 301 to Ksh 400 while 16.9% received very low salaries of less than Ksh. 300. This finding shows that these children are not paid enough

money to survive on and with this sort of pay, can only barely make ends meet. The amount of money received by children for their work is shown in table 13.

Table 13: **Salaries Received by Children**

Amount	Number	Percentage
Kshs 101-200	4	4.5
Kshs 201-300	11	12.4
Kshs 301-400	14	15.7
Kshs 401-500	22	24.7
Kshs 501-600	28	31.5
Kshs 601-700	8	9.0
Kshs 701-800	2	2.2
Total	89	100.0

Source: Survey Data

The average salary received by the children was Ksh 483.4. This is considerably low considering the various needs and commitments that these children have. Only 27 children had been given a salary increment since they started work. Nine (33.3%) had received a salary increment of up to Ksh 50. Eight (29.6%), a salary increment of up to Kshs 100, 5(18.6%) a salary increment of up to Ksh. 150. Three (11%) a salary increment of up to Ksh 200 and two (7.4%) a salary increment of up to ksh. 300. A large percentage (62.9%) had received salary increments of only up to ksh. 100 which is substantially low and 31.7% had received salary increment of up to Ksh. 300. A large number, 62 (69.7%) had not received any salary increments. The findings show that even where children are given

salary increments, their salaries, are raised by a very small margin.

Findings on how the children spend their money, where children gave more than one answer to the question revealed that the majority (71%) send the money home to help the family to meet its expenses. This was followed by 69% who used the money to buy clothes for themselves, while 28% said they saved their money for future use and 11% used the money to buy food. Most of the money that the children acquired was used constructively to help themselves or their families in various ways. Despite low salaries, the children still had other needs which had to be fulfilled with their pay.

Data obtained on who took care of the child when sick revealed that 44(44%) were taken care of by a relative,30(30%) by the employer,12(12%) by their parents and 14(14%) had to take care of themselves when they were ill. This showed that despite 73% working for an employer, when the child was sick the load was shifted back to relatives, parents or self in 43% of the cases. It implies that the employer did not get involved with the child's sickness.

When the children were asked generally if they stopped working when they were sick, 52 (52%) said they did, while 48(48%) said they worked even when they were sick. Table 14 below shows that these were those who worked for an employer. Those who worked for relatives or themselves were able to stop working when they were sick.

Table 14: Who Child Works For and Ability to Stop Work when Sick

Who Child Works for	Stop Work When Sick: Yes	No	Percentage
Employer	25	48	73
Relative	14		14
Self	13		13
Total	52	48	100

Source: Survey Data

When children were asked whether they had received medical attention for their problems, only 41 (41%) said they had not. The reasons given for this were as follows:-

Table 15: Reasons for Not Receiving Medical Attention.

Reason	Number	Percentage
No time and money	23	56.1
No need for it	14	34.1
Self cure	4	9.8
Total	41	100.0

Source: Survey Data

In Marroquin's study (1988:68) the majority of the respondents relied on self cure. If in the case of the Mombasa children, more of those who did not go to hospital for medical attention would be likely to indulge in self cure procedures or no cure at all.

Table 15 clearly shows that of those who did not receive medical attention, the majority (56.1%) was because of constraints of time and money. Sometimes children lose their wages when they do not go to work, even if it is because they are sick. Those who

chose not to go because they did not think that it was very important accounted for 34.1%, while 9.8% engaged in self cure, probably because they could not go to hospital. This is very dangerous, as the child may take the wrong drugs.

Data on the number of meals taken by the child revealed that the majority had three meals per day (77%). Seven (7%) had only two meals per day. Four (4%) had four meals per day, including four o'clock tea, while a significant number, 12(12%) only had a meal when it was available.

When the children were asked whether they broke off for lunch, 92(92%) revealed that they did so. However 8(8%), said they did not break off for lunch. Of the 92 respondents who broke off for lunch, these indicated from where they obtain their meals from. The results are shown in table 16.

Table 16: **Where Children Obtained Meals From**

Place	Number	Percentage
Restaurants (kiosks)	22	23.9
Relatives	12	13.1
Employer	52	56.5
Home (parents)	6	6.5
Total	92	100.0

Source: Survey Data

A large percentage (56.5%) of those who had lunch were provided for by the employer. This finding shows that the employer also had certain responsibilities towards the child's upkeep. Only

6.5% obtained food from home. A still large number (23.9%) obtained food from the restaurant, some of which was also paid for by the employer. This accounted for 45.5% of the population of those 22 respondents who obtained food from the restaurant (kiosk) This is shown in the table 17.

Table 17: **Who Paid for Food in Restaurants.**

Paid By	Number	Percentage
Employer	10	45.5
Self	10	45.5
Relative	2	9.0
Total	22	100

Source: Survey Data

Ten (45.5%) of the children had to foot the bill for food eaten in restaurants themselves. These findings differ significantly from those in a study by Ebigho and Izuora (1986:7) where 46 of the 70 (65.7%) children in their sample were given food by their parents compared to 6.5% in this study.

For those who were given food by their employer, more information on the type and quality of food obtained was sought. The children were asked if they ate the same food as the employer. Sixteen (30.8%) asserted that they ate the same food, which showed that they were not discriminated against. However, a large number 36(69.2%) noted that they ate different food. These were further asked what the differences were and the following results were obtained.

Table 18: Differences in Food Eaten by Employer and That Eaten by the Child.

Differences	Number	Percentage
Eats left overs	12	33.3
Employer eats better food	19	52.8
Given less food	5	13.9
Total	36	100.0

Source: Survey Data

This data set indicates that although the employer met the child's meal's responsibilities, they were not fulfilled satisfactorily. The employer in 52.8% of the cases ate better food than that given to the child leaving the child to eat what was available, regardless of its quality. Some of these children, 33.3% were openly mistreated by being given left over food and 13.9% were not given enough food.

Information on what the meals consisted of was obtained. The variety of meals eaten were classified into proteins, vitamins and carbohydrates constituting foods. These were further grouped into four different groups. The first group consisted of foods in the meal which were seen as containing protein, vitamin and carbohydrates or a balanced diet. The second category was that of meals containing only carbohydrates and protein, which was considered to be sufficient, but not adequate for the child. The third category of meals were those containing only carbohydrates and vitamins, mainly in the form of vegetables in the children's diets. These were both insufficient and inadequate. Finally the

fourth category was that of food containing mainly only carbohydrates which was considered to be a poor diet.

The various meals that the children mentioned they had were regrouped into these four categories. Findings on the meal constituent of the children's diet revealed that a significant number, 11(11%) had meals consisting mainly of carbohydrates. The most commonly mentioned of these was "ugali", dipped in water mixed with lime and salt only. Most of the children in this category had only bread and porridge for breakfast. Very occasionally, did they have vitamin constituting food in the their diet. Thirty six (36%) frequently had meals that consisted of carbohydrates and vitamins. Popular among these was ugali and different types of vegetables. A number of children 37(37%) had meals consisting of carbohydrates and protein. Some of this protein was in the form of cereals like beans and peas and sometimes meat or fish. A significant number of children 16(16%) had meals that were comprising of food which was rich in protein, vitamin and carbohydrate constituents. These included a balancing of protein and vitamin intake with that of carbohydrates.

Further investigation revealed that 11 of the 52(21.2%) children who stayed with their employer were the ones who frequently had meals consisting only of carbohydrates. Of those who had a balanced diet, the larger proportion, 37.5% were staying with relatives, followed by 31.25% of those staying with employers and 31.25 for those staying with parents. The largest percentage of those who did not eat a balanced diet in different categories was

always for those children who were staying with their employer. A chi square test revealed that there was a significant relationship between who child stayed with and meal constituents. We can conclude that those staying with employers were more likely to eat unbalanced meals as compared to their counterparts who stayed with their relatives or parents. This is shown in table 19.

Table 19: Who Child Stayed with and Meal Constituents

	Meal Constituents				
Who Child stayed with	Carbohydrates, Protein and Vitamin	Carbohydrates and Protein	Carbohydrates and Vitamin	Carbohydrates only	Row Tota.
Relatives	6 (37.5%)	13 (35.1%)	11 (30.6%)		30 (30%)
Employer	5 (31.25%)	14 (37.8%)	22 (61.1%)	11 (100.%)	52 (52%)
Parents	5 (31.25%)	10 (27.1%)	3 (8.3%)		18 (18%)
Column Total	16 (100%)	37 (100%)	36 (100%)	11 (100%)	100 (100%

Source: Survey Data
NB: Figures in brackets indicate column percentages.
X^2 = 19.25 with 6 df, Significant at 95% confidence level.

Data on where the children slept revealed that only 32(32%) had access to beds. Thirty eight (38%) slept on mattresses on the floor, 24(24%) slept on mats placed on the floor, while 6(6%) had neither mat nor mattress to sleep on. These slept on a bare floor. An analysis of the places where children slept revealed further their poor conditions since most slept in uncomfortable places.

None of the children staying with parents was made to sleep on the floor. The larger percentage of those sleeping on the floor were those children who were staying with employers. The bigger proportion of those children who had access to beds were those

staying with relatives (56.7%), whilst 33.3% of 30 children 40.4% of 52 children and 38.9% of 18 children were sleeping on mattress on the floor. Of those sleeping on a mat, the largest percentage (32.7%) were employed while the least (6.7%) were staying with a relative. This finding showed that those children who were working for relatives or self had access to better sleeping facilities than those working for employers.

Table 20: What child sleeps on and Who Child Stays With

What Child Slept on	Who Child Stays With: Relative	Employer	Parents	Row Total
Floor	1 (3.3%)	5 (9.6%)	-	6 (6%)
Mat	2 (26.7%)	17 (32.7%)	5 (27.8%)	24 (24%)
Mattress on floor	10 (33.3%)	21 (40.4%)	7 (38.9%)	38 (38%)
Bed	17 (56.7%)	9 (7.3%)	6 (33.3%)	32 (32%)
Column Total	30 (100%)	52 (100%)	18 (100%)	100 (100%)

Source: Survey Data
NB: Figures in brackets indicate column percentages.

In terms of problems encountered during work data obtained revealed that eighty six (86%) of the children claimed they experienced various problems in their work while 14(14%) expressed the view that they faced no problems while they worked. The list of problems encountered by the children is given in table 21.

Table 21: Problems Encountered by Working Children

Problem	Number	Percentage
Get too tied	38	44.2
Harassment from customers	25	29.1
Harassment from officials	3	3.5
Hunger while working	5	5.8
Employer mistreatment	11	12.8
Accident at work	1	1.2
Theft at work	2	2.2
Boredom	1	1.2
Total	86	100

Source: Survey Data

The most common problem outlined was fatigue. This is because most children worked for long hours and their work entailed walking from place to place. A substantial number, 25 (29.1%) complained of harassment from customers for example refusing to pay for goods. This is because these are adults and tend to intimidate children who are more vulnerable and cannot defend themselves easily, making them prey to adults' vehemence. Eleven (12.8%) complained of employer mistreatment like being unnecessarily shouted at or being made to overwork. Some of the children (2.2%) experienced incidences of theft at work, when their goods which they were selling were snatched away from them by civilians.

When the children were asked if they enjoyed their work, 73(73%) answered in the affirmative. However, when they were asked

whether, if given another option, they would continue working, 42(42%) said they would continue working while a larger percentage, (58%) said they would stop work. Thirty one (31%) who said they enjoyed working, would not however. continue working, if they were given an option. Of the 58(58%) who said they would stop working, the following reasons were given.

Table 22: Reasons for Stopping Work

Reason	Number	Percentage
Employer mistreatment	6	10.3
Tiresome and low salary	29	50.0
Problems encountered in work	4	6.9
Temporarily employed	16	27.6
Preferred other jobs	3	5.2
Total	58	100.0

Source: Survey Data

Half (50%) were discontented with the tiresome nature of the work and low salaries received. Reasons given for continuing work were the following:-

Table 23: Reasons for continuing With Work.

Reason	Number	Percentage
Job is enjoyable	22	52.4
Offers better future prospects	19	45.2
To be away from home	1	2.4
Total	42	100.0

Source: Survey Data

Of the 42, who would continue working, the majority (52.4%) would do so because they found the work enjoyable. This could be because their work enables them to meet their friends and since most work outside the house, there was a sense of freedom attached to this work.

Other studies also showed that children enjoyed their work. In Salazar's study (1988:54), 30% of the children maintained they liked to work because the income they got helped to maintain their families. In Ebigho and Izuora's study (1986:6), 75.7% of the children also said they enjoyed their work. In Abdalla's study (1988:41), 26% of his sample expressed general satisfaction at working and 30% expressed the hope that their participation would enable them to learn a trade for the future. This false perception of work fulfillment is due to the importance they attribute to their work.

4.2.0 FACTORS THAT CONTRIBUTE TO CHILD LABOUR.

4.2.1 Socio-economic Status of the Family and Father's Occupation

General socio-economic status of the family was analyzed using indicators of the nature of father's occupation, mother's occupation,

educational attainment, through whether the father knew how to read and write and position held in the village by the father.

Findings on father's occupation revealed that most of the fathers of the children working on the streets were in irregular or sporadic employment. Very few had regular or secure jobs for which a definite amount of income was expected, which indicated that sometimes the father may have no money, where he did not manage to get work at a particular time. This is best illustrated in table 24.

Table 24: Father's Occupation.

Occupation	Number	Percentage
Civil Servant	16	16
Farmer	28	28
Unemployed	7	7
Casual worker	25	25
Local Musician	2	2
Medicine man	8	8
Taps Local Brew	7	7
Trader	5	5
Do not Know	2	2
Total	100	100

Source: Survey Data

Table 24 indicates that only 16% of the fathers had permanent and secure occupations, the rest had temporary, sporadic occupations or no occupations at all. Twenty eight (28%) were small scale farmers, while 25% of the fathers were casual workers. This entailed work that was temporary in nature and thus fluctuating. Eight (8%) of the fathers were medicine men, seven (7%) were

Table 25: Father's Occupation and Reasons for the Child Working.

Nature of Father's occupation

Reasons for Working	Permanent and Steady	Sporadic and Temporary and no income	Row Total
Financial	6 (37.5%)	66 (78.6%)	72 (72%)
Non-Financial	10 (62.5%)	18 (21.4%)	28 (28%)
Column Total	16 (100%)	84 (100%)	100 (100%)

Source: Survey Data

NB. Figures in brackets indicate column percentages.
X^2 = 11.246 with 1 df, significant at 95% confidence level.
Phi=0.36

From table 25 it is clear that the majority of the children (62.5%) whose fathers had permanent and secure jobs worked from non-financial reasons such as enjoying work, having nothing to do at home, to be away from home and to ensure a better future. On the other hand 78.6% of those whose fathers had sporadic and temporary jobs or no jobs at all were working due to financially related reasons such lack of school fees and family financial problems. This finding suggests that the nature of father's occupation has an impact on whether the child will work for financial or non-financially related reasons.

The relationship between nature of father's occupation and reasons for child working was found to be statistically significant at

95% level of confidence. This leads to the conclusion that the nature of fathers occupation determines the child's reasons for working such that where father's occupations were sporadic and temporary or non-existent, the need for the child to work for economic gain was necessary. The strength of the relationship was moderate as indicated by the value of PHI (0.36). This study accepted the hypothesis that father's occupation influences the reasons given by the child for working. Those children whose fathers could not adequately support their families were prone to work as seen in the reasons the children themselves gave for working.

Findings on the mother's occupation showed that the mothers also did not have well paying, permanent and dependable jobs. These were characterized by low and irregular income. These are shown in table 26 below.

Table 26: **Mother's Occupation**

Occupation	Number	Percentage
Housewife	38	38
Farmer	32	32
Sells local brew	7	7
Small Scale business	13	13
Medicine-women	4	4
Civil servant	2	2
Unemployed	3	3
Don't Know	1	1
Total	100	100

Source: Survey Data

Only 2(2%) of the mothers were civil servants, while the largest percentage (38%) were housewives with no source of income. A large proportion (32%) were farmers of small plots around their homes, mainly producing for the family's subsistence. Twenty (20%) were local traders whilst 4(4%) were medicine women. Three (3%) were unemployed whilst one child (1%) did not know the mother's occupation. A total of 70% of the mothers were housewives and small scale farmers whose earning is low. Both fathers and mothers in the majority of cases had low occupational statuses, a fact that enhanced the child's socialization in their choice of work which also has a low occupational status.

Findings on whether the father knew how to read and write revealed that only a small proportion, 23(23%) of the father's knew how to read and write. A large majority 77(77%) did not know how

to read and write. This showed that most of the parents had not received any form of education while only a few had received some level of education, and were there therefore only able to obtain poorly paying jobs. The findings indicate that educational status of the household head is closely linked to whether or not the child will work, since in the study most of the children parents had low levels of education.

Data on position the father held revealed that the majority, 80(80%) did not occupy any position in the village. The positions occupied by the remaining 11(11%) are shown in table 27 below.

Table 27: **Position held by Father in the Village**

Position	Number	Percentage
Village Elder	2	2
Chief Herbalist	7	7
Religious Leader	2	2
None of the above	80	80
Total	100	100

Source: Survey Data
NB: Number of missing cases = 9.

The fact that 80% did not hold any position in the village also illustrates the low social status that these fathers have. Nine children did not answer the question, maybe because they did not know if their fathers held any position in the village.

4.2.2 Influence From Other Working Children

The study tried to ascertain whether the children who were working had been influenced into the trade by other children who had been already working. When the children were asked how they came to know of the work they were doing, the following results were obtained.

Table 28: How Child Came to Know of Work

How Child Knew of Job	Number	Percentage
Through another working child	50	50
Through parents	15	15
Self	25	25
Through employer	10	10
Total	100	100

Source: Survey Data

It was found that half of the children had come to know of the job through another working child (50%). A substantial number 25(25%) had come to be aware of the job by themselves. Another 25(25%) had come to know of the job through parents and the employer.

The study tested the hypothesis that working children who act as a reference group influence other non-working children into the practice by cross tabulating how the child came to know of the job and whether the child had been in contact with another working child before joining the labour force. This is shown in table 29.

Table 29: Whether Child had been in Contact with Another Working Child Before and How Child Came to Know of Job

Whether in contact	How Child Came to Know of Job: Another working Child	Others	Row Total
Contact	36 (72%)	18 (36%)	54 (54%)
No Contact	14 (28%)	32 (64%)	46 (46%)
Column Total	50 (100%)	50 (100%)	100 (100%

Source: Survey Data
NB: Figures in brackets indicate column percentages.
X^2 = 13.044 with 1 df, significant at 95% confidence level.
PHI=0.36.

Table 29 indicates that out of 50 children who had come to know of the job through another working child, 72% had been in contact previously with a working child. Only 28% had not been in contact. Out of 50 children who had come to know of the job through other people, 64% had no contact with a working child while 18(36%) had been in contact. A large percentage of children who had known of the job through another working child had been in contact with them.

The relationship between how child came to know of job and whether the child had been contact with working child was found to be statistically significant. The strength of the relationship is moderate as shown by the value of PHI (0.36). This finding led to the conclusion that there was a strong interaction process between those children who were working in influencing others to join the

labour activities. Thus children who were already working acted as a reference group to those children who were not working and influenced them to join the labour market. The study therefore, subsequently accepted the hypothesis that working children who act as a reference group influence other non-working children into the practice.

Inquiries on the frequency of interaction revealed that a large percentage (42%) interacted often. Only 12% rarely interacted and for 46% there had been moderate interaction with other already working children.

4.3.0 CONSEQUENCES OF CHILD LABOUR.

4.3.1 The Effect of Child Labour on the Health Status of the Child

To ascertain the health status of the children they were asked when they were last in hospital. Table 30 shows the answers that were given.

Table 30: **When Child Last Visited Hospital**

Last hospital visit	Number	Percentage
Long time ago/can't tell	57	57
Less than three months ago	27	27
Three to six months ago	9	9
Six to nine months ago	5	5
Nine months to One year ago	2	2
Total	100	100

Source: Survey Data

Although the majority of the children 57(57%) had not visited hospital in along time, which indicated that they were healthy, a substantial number 27 (27%) had been to hospital within less than 3 months prior to the study. Fourteen (14%) had been to hospital within the last 3 months to 9 months whilst 2(2%) had been to hospital last within 9 months to one year ago. Thirty-six (36%) had been to hospital within the last six months prior to the study. This shows that the majority of the children did not frequent hospitals.

The children were asked further, if they had any health problems. Sixty seven (67%) had various types of ailments. The child described the nature of the ailment, and these were categorized. Some of the ailments were physically identifiable for example deformities and skin problems. The different health complaints of the children are shown in table 31.

Table 31: Health Problems of Children

Health Problem	Number	Percentage
Migraine	6	8.9
Malaria	7	10.4
Skin diseases	17	25.4
Colds and coughs	6	8.9
Asthma/Bronchitis	7	10.4
Rickets/deformities	4	5.9
Epilepsy	1	1.5
Dental problems	5	7.5
Nasal bleeding	4	5.9
Venereal diseases	3	4.6
Poor eye sight	2	3.0
Bilharzia	2	3.0
Ulcers	2	3.0
Chicken pox	1	1.5
Total	67	100.0

Source: Survey Data

The largest percentage (25.4%) of the children were suffering from various types of skin diseases. These were followed by (10.4%) who were suffering from malaria and another (10.4%) had bronchial problems. The rest of the children had various complaints including 4.6% who had venereal diseases and 1.5% who had epilepsy but were still working on the streets. Despite the fact that only 36% of the children had been to hospital in the last six months, a larger percentage (67%) were suffering from different types of ailments and had not been to hospital.

The prevalence of skin diseases could be related to the fact that these children work in a very hot region. A large number (10.4%) complained of suffering from malaria, which is a disease common in Mombasa. The finding that some of the children (4.6%) had venereal diseases is alarming because it reveals that these children, apart from working on the streets are involved in sexual activities either with members of their age-groups or worse, with older men or women probably for money. One of the children was suffering from epilepsy a condition he should not have been allowed to work in the streets with, because of obvious dangers.

In Kanbargi's study (1988:102), out of 49 children sampled, 29(59.2%) complained of various ailments. These included fever, colds and coughs, backache, diarrhoea and dysentery. As in the case of Mombasa children, his sample also had a high incidence of skin diseases. This study reveals that many children work despite various ailments.

The meal constituents the child had available was cross-tabulated with child's health status in order to find out how nutrition would affect the child's health.

Table 32: **Health Status of the Child and Meal Constituents**

	Meal constituent		
Health Status	Balanced diet	Diet Not Balanced	Row Total
Health Problem	7 (43.8%)	60 (71.4%)	67 (67%)
No Health Problem	9 (56.25%)	24 (28.6%)	33 (33%)
Column Total	16 (100%)	84 (100%)	100 (100%)

Source: survey Data
N.B: Figures in brackets indicate column percentages.
X^2 = 4.657 with 1 df, not significant at 95% confidence level.
PHI=0.22.

Table 32 indicates that the majority of the children with no health problems had balanced diets (56.25%). However, a large number 43.75% who had a health problem also had balanced meals. Of those who did not have balanced meals, 71.4% had a health problem. This data implies that there is a relationship between meal constituent and health status.

A chi-square test of these two variables led to the conclusion that there exists a relationship, although a weak one as shown by the low value of PHI (0.22). The relationship between meal constituent and health status was significant at 95% confidence level. This led to the conclusion that the quality of food the children had did influence their health status.

The study tested another factor, namely working long hours to find out how it affects the health status of the child. This was done by cross-tabulating number of hours worked and the health status of the child.

Table 33: **Health Status of the Child and Number of Hours Worked**

	Number of hours worked		
Health Status	Up to 8 hours	More than 8 hours	Row Total
Health Problem	16 (61.5%)	51 (68.9%)	67 (67%)
No Health Problem	10 (38.5%)	23 (31.1%)	33 (33%)
Column Total	26 (100%)	74 (100%)	100 (100%)

Source: Survey data
NB: Figures in brackets indicate column percentages.
X^2 = 0.475 with 1 df, not significant at 95% confidence level.

A larger percentage (61.5%) of those who worked up to eight hours had a health problem whilst a smaller percentage (38.5%) of

those who worked up to eight hours had no health problem. In other words, a larger percentage of those who worked eight hours or for less than eight hours had a health problem contrary to what would be expected. Those who worked for more than eight hours and had a health problem accounted for 68.9% of the sample population, whilst those who worked for more than eight hours and had no health problem accounted for 31.1% of the sample population. This implies that a relationship exists between working long hours and health status since more of those who worked for more than eight hours had a health problem.

However a chi-square test found no statistically significant relationship at 95% confidence level to be existing between these two variables. The study therefore concluded that there was no relationship between the number of hours worked and health status of the child.

4.3.2 The Impact of Child Labour on the Child's Aspirations

Findings on the child's aspirations, based on what they wanted to become in future revealed that 38(38%) wanted to become professionals in various fields. These were considered as having high aspirations. Twenty (20%) had average aspirational levels. These were epitomized by responses such as wanting to become an entertainer 4(4%), employed 3(3%), get a better job 5(5%), wanting to continue with school 8(8%). The largest percentage had low aspirations. Twenty five (25%) had no idea of what they wanted to end up as, 4(4%) did not mind anything and 13(13%) wanted to become casual workers. A total of 42(42%) had low aspirations, 20(20%) medium and 38(38%) had high aspirations. A total of 62(62%) did not therefore have high aspirations.

Table 34: Aspirations of the Children

Aspiration	Number	Percentage
To become a professional	38	38
To be a casual worker	13	13
To be an entertainer	4	4
To be self employed	3	3
To get any better job	5	5
Anything that comes	4	4
Nothing/No idea	25	25
Continue with school	8	8
Total	100	100

Source: Survey Data

Most of the children had settled into their lifestyles and accepted their standards of living, thus had low ambitions. This finding shows that child labour reduces the child's ambitions and aspirations in terms of making the children complacent and satisfied with their present work, giving them a false sense of achievement and thus rendering it unnecessary for them to try and improve their lot.

4.3.3 Joint and Relative Impacts of Independent Variables on Child Labour

An attempt is made to find out both the joint and relative impacts of independent variables considered to influence the child's involvement in work. This is done through stepwise regression analysis a summary table of which is given below:-

Table 35: Relative Importance of Key Independent Variables Affecting the Child's Involvement in Labour

Independent Variables.	r	r_2	Variance (%)	Cum. (%)
Influence from peers	0.4801	0.230	23.0	23.0
Age of the Child	0.3202	0.103	10.3	33.3
Child's level of education	-0.1845	0.034	3.4	36.7
Father's occupation	0.1636	0.027	2.7	39.4
Sex of the children	0.0556	0.00309	0.3	39.7

Source: Survey Data

The predictors(independent variables) have been presented in a descending order. Thus, the first independent variable is the one that explains the greatest amount of the variance in the dependent variable. The second independent variable explains the greatest variance in the dependent variable jointly with the first predictor(independent variable), considering that the effect of the first independent variable has been taken into account. Therefore the last independent variable least explains the variance in the dependent variable individually but accounts for the total percentage of the explained variance when operating jointly with the other independent variables in the regression list.

From Table 35 , it is clear that influence from peers emerged as the best predictor. It explained 23% of involvement in child labour when operating individually. The age of the child explained 10.3% of the variance in involvement in child labour when operating alone but 33.3% when operating with the first independent variable. The remaining independent variables, namely child's level of education, father's occupation and sex of

the children jointly explained only 6.4% of the variance in the dependent variable. This findings suggests that these three variables did not play as significant a role in explaining involvement in child labour as compared to that of the variable of influence from peers and age of the child.

Correlation Coefficient (r) indicates both the strength and direction of the correlation between each independent and dependent variable. The strongest correlation is between influence from peers and child's involvement in labour when r is 0.480. The relationship was also positive which implies that the more the child makes contact and is influenced by another working child, the more likely that child will also work. This finding supports the view of scholars such as Kelman (1961:510), Sagarin (1978:45) and Merton (1957:283) in ascertaining the importance of peer group influence.

The correlation between child's age and involvement in labour was a fairly weak relationship (r= is 0.32). Nevertheless it was a positive relationship which indicates that the older the child, the more likely that the child will work, which supports the view of scholars such as Marroquin (1988:66). The correlation between child's level of education and involvement in labour was not only weak, as indicated by the low value of r (-0.1845) but also negative. The negative direction of the correlation suggests that to a degree, the more educated a child, the more the possibility of the child working in the streets. This finding contradicts the view of such scholars like Adams (1957:109) in viewing education as a deterrent to child labour.

Although the correlation between father's occupation and involvement in labour is very weak (r = 0.1636), it is a positive

relationship which implies that father's in steady and permanent occupations were less prone to have children working on the streets. The reason for this is that they are able to better meet their financial obligations thus discouraging their children to help in fulfilling the family's needs.

This findings supports the views of scholars such as Ebigho and Izuora (1986:5) and Marroquin (1988:86) who found parental occupation to be an important factor influencing the child's involvement in labour. The correlation between sex of the child and involvement in labour was very weak (r= 0.0556). This suggests that sex of the child did not play a significant role in the child's participation in work.

When all the five independent variables operated jointly, they explained 39.7% of the total variance in the dependent variable. This suggests that there are other important variables apart from the ones mentioned in this study which are significant in explaining the children's involvement in labour.

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter summarizes and draws conclusions from the findings. Recommendations and areas for further research are also pinpointed. The aim of the study was to explore the nature, factors and consequences of child labour in the streets of Mombasa. Based on this objective, the study formulated four hypotheses based on various features of the problem to help guide the study. The key findings are herein highlighted.

5.1 THE NATURE OF CHILD LABOUR

The study found that most of the children involved in labour activities on the streets were youths of ages between 15 to 17 years. This indicated that these children were not very young. The majority of the children were male. Although a large number of the children had gone to primary school, most had gone up to only standard four level. The majority (54%) had less than four years of schooling. Most of the children had been forced to drop out of school. This was usually due to the poverty of the family which made the children lack school fees, thus the need for them to work.

The study therefore concluded that most of the children were older youths who had dropped out of school in order to work thus joining the labour force later on after their uncompleted years in school. These children are forced to join the labour force prematurely thus highlighting the need for them to be given some sort of training so that they don't waste their few years in school by ending up purely in unskilled labour.

Educational background in terms of years spent at school, did not influence who child would work for. Preferences for

employers did not depend on number of years child spend at school but other more immediate factors for example economic need. The study therefore concluded that even those who spent more than four years at school did not choose work. This meant that education had not sensitized these children into working only for a selected category of people such as employers (non-relatives) as would be expected since with education people tend to be more selective. This therefore highlighted the desperation of the children to work in order to be able to get money.

The kind of work that the children were basically involved in was that of selling of various items, especially food stuffs on the streets. The study concluded that this kind of work was characteristic of the general culture in Mombasa District where a high percentage of people are engaged in informal activities, especially selling of items on the street. This is encouraged by the tourist industry which Mombasa boosts and the general reciprocity which allows people to mingle freely and be more informal in their interactions. Most of the children had been employed to do this work, by Asians and Arabs. In exchange, the child is given food and board. A few of the children were doing the work for their parents or for themselves. Older children tended to have a wider scope of work as compared to the younger children. It was concluded that the older children tend to be more experienced and therefore favoured because of their diversity in work and general maturity. There was also division of labour based on sex, with girls having a narrower scope of work than boys.

The study established further that most of these children (73%) worked for an employer (non-relative). The majority of

these 65.7% were working for Arabs and Asians, a preference that might have indicated that working for these races was a privilege for some of children who may feel that these races are more superior to their own. Further, 52% stayed with employers (non-relative) which has serious implications for the socialization of the child who is reared in a culture totally different from his own. This finding was different from any other study of child labour where none of the children stayed with their employers. It was therefore concluded that this sort of child labour is different from what is prevalent in other places.

Findings on the condition under which these children worked revealed that most worked under poor conditions. In terms of hours worked, it was found that many of the children worked for more than eight hours (74%). Most of the work involved walking from street to street with the merchandise, looking for customers. The children are not prepared or protected while they work. They are therefore recklessly exposed to the dangers of accidents, harassment from adults and poor weather conditions. All that worries these employers is whether the goods will all be sold so that they can get their profit.

The average salaries received by the children were low, by any standards. Most of the children had numerous needs, some of which cannot be successfully fulfilled because the money is very little. Furthermore, children work in isolation and therefore cannot fight for a common cause.

Although some of the children were treated well by their employers others suffered various ills. Of those who also depended on the employer (non-relative) for meals and accommodation it was revealed that sometimes children ate only

left overs, bad food or very little food. The study found that those who lived with parents had better meals which also included balanced diets. In general those who lived with employers tended to be more mistreated than those children who were staying with parents or relatives. This was also reflected in the sleeping facilities available to the children. Few of the children staying with their employers had access to beds or mattresses put on the floor. Majority of the children who had to sleep on the bare floor were those staying with their employers. Some of the children (48%) worked even when they were sick and most of these were working for employers (non-relative). Furthermore it was found out that many of the children could not receive medical attention because they had no time and money.

The children enumerated different problems they encountered while working on the streets. Chief among these was fatigue, harassment from customers and employer mistreatment. Despite these problems 42% of the children said they would not stop work. Some of these found the work enjoyable. This showed an appreciation of work. The study therefore concluded that children worked under poor conditions, epitomised by working long hours, lack of protection during work, low salaries, lack of proper treatment when ill, poor sleeping and working conditions and unaddressed problems during work. The various findings in this study highlighted various features of the nature of child labour on the streets.

5.2 FACTORS LEADING TO CHILD LABOUR

In terms of father's and mother's occupations, the study found that most of the parents of these children had temporary and sporadic jobs or were unemployed. The relationship between the nature of father's occupation and reasons for child working was found to be significant. The study concluded that those children's fathers in sporadic and temporary employment or no employment were more likely to work out of financial problems in a bid to rescue the family. Thus few of these worked out of other reasons such as job benefits and fulfillment but out of economic need. Only 11% of the children's fathers occupied any position in the village which could attribute some status to the family. Majority of the fathers of these children did not hold any such positions.

Influence from other already working children was also ascertained to be a factor that lead these children to work. Findings obtained from the study revealed that these children presently working had interacted with those who were previously working before they joined them in the streets. Of the children who had come to know of the job through another working child the majority (72%) had been in contact with the said before coming to work.

The study therefore concluded that already working children played a significant role in influencing other non working children into the practice. This was achieved through interaction between these two parties.

5.3 CONSEQUENCES OF CHILD LABOUR

Analysis of concomitants of child labour based on health of the child revealed that a large number (67%) of the children suffered from various ailments some of which may have been a result of working on the streets. The hypothesis that working hours determines the health status of the child was rejected. The study concluded that there was no significant relationship between the number of hours worked and the health status of the child. However a weak relationship was found to exist between meal constituents in terms of whether children had balanced diets or not and health status. Nutrition therefore played a role in contributing to the health status of the child.

Finally the study concluded that most of the children did not have high ambitions or aspirations. They seemed to have accepted and resigned themselves to their fate.

5.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

The following recommendations can be made based on the finding of this study.

1. There is a need to provide children working on the streets for long durations with more vocational training centres such as government polytechnics so that the children can be able to learn specific skills. These should enrol those children of ages fifteen to seventeen who have not completed their formal education. Non-governmental organisations should sponsor these children to such centres in order to reduce their economic burden. This would help them gain practiced expertise which would be useful to them in enabling them get gainful employment. Most of the work

that the children were engaged in did not have any skill content in them, which would mean that when these children cannot do that work, they would be unqualified for other types of jobs.

2. There is need to improve children's conditions at work by having officers in charge of inspecting working children with the aim of correcting the working conditions of these children, in the areas of working hours, sleeping facilities and problems encountered in the streets. Officials who harass children who work should be directed to investigate this from the employers or relatives who sent these children to work since the children are merely following instructions. The Government, in this regard should deploy personnel to look into the issue of child labour especially in the informal sector where it has not been given the attention it deserves.

3. A specific study should be undertaken by scholars that incorporates parents of the children working on the streets in order to probe the parents' attitudes towards the working children and also find out if alternatives exist at home to avoid children leaving the home to come to work.

4. Community educational campaigns should be launched in order to educate and enlighten parents and the society as a whole about the dangers of child labour. Most people tend to view child labour as a natural, in some cases necessary phenomenon. There is therefore need for this information to be made known to the public so that general awareness of the harmful effects to the child can help deter the practice. The study also found out that most of the children who

work on the streets of Mombasa also stay with their employers. These in some cases come from different races from that of the children. This exposes the child to a totally different culture which is alien to him and would distort his perception and make him lose his inheritance.

5. Nutrition awareness programmes and feeding centers should be established by the Government targeted at working children to improve their diet. This can be useful in promoting the health standards of the children working on the streets. The children can be advised to eat balanced but reasonably priced meals even where resources are limited.

6. Finally voluntary organisations, International Organisations such as United Nations International Children's Educational Fund (UNICEF) and International Labour Organisation (ILO), should reinforce efforts at promoting child welfare at all levels and look into the needs and plight of children with the aim of putting policies to practical implementation, with special emphasis in the area of child labour.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abdalla, Ahmed. 1988. "Child Labour in Egypt: Leather Tanning in Cairo". Pp 31-47 in Combating Child labour, edited by Assefa Bequele and Jo Boyden. Geneva: ILO.

Adams, Jane. 1957. The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets. New York: Macmillan.

Agnelli, Susanna. 1986. Street Children: A Growing Tragedy. London: Weldenfeld and Nicolson.

Amukam, H.O. 1986. "Child Abuse and Child Labour: The Nigerian Case". Pp 70-74 in Child Labour in Africa edited by Anppcan. Enugu: Chuka.

Bennis, W.G, Benne, K.D. and Chin, R. 1961. The Planning of Social Change: Readings in the Applied Behaviourial Sciences. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Bequele, Assefa and Boyden, Jo. 1988. Combating Child Labour. Geneva: ILO.

Bierstedt, Robert. 1970. The Social Order. New York: McGraw Hill.

Bowley, Agatha, H. 1975. Children at Risk, the Basic Needs of Children in the World Today. New York: Longman.

Bwibo, N.O. and Onyango, P. 1986. "Child Abuse and Child Labour". Pp 33-35 in Criminal Justice and Children edited by Justina Muchura. Nairobi: UNICEF.

Clausen, John, A. 1968. Socialization and Society. Boston: Little Brown.

Cohen, Percy. S. 1968. Modern Social Theory. London: Heinemann.

Conger, John. J. 1975. Contemporary Issues in Adolescent Development. New York. Harper and Row.

Costner, H.L. 1971. Sociological Methodology. London. Jossey Bass.

DeBlij, Harm J. 1968. Mombasa, An African City. U.S.A.: Northwestern University Press.

Demarath, N.J. and Marwel, G. 1976. Sociology, Perspective and Applications. New York: Harper and Row.

Dyorough, A.E. 1986. "The Problems of Child Labour and Exploitation in Nigeria". Pp 46-49 in Child Labour in Africa, edited by Anppcan. Enugu: Chuka.

Ebigho, P.O. and Izuora, G. 1986. "Child Labour in Market places In Enugu: Socio-economic Background". Pp 3-11 in Child Labour in Africa, edited by Anppcan. Enugu: Chuka.

Ekwe, Antony O. 1986. "Health Hazards in Child Labour: A Case of Juvenile Hawkers". Pp 17-24 in Child Labour in Africa, edited by Anppcan. Enugu: Chuka.

Ferguson, T and Cunnison, J. 1951. The Young Wage Earner: A Study of Glasgow Boys. New York: Oxford University Press.

Gatchalian, J. 1988. "Child Labour in Philippines: Wood Based and Clothing Industries". Pp 79-90 in Combating Child Labour, edited by Assefa Bequele and Jo Boyden. Geneva: ILO.

Geoffrey, Hurd. 1973. Human Societies: An Introduction to Sociology. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Hafeez, Sabeeha. 1988. "Some Aspects of Child Labour in Pakistan". Pp 121-123 in Children at Work, edited by Elias Mendelievich. Geneva: ILO.

Herbert, Hyman and Singer, Eleanor. 1968. Readings in Reference Group Theory and Research. New York: Free Press.

Hull, Terence. 1981. "Perspectives and Data Requirements for the Study of Children's Work". Pp 54-68 in Child Work, Poverty and Underdevelopment, edited by Gerry Rodgers and Guy Standing. Geneva: ILO.

Jewell, John A. 1976. Mombasa, the Friendly Town. Kenya: East African Publishing House.

Johnson, Elmer H. 1973. Social Problems of Urban Man. U.S.A: Dorsey Press.

Kanbargi, Ramesh. 1988. "Child Labour in India: The Carpet Industry of Varanasi". Pp 93-108 in Combating Child Labour, edited by Assefa Bequele and Jo Boyden. Geneva: ILO.

Kayongo-Male, D and Walji. P. 1984. Children at Work in Kenya. Nairobi: Oxford University Press.

Kelman, Herbert D. 1961. "Three Processes of Social Change". Pp 510-514 in The Planning of Social Change: Readings in the Applied Behavioural Sciences, edited by W. Bennis, K. Benne and R. Chin. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Kenya. 1979. Mombasa Development Plan 1979-1983. Nairobi. Government Press.

_____. 1989. Mombasa Development Plan 1989-1993. Nairobi. Government Press.

Llewellgyn, Gross. 1959. Symposium on Sociological Theory. New York: Harper and Row.

Marroquin, Jesus G.1988. "Child Labour in Peru: Gold panning in Madre de Dios". Pp 61-79 in Combating Child labour, edited by Assefa Bequele and Jo Boyden. Geneva: ILO.

Melo, Elsa. 1985. "Mozambique Experience". Pp 45-62 in Children In Especially Disadvantaged Circumstances, edited by Philista Onyango. Nairobi: UNICEF.

Mendelievich, Elias. 1979. Children at Work. Geneva: ILO.

Merton, Robert A. 1957. Social Theory and Social Structure. Glencoe: Fress Press.

Morice, Alain. 1981. "The Exploitation of Children in the Informal Sector: Proposal for Research". Pp 152-154 in Child Work, Poverty and Underdevelopment, edited by Gerry Rogders and Guy Standing. Geneva: ILO.

Moser, C. and Kalton, G. 1971. Social Methods in Social Investigation. London: Heinemann.

Naidu, Usha. 1986. "Exploitation of Working Children, Situation Analysis and Approaches to Improve Their Condition". Pp 10-16 in Child Labour in Africa, edited by Anppcan. Enugu: Chuka.

Ngochukwu, Chika G. 1986. "The Socialization Process of the Nigerian Child: Cultural Sanctions and Implication". Pp 157-235 in Child Labour in Africa, edited by Anppcan. Enugu: Chuka.

Obikeze, D.S. 1986. "Agricultural Child Labour in Nigeria: A Case Study of Anambra State". Pp 39-44 in Child Labour in Africa, edited by Anppcan. Enugu: Chuka.

Okpara, Emeka. 1986. "Child Labour as a Significant Index of Poverty in Nigeria: Implication for Social Policy". Pp 52-63 in Child labour in Africa, edited by Anppcan. Enugu: Chuka.

Onyango Philista M. 1988. "Child Labour Policies and Programmes in Kenya". Pp 161-175 in Combating Child Labour, edited by Assefa-Bequele and Jo Boyden. Geneva: ILO.

Parsons, Talcott. 1967. Sociological Theory and Modern Society. New York: Free Press.

Parsons, T and Bales, R. 1960. Family, Socialization and Interaction Process. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Peltzer, Karl. 1986. "Children as Commercial Farm Labourers and Prostitutes in Africa". Pp 34-38 in Child Labour in Africa. edited by Anppcan. Enugu: Chuka.

Rodgers, Everett M. and Shoemaker, Floyd F. 1971. Communication and Innovation: A Cross Cultural Approach. New York: Free Press.

Rodgers, Gerry and Standing, Guy. 1981. Child Work, Poverty and Underdevelopment. Geneva: ILO.

Rodriguez, Heredia R. 1979. "Some Aspects of Child Labour in Peru". Pp 125-137 in Children at Work, edited by Elias Mendelievich. Geneva: ILO.

Rosser, Colin and Harris, Christopher. 1965. The Family and Social Change. New York: Routledge and Regan Paul.

Rubin, Vera and Zavalloni, Marisa. 1969. We Wish to be Looked Upon. A Study of the Aspirations of Youth in a Developing Society. New York: Teachers College Press.

Sagarin, Edward. 1978. Sociology: The Basic Concepts. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Salazar, C. M. 1988. "Child Labour in Columbia: Bogotia's Quarries and Brickyard". Pp 49-60 in Combating Child Labour, edited by Assefa-Bequele and Jo Boyden. Geneva: ILO.

Sampson, E. E. 1971. Social Psychology and Contemporary Society. New York: John Wiley.

Schvanevaldt, Jay and Ihinger, Marilyn. 1979. "Sibling Relationships in the Family". Pp 453-467 in Contemporary Theories About the Family, edited by Wesley Burr. New York: Free Press.

Sheldon, Eleanor B and Mosir, Wibert E. 1968. Indicators of Social Change: Concepts and Measurements. USA: Russel Sage Foundation.

Skidmore, William. 1975. Theoretical Thinking In Sociology. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Steep, P. F. 1968. British Social and Economic History from 1950. New York: Wheaton and Company.

Stendler, Celia B. 1964. Readings in Child Behaviour and Development. New York: Harcourt, Brass and World.

Straus, Murray A and Nelson, Joel L. 1968. Sociological Analysis: An Emperical Research Through Replication. New York Harper and Row.

Sudman, Seymour. 1976. Applied Sampling. New York: Academic Press.

United Nations. 1983. International Labour report. Geneva:ILO.

_____. 1989. Situation Analysis of Children and Women in Kenya. Nairobi. UNICEF.

_____. 1990. Africa's Children, Africa's Future; Implementing the World Summit Declaration. New York: UNICEF.

_____. 1990. Children and the Environment. The State of the Environment. Nairobi: UNEP, 1990.

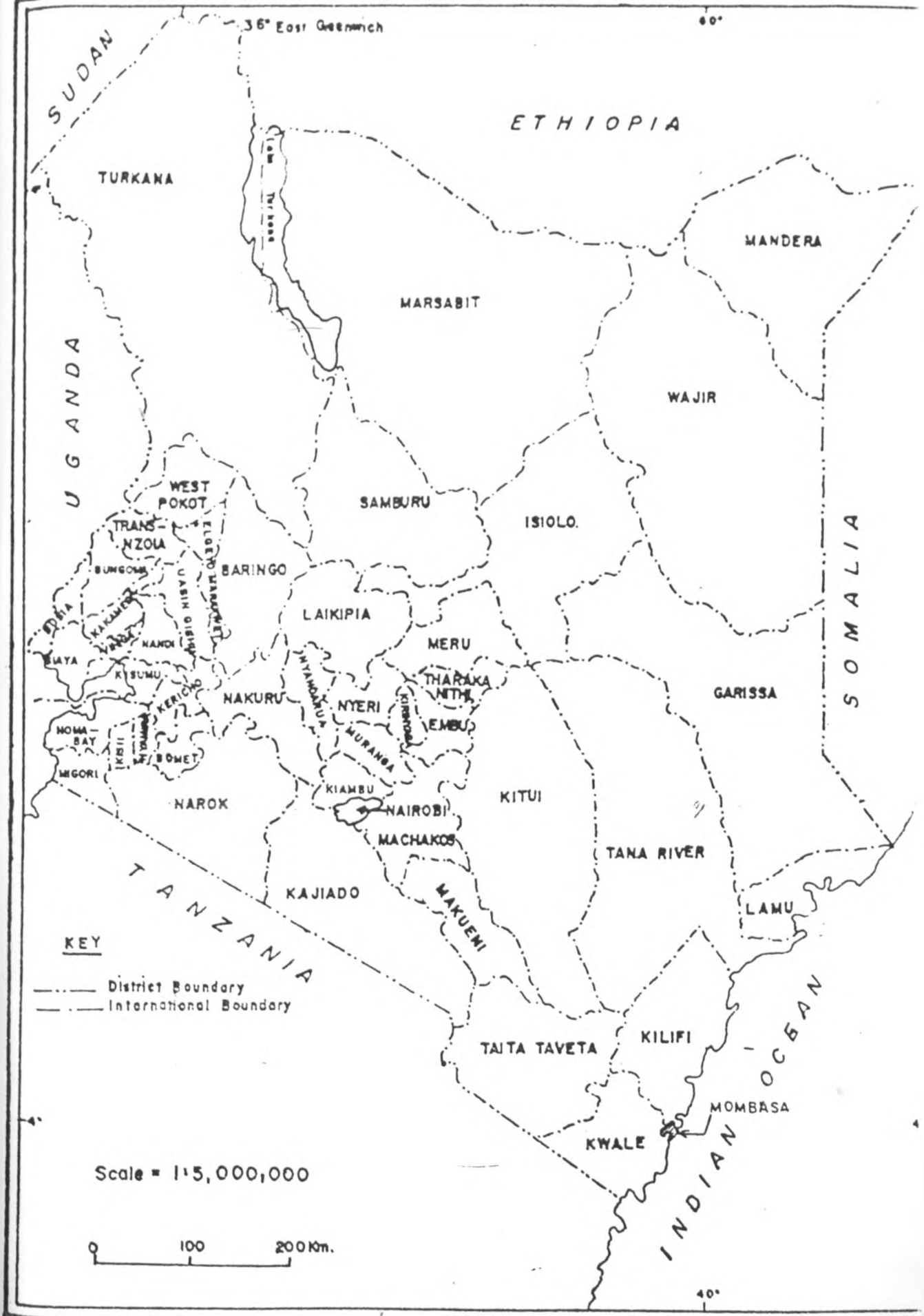
_____. 1991. The State of the World's Children. UNICEF: Oxford University Press.

Ukpaki, Ben E. 1979. "Some Aspects of Child Labour in Nigeria". Pp 115-119 in Children at Work, edited by Elias Mendelievich. Geneva: ILO.

Vinolia, N. S. and Fubara, M.S. 1986. "Street Hawking As An Aspect of Child Abuse and Neglect". Pp 64-70 in Child Labour in Africa, edited by Anppcan. Enugu: Chuka.

APPENDIX

LOCATION OF THE DISTRICT



QUESTIONNAIRE

Hallo! I am presently conducting a study on children who are working on the streets of Mombasa and would like you to answer the following questions. Your cooperation will be highly appreciated. Thank you.

IDENTIFICATION OF AREA

Division _____

Electoral Area_____

Name of Street_____

OBSERVATION ABOUT RESPONDENT

_____

_____

_____

OBSERVATION ABOUT SURROUNDINGS

_____

_____

_____

1. What is your name?_____

2. How old are you?_____

3. Sex [1] Male [2] Female

4a. Have you been to school?

[1]. Yes [2.] No

4b. If yes, which standard of education did you attain?

[1]. Lower primary Std 1 - 4

[2]. Upper primary Std 5 - 8

[3]. Lower secondary Form 1 - 2

[4]. Upper secondary Form 3 - 4

[5]. Others (specify)_____

4c. How many years have you spent in school?

_____

4d. Are you presently attending school?

[1] Yes [2] No.

5. Which is your home district?

_____

6. Where do you stay in this town?

_____

7. What work do you do on the streets?

[1]. Sell 'barafu'.

[2]. Sell peanuts/pop-corns/sweets.

[3]. Sell polythene bags.

[4]. Roast maize/cassava

[5]. Wash cars/look after cars.

[6]. Tour guide (for tourists)

[7]. Others (specify).

_____

8. Which religion do you belong to?

[1]. Catholic

[2]. Protestant

[3]. Muslim

[4]. Hindu

[5]. Others (specify)_____

9. Which ethnic group do you belong to?

_____

10. Which is your birth position in the family?

_____

THE NATURE OF THE WORK

11. For how long have you been working on the streets?

[1]. Less than 3 months.

[2]. 3 to 6 months

[3]. 6 to 9 months

[4]. For one year

[5]. More than one year

12. For whom do you do this work?

[1]. Employer

[2]. Relative

[3]. Friend

[4]. Self

[5]. Others (specify) _____

13. If for employer, what race are they?

[1]. African

[2]. European

[3]. Asian

[4]. Arab

[5]. Others (specify)_____

14. Who do you stay with whilst working?

[1]. Friends

[2]. Relatives

[3]. Employer

[4]. Parents

[5]. Others (specify)_____

15. Which days do you work?

[1]. Mondays

[2]. Tuesdays

[3]. Wednesdays

[4]. Thursdays

[5]. Fridays

[6]. Saturdays

[7]. Sundays

16a. Are you given an off on any of these days?

[1]. Yes [2]. No

b. If yes, which days_____

17. What time do you start your work?

_____

18. What time do you end your work?

_____

19a. Do you do other jobs apart from this work?

[1]. Yes [2]. No

b. If yes, which? _____

20. Do you enjoy your work?

[1]. Yes [2]. No

21. If you were given another option apart from this work, would you rather continue working?

[1]. Yes [2]. No

21b. Give reasons _____

22. Do you have breaks in between your work?

[1]. Yes [2]. No.

23. Do you break off for lunch?

[1]. Yes [2]. No

24a. Where do you obtain your meals from?

[1]. Restaurants

[2]. Relatives

[3]. Friends

[4]. Employer

[5]. Home

[6]. Others (specify)_____

24b. If from restaurants, who pays for them? _____

_____

25. If from employer, do you eat what the rest of the family eats?

[1]. Yes [2]. No

25b. If no, what is the difference between their food and your food?_____

26. How many meals do you have per day?

[1]. One

[2]. Two

[3]. Three

[4]. Four

[5]. Irregular (specify)_____

27. What does your meal usually consist of?

_____

28. Do you encounter any problems while working?

[1]. Yes [2]. No

28b. If yes, which?

[1]. Get too tired (fatigue)

[2]. Harassment from customers

[3]. Harassment from officials

[4]. Hunger while working

[5]. Mistreatment from employers

[6]. Others (specify)_____

28c. What do you sleep on?

[1]. Floor

[2]. Mat on floor

[3]. Mattress on floor

[4]. Bed

29. When are you paid?

[1]. Monthly

[2]. Weekly

[3]. Daily

[4]. Not paid

30. How much money are you paid?_____

31. How do you spend the money?

[1]. Buy clothes

[2]. Buy food

[3]. Send home

[4]. Save

[5]. Others(specify)_____

32. How much were you getting paid when you started this work?

_____

33. Has there been any salary increment since then?

[1]. Yes [2]. No

33b. If yes, of how much?

_____

34. Do you stop working when sick?

[1]. Yes [2]. No

35. Who takes care of you when you are sick?

[1]. Employer

[2]. Relative

[3]. Self

[4]. Friends

[5]. Parents

[6]. Others (specify) _____

36. Have you received medical attention for this problem?

[1]. Yes [2]. No

36b. Give reasons _____

_____

FACTORS LEADING TO CHILD LABOUR

37. What made you come to work?

_____

38. Are your parents still alive?

Father	[1]. Yes	[2]. No
Mother	[1]. Yes	[2]. No

39. What is your father's occupation?

_____

40. What is your mother's occupation?

_____

41. Does your father know how to read and write?

_____

42. What position in the village does your father hold?

[1]. Community leader

[2]. Village elder

[3]. Chief

[4]. Chief herbalist

[5]. Religious leader

[6]. None of the above

[7]. Others (specify)_____

43. Does your family own any of the following properties?

[1]. Shamba

[2]. Cattle

[3]. House

[4]. Business

[5]. Others(specify)_____

44. How did you come to know of this job?

[1]. Through another working child

[2]. Through parents

[3]. By myself

[4]. Employer

[5]. Others (specify)_____

45. Did you know any friends or relatives who also work on the streets?

[1]. Yes [2]. No

46. Did you have contact with them before you joined this work?

[1]. Yes [2]. No

46b. If yes, how frequently did you interact with them?

_____

CONSEQUENCES OF CHILD LABOUR

47. When did you last visit the hospital for a health problem?

_____

48. Do you have any health problems?

[1]. Yes [2]. No

48b. If yes, which one?

_____

49. For how long do you intend to continue with this work?

_____

50. What ultimately do you aspire to do in your life?

_____

THANK YOU.