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THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE SOCIAL  
AND ECONOMIC STATUS OF FAMILIES AND  
CHILD LABOUR IN KENYA. A STUDY OF TEA  
PLANTATIONS IN LIMURU DIVISION, KIAMBU  
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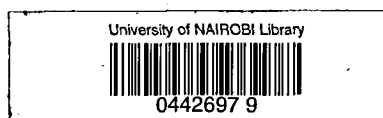
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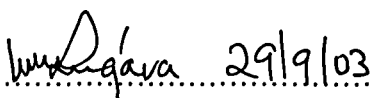
A project paper submitted in partial fulfillment for the requirements of the  
degree of Master of Arts in Sociology (Labour Relations Management) at the  
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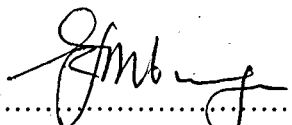
## DECLARATION

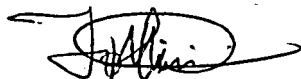
This project paper is my original work and has not been presented in any other University for the award of a degree.

  
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## DEDICATION

This project is dedicated to my children Nduta, Wanja and Mwaura for their concern and valuable encouragement throughout the course.

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## ABSTRACT

In spite of legislations against child labour at various levels, the problem persists denying children their basic rights. In Kenya it is estimated that 1.9 million children aged between 5 and 17 years provide labour in the various spheres. Despite the ratification of the ILO Convention No. 138 abolishing child labour it continues unabated.

This study is concerned with the relationship between the social and economic status of families and child labour in Limuru Division, Kiambu District. It focuses on three aspects the characteristics, factors and consequences of child labour. The specific questions which this study has addressed are:

- (a) Is child labour related to the economic status of the child's family?
- (b) Does child labour contribute to the family's income?
- (c) Is the health of the children affected by child labour?
- (d) Does child labour affect the education of the child?

A total of 83 children were selected through the purposive non-probability sampling technique. The key instrument for data collection was a structured interview guide which was administered on the children. Apart from the structured interviews, other data collection methods included direct observation, indepth interviews with the key informants, and review of available records/documents. Both descriptive and inferential statistics were used in data analysis.

It was found that the education system in the past forced most of the children (62%) to work to enable them to pay school fees. Today with the government's decree on compulsory free primary education these children have continued to work during the weekends and school holidays to supplement family income. Child labour has contributed to poor health of the children in which it is shown that 55% had ailments related to their work. They work in poor conditions in cold weather without protective clothing, unbalanced meals, long hours of work and poor living conditions.

From the findings we can conclude that child labour has a negative impact on the education and health of the children. It was established that 45% of the families were female-headed and most of them had large families ranging from 3 to 6 children. This ultimately forced the children to work to supplement the family income and enable them to buy clothes and school uniforms.

Deriving from the findings and conclusions of this study it is recommended that in order to combat child labour, the government should look at the underlying cause which is poverty and implement poverty eradication measures. The education policy also needs to be implemented. Legislations drawn up against child labour must be enforced. There is need for further participatory research on the success of the free primary education (FPE) and the 2001 Policy on Child Labour. These would go a long way in combating child labour in Kenya.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ANPPCAN	African Network for the Prevention and Protection against Child Abuse and Neglect.
CBS	Central Bureau of Statistics.
DDP	District Development Plan.
FKE	Federation of Kenya Employees.
GDP	Gross Domestic Per Capital.
ILO	International Labour Organisation.
IPEC	International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour.
NACP	National Aids Control Programme.
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations.
UN	United Nations.
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund.
SAPS	Structural Adjustment Programmes.
WHO	World Health Organisation.

# INTRODUCTION

## CHAPTER 1

### 1.0 BACKGROUND

Child labour has been regarded globally as a problem of underdevelopment and poverty. An established factor which drives children to work is poverty. The extent of this poverty is such that the majority of children in especially difficult circumstances are doing without provision of the basic necessities like food, shelter, clothing and education. According to the ILO convention (No. 182:23) "the causes of child labour are primarily rooted in poverty created by social and economic inequality as well as insufficient educational facilities". However, there are various definitions on child labour. This study will analyse a few definitions so as to be able to distinguish the type of child labour this study will deal with.

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According to a recent report on the Situational analysis of children and women in Kenya, child labour is defined as "any work carried out by persons less than 15 years of age and which is likely to be exploitative, interfere with the child's education or be hazardous to the child's health or physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development." (UNICEF 1999:17). Therefore, to them child labour refers to working children who earn a living for themselves and thus forego the opportunity to go to school and grow as children

The International Labour Organisation (ILO) convention (No. 138, 1973:2) defines child labour as "children prematurely leading adult lives, normally working long hours for low wages under conditions damaging to their physical and mental development, sometimes separated from their families frequently deprived of meaningful educational training opportunities that could open up a brighter future for them". The report further states that the minimum age of employment

is 15 years but we find children between the ages 6-14 years engaged in fulltime or part-time employment. Generally, child labour is a serious global problem and a violation of the children's rights. The ILO estimates that 250 million children from 5-14 years old work mainly in developing countries. The ILO convention states "in the developing world we find that one out of every four children work. In some countries 80% of working children work the whole week. About 60% of child workers are in Asia, 7% in Latin America and 32% in Africa". The World Bank estimates that over 250 million children in the world are in one way or another engaged in child labour. Most of these children work in extremely difficult and hazardous conditions often facing abuses of various types." (ILO Convention No.138, 1973:2)

In addition the United Nations (UN) Convention on the Rights of the child (1990:14) article 14 defines the phenomenon of child labour as:-

"Economic exploitation through performing work that is likely to be hazardous or to interfere with the child's education or to be harmful to the child's health or physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development." However it is important and necessary to differentiate clearly child work activities that are hazardous and exploitative, resulting in child abuse on one hand and on the other, those activities that a child carries out in line with his or her rights and obligations contributing to his or her own well being and the well being of his or her family and community. These three definitions have not differentiated family work and working for wages outside the family circle.

P. Onyango (1998:161) gives a clear distinction between the two categories of labour. "One is enumerated as family labour which is seen as a form of socialization and the other is paid labour outside the family circle". This view has been supported by the Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS:viii) report on child labour 1998/99 which states that "child labour should be differentiated from

child work, which refers to certain types of light work undertaken by children such as helping in housekeeping chores or in the farms after school hours or by teenagers working for a few hours before or after school or during holidays to earn pocket money". In view of this distinction not all work undertaken by the 1.9 million working children as per the ILO convention No. 138 could be regarded strictly as child labour.

Onyango elaborates that family labour facilitates the development of skills among the young and provides parents especially mothers with assistance to domestic chores and production. Family labour revolves around 90% of Kenyans children between the ages 6 and 15 years of age and is common in both rural and urban areas.

The CBS reports that "1.9 million children aged 5-17 years were working for pay, profit or family gain. These were classified as working children which was 17.4% of the children aged 5-17 years. The working children was composed of 984,168 boys and 909,596 girls. Geographically Rift Valley Province had the highest share of working children which was 26.9% children in that district. Central Province which this study will be carried out had a total number of children aged 5-17 years as 1,422,339 out of which 244,544 or 17.2% of the children in the province were working. In Central Province 60% of the workforce in plantations are children". (CBS: Sept 2001:33). This shows that the number of child labourers in Kenya is high and is distributed across the country. The study therefore explored the problem by limiting the study to a specific area i.e. Limuru Division.

Child labour may have different meanings in different societies. For the purpose of this paper the understanding of child labour is not the light work children do after school or young people helping out in the business or farms. The child

labour which is of concern is employment that prevents effective school attendance and which is often performed under conditions hazardous to the physical, mental, spiritual, moral and social development of the child.

The focus of this study was on the child labour outside the family circle which involves wages. Waged child labour in Kenya is widespread according to Kayongo, Male and Walji 1984:54 "it involves children working in other households; selling in shops and markets, cooking for foresters in forest plantations in Meru, mechanics in Machakos, matatu touts in Nairobi and other urban areas, barmaids, parking boys and girls, hawkers, and picking Tobacco, tea and coffee in plantations in Kiambu, Kericho, Nyeri and Meru". This shows that child labour is widespread in Kenya and hence the concern.

Other scholars define child labour as "work children do for their families largely on the farms in their households and even in the market place. It is not wage related. But they further add that during the colonial period these concept changed as children for the first time worked outside the family's own economic system. They were drawn into a capitalist system which at times expropriated their labour in return for the most minimal wages and at other times gave them nothing in return" (Kayonge-Male and Walji, 1984:35).

Having established from these studies that children are involved in labour for economic reasons this study explored whether children worked for economic reasons or for other reasons.

Mwashimba (1983:10) traces the working of children historically in Kenya particularly to white settlers in plantations and farms. Children were supposed to accompany their parents to help them accomplish their daily tasks and in return either increase their parents earning or get a small payment themselves.

The work they did therefore involved pay. Hence, the problem of land alienations, introduction of taxes and the creation of powerful chiefs created a class of labourers which included men, women and children. As a result of the 2<sup>nd</sup> world war many men were recruited by the colonial government to fight in the war overseas. These led to a severe shortage of labour during these emergency periods. Due to poverty they were forced to survive and the settlers took this opportunity to exploit them by paying them cheaply.

The aim of this study was to establish whether there is a relationship between the economic status of families in Kenya and child labour. As other scholars have looked at the reasons generally, this study was specific to one area, i.e. tea plantations in Limuru Division, Kiambu District.

### 1.1 Statement of the problem

Child labour is a serious global problem. According to ILO, about 250 million children from 5-14 years old work, most of them in developing countries. In some countries, one out of every four children is involved in child labour, about 80 per cent of these working throughout the week.

In Kenya, one of the developing countries, "it is estimated that 1.9 million children aged between 5 and 17 years provide labour either in the domestic sphere or in the public sphere. In the Central province of Kenya where the study was carried out 60 per cent of the work force in plantations are children" (CBS, Sept 2001:33).

In recognition of the adverse negative implications of child labour, various efforts have been made to control it. The ILO convention (No. 138) abolished child labour. Many countries, Kenya included have ratified the convention and established some legislations and policies to curb child labour. Nevertheless, child labour continues unabated. While there has been no survey conducted to

establish the magnitude of the problem in Kenya, estimates based on school drop out rates indicate that Child labour is on the increase (UNICEF:1998:18).

The study derives from concerns over the increase in child labour in spite of stated efforts to control the phenomenon. It would seem that the dynamics of child labour have not been effectively understood. While there has been some studies on Child labour in relation to family size, its nature, the underlying factors and consequences, gender aspects in child labour especially in relation to domestic exploitation and aggression meted on house maids, no study has explored the relationship between child labour and the economic status of the child's family. The continued increase in child labour for wages in spite of government efforts to control it suggests that such a relationship does exist. An investigation of this relationship may provide the basis for continued increase in child labour which may in turn provide the basis for effective control of the problem. The perceived relationship was the concern of the study. This study was also concerned with the impact of child labour on the child's health and education as this has a bearing on the economic status of the family not just in the present but also in future. The study was limited to child labour in tea plantations in Limuru Division, Kiambu District in Central Province of Kenya.

The specific questions to which the study was addressed are:

1. Is child labour related to the economic status of the child's family?
2. Does child labour contribute to the family's income?
3. Is the health of the children affected by child labour?
4. Does Child labour affect the education of the Child?



## 1.2 The objectives of the study

The overall objective of this study was to establish the relationship between Child labour and the economic status of the child's family. Establishing the influence of child labour on the child's health and education was part of this broad objective. The specific objectives of the study included were:

1. To investigate whether child labour is influenced by the family's economic status.
2. To establish whether child labour contributes to family income.
3. To determine whether child labour affects the child's health.
4. To determine whether child labour affects the child's education.

## 1.3 Justification of the study

Child labour is a serious problem in Kenya. It "is a creation of a wide range of factors yet it has not been adequately addressed" (Njeru and Njoka, 2001:6). Inadequate research has been done on child labour in Kenya. While there have been some studies on the nature of child labour, its relation to family size, its underlying factors and consequences, and gender dimensions in child labour, most of these studies have not produced specific findings. It is in view of this that UNICEF reports: "no survey has been conducted to establish the magnitude of the problem" (UNICEF:1998:18). This study was specific to the relationship between child labour and the economic status of the family. It focused on tea plantations which have not been studied extensively. Yet, "tea plantations and farming covers 103,084 hectares and of the workforce, 15% are children below 18 years" (Rono and Metto: 1998:9).

The empirical data from this study indicated the magnitude of the problem in a specific way. These provided a clear understanding of the economic aspect of Child labour in tea plantations in Limuru Division, Kiambu District. This

understanding acted as an impetus for more specific researches on child labour.

In spite of various efforts to control child labour in Kenya, the problem persists. It would seem like legislation against child labour has not been effective and policy pronouncements have bottlenecks which hinder rather than facilitate the solving of the problem. The policies do not seem to get to the root of the problem of Child labour. It is hoped that findings of this study will contribute to policy making and implementation for effective control of child labour.

#### 1.4 Scope of the study

Geographically, the proposed study was carried out in Limuru Location, Kiambu District which is in Central Province of Kenya. Although other studies on child labour in Kenya have been carried out on the streets, in factories, in homes, in coffee plantations not much has been covered on the magnitude of the problem especially on the relation between child labour and the family's social economic status.

Thus, the study limited itself to a specific location in Limuru though the problem persists in other tea growing areas of Kericho, Meru and Nandi Hills. Generally, the study was on the relationship between the economic status of families and Child labour in the tea plantation in Limuru. It linked this problem to the families economic status, family incomes, the impact it has on the children's health and how it affects their education. The study clearly distinguished child labour which is seen as a form of family socialization and concentrated on the category of child labour where the child specifically works for wages. This is carried out either daily, seasonally when the tea is in season, after school, during school holidays or when the need arises. For example in the past when children were sent home for lack of school fees, they worked in the tea plantations to enable them pay fees.

## CHAPTER 2

### 2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

The main objective of this chapter was to review the available literature on the relationship between child labour and the economic status of the family. Literature on the impact of child labour on family income and on the health and education of the children was also reviewed. Relevant sociological theories were presented at the end after the review.

The major themes identified were:

- a) History of child labour.
- b) Factors contributing to child labour.
- c) The impact of child labour on the family income, and on the health and education of children.

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For the purpose of this study it was necessary to distinguish the types of Child labour which will be discussed. There are two categories of child labour as distinguished by Onyango (1988:161) these include:

- a) un-remunerated family labour and
- b) paid labour outside the family circle.

The former in the African context was seen as a form of socialization where skills were imparted to the young. The latter is where the child works outside the family for wages and it conflicts with the demands and needs of childhood. This was the focus of this study. From other studies we can therefore say that child labour in Kenya is rampant in the agricultural, domestic, fisheries, mining, Jua Kali, manufacturing, construction, Hotel and Tourism industries. The view then that child labour is invisible contradicts this as one can actually observe the children working in the areas mentioned above. The study concentrated on the paid labour outside the family circle. It explored whether there is a relationship

between the social economic status of families in Limuru and child labour.

## 2.1 History of Child labour

From the past studies by Onyango et al 1988, child labour traditionally was a form of socialization as children were involved in light chores where they participated in various duties. However, the concept of child labour changed with colonization where for the first time children worked for wages. (Kanyongo, Male and Walji 1984:44).

### 2.1.1. Precolonial period

In Kenya children begin their activities of production when they are young as part of their training in agriculture and herding. "When children are young they are left at home minding small babies or are taken along by their parents where they can play in a corner of the cultivated field, (Kenyatta 1965:56). Due to this they take great interests in agriculture as they tend to their small gardens whose size is determined by the child's capability.

Oyuga, Suda and Mugambi (1997:1) concur with this view by stating that, "In Kenya and in other African countries before colonialism, the norms and values regulating child growth were imposed by customary practices and law". The traditional communities would initiate youth into adulthood by performing certain rites after some non formal and informal teaching on the responsibilities which each adult played in the family according to one's sex. These were common to all youths in all communities. Agriculture and other trades were taught through apprenticeship within the family. There was no serious physical toil that was geared towards wages and self gain. Child work was seen as part and parcel of normal growth.

From the studies by Kenyatta et al, it can be drawn that before the colonial

period there was no child labour as such but children's tasks, which involved light work that children were engaged in as part of their growth and development depending on the community. The sex roles were clearly divided with girls doing most of the domestic chores with the guidance of their mothers. The boys were engaged in hunting, looking after animals and protection of the homestead, under the guidance of their fathers. However, this study will establish when the actual labour for wages began as in the studies by Kanyongo, Male and Walji (1984) focusing on the precolonial period, child labour was a form of socialization.

### 2.1.2 The Colonial period

In Kenya the formal period of colonialism began in 1895 and ended with independence in 1963. With the advent of colonialism and the industrial revolution, the western economies expanded in search of raw materials, labour and new markets. The colonial governments emerged and subordinated the customary legal regimes as they embarked on programmes to modernize the subsistence economies and to make them part and parcel of the emergent capitalistic economic system. Studies conducted by various scholars show that "children for the first time worked outside the family's own economic system, They were exploited and given minimal wages while at other times were given nothing in return". (Kanyongo Male and Walji 1984:35)

Historically, studies reveal that "three major factors led to child labour becoming prevalent in Kenya. In 1901 the institution of the hut tax served to draw men into migrant labour to obtain cash for its payment. These automatically forced the women and children to do farm work. This was communal labour introduced in accordance with the Native Followers Recruitment Ordinance of 1915, which prescribed quotas for the chiefs on the number of labourers required. If the numbers required were not met this led to severe penalties. Chiefs

sometimes turned to women and children for communal work or forced labour". (Buell, 1965:336-341)

Buell further states that "the second world war heightened migration of men from the villages and forced the children and women to fill the labour gap. Children's labour was favoured in the European farms and in 1924, there were 11,315 Children at work in the tea and coffee farms". Children's labour was favoured because it was cheaper than adult labour. It can be noted that child labour continued during the colonial period as Buell adds that. In 1933 the employment of women, young persons and children's ordinance was enacted and it inhibited children and juveniles from employment and prohibited industrial work by children under 12 years, restricting children below 14 years from engaging in hazardous industrial work. The employment of Servants Ordinance 1937 further provided that no child under 10 years of age could be employed. It also required the parents consent before employment but this was difficult as children worked far from home. Children under 16 years were prohibited from working as porters, fuel cutters trolley or rickshaw boys at night" (Buell 1965:334). These studies clearly show what led children to engage in child labour. Other scholars concur with this views by stating that "in spite of all these ordinances we find that children continued to work until the 1950s when men were detained in the fight for independence. During the colonial period it is evident that child labour for wages began. This was mainly because the families needed to survive, with the absence of their father who were either detained or had gone to fight. Children had to work to supplement on the family resources" (Oyuga Suda and Mugambi 1997:12). It is evident from past studies that Children went out to work to supplement family income, this study established whether this is the trend today and the findings from the study will help to show why the Children work.

### 2.1.3. Post colonial situation

According to the Ministry of Labour Statistics (2001) at the end of the colonial period there were around 11,000 child labourers but the figure had dropped to 8,780 in 1966. At independence and after, child labour was conceived by many Kenyans as a "normal phenomenon" which had began with colonization. These children work mainly in the agricultural sector, timber industry, mechanics, mataatu turnboys, hawkers etc. According to Onyango (1988:161) "most children join the labour market because their parents cannot keep up with the financial demands of schooling or are even unable to pay for their basic subsistence needs". Onyango shows that the driving force for these children to work is poverty they need to work to supplement the family's income.

The ILO reports on the period after independence, reveal that "child labour has continued to be prevalent not only in developing countries but also in the developed countries such as Italy and United Kingdom. We find that after the industrial revolution children were not exempted from labour. However, with the intervention of most European governments and legislations being put in place the numbers are minimal. But in the developing countries the numbers are on the increase mainly due to 'poverty and underdevelopment'" (ILO Convention No. 182:11). These studies after colonization show that there is a relationship between the families economic status and child labour. The literature reviewed, however, is too general, this study was specific to a particular area Limuru Division, Kiambu District. It was established through research that there was a relationship between the economic status of families and child labour.

## **2.2. Factors contributing to Child labour**

A review of literature on child labour in Africa suggests that child labour has increased in many countries. It is estimated that Africa may be faced with roughly 100 million child labourers in the year 2015 (ILO 1998). The ILO estimates that in developing countries alone, there are at least 120 million children between the ages of 5 and 14 who work full time and a total of 250 million when those for whom work is a secondary activity are included. Out of this 61% are found in Asia, 32% in Africa and 7% in Latin America. Although Asia has the largest number of child workers Africa has the highest incidence at around 41% of child workers between 5-14 years (ILO 1996).

Factors that impact on child labour include parental negligence, unemployment, inadequate and unclear policies, lack of awareness and poor quality of education, large household size, single parent households, lack of universal education leading to other alternatives to schooling, lack of skills and cultural acceptance of child work as part of the socialization process but for the purpose of this paper the focus will be on child labour for pay. Many African countries are faced with political problems armed conflicts and natural disaster which also encourage poverty resulting to Child labour. This study analysed each of these factors and showed how each of them has contributed to the prevalence of child labour. The factors that impact on Child labour are discussed below.

### **2.2.1. Poverty**

According to the CBS report "the main reason for work is poverty which is the overwhelming characteristic and common denominator of most African economies with an estimate of more than 300 million Africans expected to live below the poverty line in the year 2000. Poor households need the money which the Children earn and children contribute 20-25% of the families income" (CBS 2001:40). Case studies carried out in commercial agriculture in Kenya, Malawi,



South Africa and Tanzania found that children work primarily for economic reasons to supplement the family income (ILO 1998). Some plantation employers in Kenya suggested that their use of child labour is a result of children accompanying their parents to work. The number of persons living below the poverty line went up from 11.5 million in 1994 to 13.3 million in 1997 and is expected to be 15 million by the end of the year 2003 (CBS 2001:12)". The report further adds that "the highest concentration of the poor is in the densely populated districts around the Lake Basin in Nyanza, Western provinces, Rift Valley and Coast Districts. The people mostly affected by poverty are well defined by other socio economic categories such as the landless, pastorolists, the handicapped, the female headed households, households headed by people without formal education, unskilled casual workers, aids orphans, street children and beggars" (CBS 2001:12). This study shows that the major contributing factor to the exposure of this categories to poverty in Kenya is the increasing inequality in the distribution of wealth and income, poor access to economic and social goods as well as remunerative employment, inequality in the participation in social and political process and in other life choices" (CBS 2001:12). From the above reports it may seem that child labour exists in certain areas where children have a tradition of following in their parents footsteps e.g in picking coffee, tanning leather etc. Child labour in hazardous conditions is most prevalent in the most vulnerable families whose low income allows them little margin to cope with the injury or illness of an adult member of the household or the distress and disruption resulting from abandonment or divorce. Not only do the poor households have few financial assets, but in many cases they are in debt. Debt therefore becomes the root of hazardous and bonded child labour, children being in effect sold to pay off the family debt.

### 2.2.2 High population growth rate.

The high population growth rate in Kenya is another factor which influences child labour, "with a population of 28.7 million in 1999. The population growth rate has declined from 3.4 % per annum during the 1979-1989 inter censal period to 2.9% between 1989 and 1999 but the age population remains highly skewed. Those children aged between 15 years in 1999 accounted for about 43.7% of the population compared to 47.8% in 1989. The 1999 census revealed that Kenya's population remained youthful with persons aged 18 years and below accounting for 51.1 % of the total population, with those aged 5-17 years accounting for 35.3%" (CBS 2001:vi). The consequences of this is a high dependency ratio, which increases demand for social services and a rapidly increasing demand for jobs all of which present major development challenges.

### 2.2.3. The Economy

The performance of the economy is another factor that contributes substantially to child labour. "Kenya has a relatively well diversified economy with the service sector contributing the largest share, amounting to 60% of the total GDP. Agriculture and manufacturing sectors are the next important contributions to the GDP. Unfortunately since the 70's the growth in GDP has shown a declining trend. Between 1996-1999 the GDP per capita has showed negative growth rates of 0.6; 1.1 and 1.5% respectively, "(CBS 2001:vi). The report further adds that the decline in the growth of the economy was partly attributed to depressed investment, the El nino rains, withdrawal of donor funds and the general uncertainties in the economy whose main factors have led to economic decline, macro economic instability, rapid population growth, declining foreign and domestic involvement, unsound economic management, poor governance and corruption. Ibid

#### 2.2.4 The education system

According to the Ministry of Education report, the enrolment and completion rate of children in primary school contributes to child labour. It is important to note at this juncture, that the gross enrolment into primary schools has decreased by 19.1% due to the deepening poverty and the adverse effects of Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPS) since the eighties. The introduction of cost sharing in primary education has rendered access to education being more difficult for the poor (Ministry of Education 2001). But with the introduction of free primary education in Kenya since January 2003 it may be too early to tell what is happening practically on the ground. From the CBS analysis of both primary and secondary education enrolment rates report of 2001 it is evident that school enrolment is not keeping pace with the increasing number of children of school going age. This situation is largely attributed to the high incidence of poverty, the nomadic lifestyles of some communities, cultural practices child labour, lack of parental guidance and lack of resources in schools among others. Other factors include the association of Child labour to traditional social values. Onyango 1984:161 states that "family labour facilitates the development of skills among the young and provides parents with assistance in the family chores and production". This studies show that the importance attached to child labour by Kenyan parents show that they depend on it totally although this is specifically for the category of tasks or light chores that children do to help in the house. The focus of this study will be on paid labour. The traditional practices and cultural beliefs that systematically favour the education and development of boys over girls e.g. among the Maasai, Samburu etc. contribute to the large number of girl-child workers. In Togo for example, a study on domestic work found that parents prefer to send girls rather than boys into domestic service, because the girls help to support the schooling of their brothers.

### 2.2.5 Unemployment

The unemployment problem where many young people see their educated peers or jobless reference group and are disillusioned and prefer to work than to go to school (ILO 1996:2). This has affected the younger children who see university graduates who are unemployed and become discouraged about their own fate.

### 2.2.6 The Aids pandemic

The aids pandemic has an impact on the population. According to Onyango and Jaffer (1997:iv) "The Aids epidemic is exerting a role on the population and thus the declining morality rate. By March 1992, over 24,000 Kenyans had acquired Aids more than half of them died. The estimate by the National Aids Control Programme (NAS COP) is that between 750,000 to 1million Kenyans are infected". The implication for children is that when left as orphans they take to the streets and labour market. The Aids epidemic is producing a large number of orphans, who lack support from the extended family and risk becoming street children. There are estimated to be almost 8 million, Aids orphans in Sub-Saharan Africa (NAS COP 2001). In addition the loss or illness of productive adult labour has increased the reliance on child labour.

From the literature reviewed above on the factors which have contributed to the prevalence of child labour, these studies show that child labour is as a result of poverty, poor education, Aids, unemployment etc. However, these studies have covered a wide area and have given an overview of the country generally. In this study the research was carried out in a specific area i.e. tea plantations, to deduce whether these factors have any impact on child labour or not.

## **2.3 The impact of child labour on the family income, health and education of the children.**

This study looked at the impact of child labour on the family income, to establish whether child labour supplements family income as alleged by many studies. It also looked at the impact that child labour has on the children's health and the effect it has on their education.

### **2.3.1 The Impact of child labour on the family income.**

In many cases a combination of factors push and pull children into work, and the decision that a child should work maybe a rational response to limited options children and their families face. In Kenya child labour is not a new phenomenon as children have always worked with the purpose of either helping the adults with some tasks or earning a living to support themselves and their families. "While some studies have been done on familial child labour no study has been done on paid child labour outside the family". (Bwibo and Onyango 1987:2). Though studies in coffee plantations have been conducted not much has been done on paid labour outside the family in tea plantations.

Studies show that the impact of child labour on the family income can be attributed to poverty. "The poverty line indicators in Kenya show that 46% of the population currently lives below the poverty line. 37% of the population were unable to consume 2,250 calories per day in 1992. About 22% of children below 5 years in Kenya are suffering from malnutrition. In Africa, the number of Africans living in absolute poverty is expected to grow to 30% of the population by the year 2000 from the current 16%". (Jaffer and Onyango 1995:3). Children engage in labour as the family income is at or below the poverty level. The world bank (1997) report, indicates that, widespread poverty is the major cause of harmful child labour in developing countries. In poor households children may contribute a significant proportion of household income, which means that

such households spend the bulk of their income on food. Therefore income from child labour may be critical to survival. A study carried out in the coffee plantations in Kiambu District shows that "the motivating force is the amount of money in one's pocket achieved on the basis of task or work, the more debes (container of 12Kgs) you pick the more you earn" (Onyango, Jaffer 1995:5). In Kenya they are paid 15/= a debe while in Zimbabwe 5 to 7 cts per kilogram.

The owners of the farms justify this labour by saying that they were doing the parents a favour by providing an extra income and keeping the child out of mischief. Most of the children accompany relatives or parents to work. They come as part of the family group and their collections are made under one persons name, hence, children as such are not recorded as part of the daily or casual labour force. They are seen to be there to 'help' pick more beans so as to enlarge the daily earnings of the family. (Chiama 1994). From this studies it is evident that the purpose of working is money.

The aim of this study was to empirically test whether there is a relationship between the families economic status and child labour.

These studies show that children work for money and their employers exploit them.

### **2.3.2 The impact of child labour on health**

On the issue of health, child labour exposes children to various health hazards. The dangers that children face vary with the kind of work that they do. Some dangers are immediate, others have long term consequences. According to the ILO report of 2001, When young children work as shown in many countries it means that they do not go to school. They are ill prepared for work and lack physical, mental and psychological maturity. Working children between the age of 5 and 14 years all over the world exceed 120 million.

In Zimbabwe, there are several health hazards that child workers face on farms.

"These include immediate and long term poisoning resulting from chemicals sprayed on crops, children suffer from eye, breathing problems and neurological damages, bites by insects and susceptibility to water related diseases, such as malaria, bilharzia and diarrhoea as a result of poor living and working conditions, cuts on the hands and legs in the tea, cotton and sugarcane plantations, and exhaustion resulting from manual labour, walking long distances and long hours of work" (ILO 2001:8).

Reports on the coffee plantations in Kiambu district indicate that "the children lack protection against dangerous elements, hence children contract respiratory diseases while working under wet and cold conditions, bruises and cuts from the breaking of twigs and branches as well as snake bites. No first aid is provided on the spot in most estates, though such facilities are said to be available for the permanent labour force in some estates. Some of the other hazards children experience is falling from the trees, exhaustion after a long day, hunger as some of children cannot afford to spend the hard earned money on niceties but they use the money for other family responsibilities"( Onyango and Jaffer, 1997:10).

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A study on tea plantations in the Nandi hills in Kenya indicates that tea picking has a negative effect on the children's health. "This include chest pains and other respiratory problems. Due to the poor working conditions children also suffer from scars, burns, multiple abnormalities as their mental health is also affected, spine problems due to the posture and illness as a result of exposure to harsh conditions" (Sang 1984:40).

It would seem from the foregoing studies that child labour in the agricultural sector which includes tea picking, harvesting or weeding leads to hazards such as unsafe machinery, dangerous substances, long and strenuous work, working in extreme weather conditions for hours at a time and lack of basic facilities. This

study intended to establish whether tea picking in Limuru Division affects the children's health.

### **2.3.3 The effect of child labour on the children's education.**

Despite the hue and cry on compulsory education we find that in developing countries this has not been achieved. Reports on compulsory education by Malkas indicate that in Zimbabwe some schools were reported to have 4 students in 1993 in Matabele because scores of pupils left to work for a parastatal organization. According to a UNICEF report (2001:51), "in industrialized countries compulsory education keeps children out of factories and workplaces". These governments are strict on compulsory education which they see as a child's right. In terms of education in Kenya, "it is estimated that there are more than 3 million children between the ages of 6 and 14 years who either have no schooling at all or have dropped out of school. Most of them are engaged to some extent in work of one kind or another, many in commercial agriculture". In the 1990s, the school enrolment rate dropped from 95% to 67% in 1999 with most of the children finding themselves in the working fields (Ministry of Education 1999). Past studies on how child labour affects the education of children show that the objective to have compulsory education in Kenya has not been achieved. This study established whether compulsory education has led to the decline of child labourers or not.

## **2.4 Theoretical Framework**

This study used three theories to show how they relate to the topic of study. The basic aim of science is theory it aims to find general explanations of natural events. According to Singleton et al (1988:24) all empirical studies should be grounded in theory. This means that they are conducted scientifically and can be empirically tested. Kerlinger et al 1964:11 defines a "theory as a set of interrelated concepts, definitions and propositions that present a systematic



view of phenomenon by specifying relations among the variables with the purpose of explaining and predicting the phenomena". This means that the very nature of theory lies in its explanation of observed phenomena.

This study was informed by the Marxist theory, on capitalism, the symbolic interactionism theory by George Mead who focused on the nature of interactions and the reference group theory by Herbert and Singers (1968:4)

#### **2.4.1 The Marxist theory on capitalism**

The contemporary Marxist thought on the development and persistence of the conjugal family under capitalism is explained in terms of utility in reproducing the capitalist system. The new left of the post war period emphasized the ideological importance of the family for capitalism. The writers whose views are summarized by (Middleton 1974) present the family as propagating values which are supportive of the capitalist system and as inhibiting a working class challenge to the capitalist order. They argue that the family socializes children into capitalist ideology and prepares them to accept their place in the class structure, provides an emotionally supportive retreat for the alienated worker and so dissipates the frustrations of the workplace, and impedes working class solidarity by privatizing the household and generating financial commitments which discourage militant activity. The argument by Seccombe (1974:99) is that the conjugal family is of economic as well as ideological importance for capitalism. The family he says has functional aspects of both base and super structure. It is a dual faceted institution that both maintains the material world through the reproduction of labour power and the consumption of goods, and sustains the coherence of the social world through the reproduction of the relations of production. The family is of importance through capitalism in that it reproduces labour power.

This is a two fold process involving the generational reproduction of human beings and the daily sustenance of workers. Generational reproduction ensures that there are future generations of workers. The family acts as a unit of consumption. The workers wage provides the means of purchasing goods. Capitalism seeks to maximize family consumption so as to expand the market for the products. The family is of ideological importance in that it reproduces the relations of production. The primary socialization of children within the family ensures acceptance of the attitudes and values required for life in a capitalist world and produces people who accept their place in class relations and are willing participants in the social order.

Thus this study was closely guided by the current global developments which bend toward capitalist form of social, economic and political organization in which families become both labour/production and consumption units.

#### **2.4.2 The Symbolic interaction theory**

The gaps in understanding which lead the study to look at the theory of symbolic interactionism by George Mead are that Marxists dealt with the social classes created by the owners of production and the children while Mead concentrates on social interactions. According to Mead (1971:19), in the social interactionists theory, "people do not act or react automatically but carefully consider and even rehearse what they are going to do. They take into account the other people involved and the situation in which they find themselves. The expectations and reactions of other people greatly affect each individuals actions". According to symbolic interactionism, human behaviour is determined by the social and cultural environment within which they live. As social beings, humans act in response to other people's actions. They make symbolic meaning out of other people's actions, modify the meanings and eventually interpret them. Depending on the interpretation derived, people may want to copy other

people's behaviour thereby reaching a common understanding of reality and consequently a common response.

This theory informed the study on the possible causes of child labour. Could it be that children are driven into child labour because they interact with child/adult labourers? Does the child fit what he does with what others in similar circumstances are doing? It was evident from the study that their peers had an influence on their work as most of the children did not want to be left out and so did their parents also influenced them as they sometimes insisted that the children work so as to supplement on income.

#### 2.4.3 The reference group theory.

Closely related to symbolic interactionism is the reference group theory. According to proponents of this theory, Herbert and Singer, 1968:4, state that "men shape their attitudes to reference groups other than their own". The reference groups are the groups which individuals aspire to maintain membership. The groups provide a form of reference and attitude formation. This is expected from group dynamics since in a group, individuals will conform to the norms of the group so as to have a sense of belonging. The choice of reference group is based on simple assumptions about motivation. Group members have their own rules and they know their limits.

This theory was of great significance to the study. It suggested that children may become child labourers in order to identify with their peers. In so doing the children acquire a sense of belonging. If this be the case, then it would mean that children from fairly good economic backgrounds may join their counterparts from different backgrounds for no other reason than to feel they belong. This study established that peer influence is a significant determinant of child labour. It was evident that the peer group members whom the children interact with are

able to influence and socialize the children to adapt values like their own. For example the children who are already working are able to woo the non-working children to start working as they would show them the money they got as incentives which would draw the other children to join them.

## 2.5 Research Hypotheses

This study had three hypotheses that were to be tested.

- 1) There is a relationship between the economic status of families and child labour in Kenya.
- 2) Child labour affects the children's health.
- 3) Child labour affects the child's education.

### 2.5.1 Conceptualization of variables

Hypotheses 1 states that, there is a relationship between the economic status of families and child labour in Kenya. Child labour is the independent variable while economic status of families is the dependant variable. The indicator of child labour is participation in tea picking by children. As children engage in labour they are exploited, denied child rights and adopt adult roles.

The dependent variable here is the economic status of the families. The indicators for this are low income, poor living conditions and lack of basic needs, such as food, shelter and clothing.

In hypotheses 2 which states that "child labour affects children's health"

The dependent variable here is the health of the child. The measurable indicators here are diseases, mental and psychological disorders. The independent variable is child in labour.

In hypotheses 3 which states that "child labour affects child's education".

The dependent variable here is education. The indicators are illiteracy, absenteeism and poor performance in schools. The independent variable is the child in labour.

## **2.5.2 Operational definition of terms**

### **Child labour.**

This refers to the phenomenon of a child, whose age falls between 6-17 years, actively involved in wage related work.

### **Economic status of families.**

This refers to the family's monthly income, poor living conditions, and lack of basic needs.

### **Children's health.**

This refers to the total state of the children's well being as defined by the absence of diseases, mental, psychological, and other disorders.

### **Child's education.**

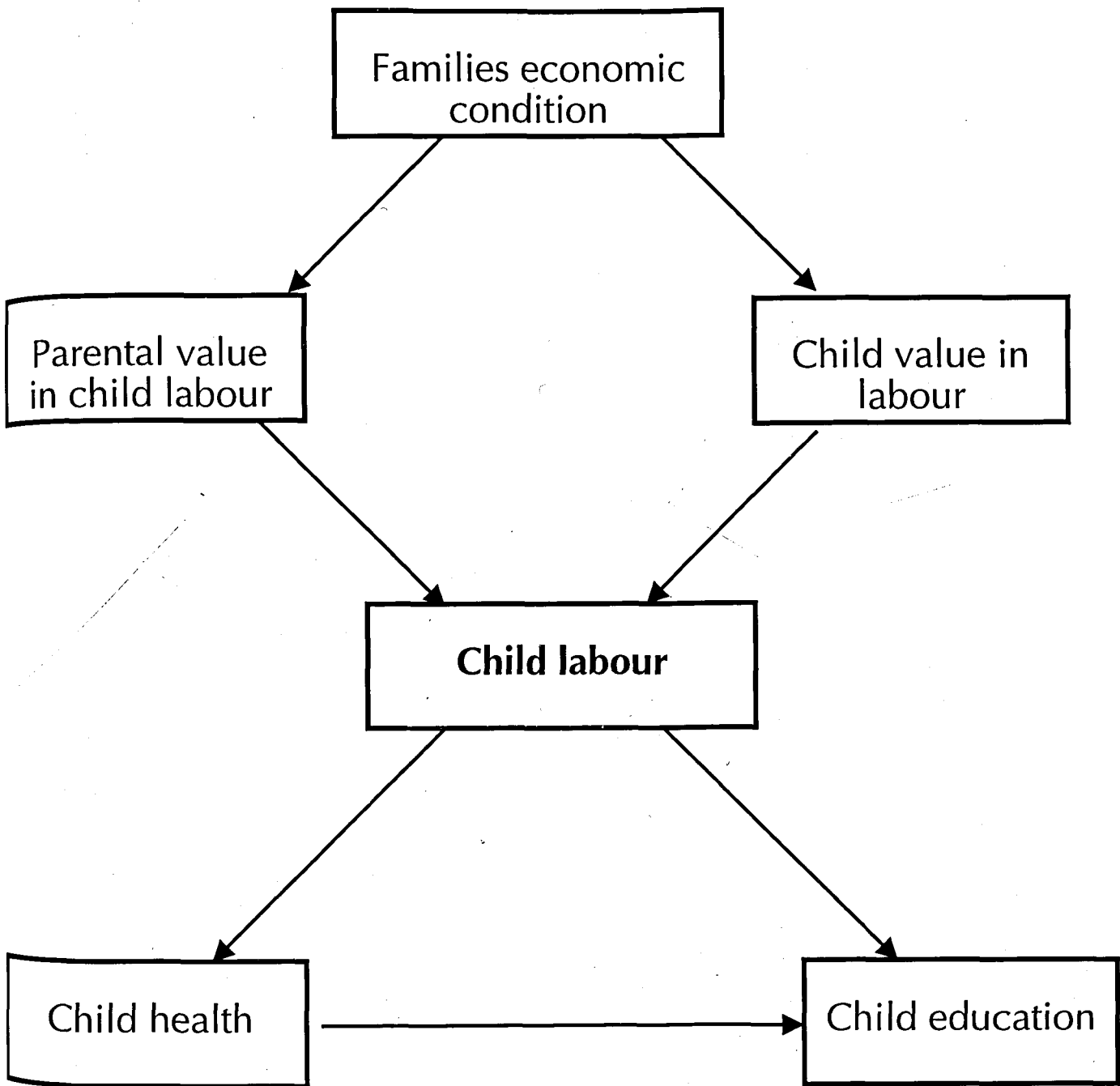
This refers to whether or not a child has enrolled in school and for those who have, what level of education they are in.

## **2.5.3 Conceptual Framework**

In this section of the study a model that attempts to summarise the study by highlighting the key variables and their interconnections is presented. The variables identified in the literature review and the theoretical framework shown as well as their impact on the relationship between the family's social economic status and child labour.

In figure 1 the families' economic condition determines in most cases whether the Child will engage in labour or not? However, this depends on the value that parents have on child labour and also on how the child perceives labour. If the child engages in labour, does it impact on the child's health? And how does labour and health affect the child's education?

**Figure 1: A model on the relationship between the economic status of families and child labour**



## CHAPTER 3

### 3.0 METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this section was to outline the approaches and areas where the research was conducted and how data was obtained, analysed and presented. According to Singleton et al (1988:67) "research design is the arrangement of conditions for collection and analysis of data in a manner that aims to combine relevance to the research purpose with economy in procedure". The section covers site selection, unit of analysis, sources of data, a sampling procedure and the most appropriate techniques of data collection and analysis.

#### 3.1 Research Site

Kiambu is one of the seven districts in the Central Province of Kenya. Kiambu borders Nairobi and Kajiado to the south, Nakuru to the west, Nyandarua to the North-West and Thika to the East. The district covers an area of 1,324 Km<sup>2</sup>. The projected population in the district is 802,625 (ILO / IPEC, 2001:19)

There are seven administrative divisions, Kiambaa, Limuru, Ndeiya, Githunguri, Kikuyu, Lari and Kiambu Municipality. The main economic activity in the area is farming with 70% of the population working in this sector. The main cash crops in the district are coffee, tea, pyrethrum and horticulture.

The study was carried out in Limuru division a tea growing area where children are involved in commercial agriculture. " In the district there are 81,593 child labourers aged 10-18 years. About 29,489 children aged between the ages 10-18 years are estimated to be working. An estimated 80% of these children are engaged in agricultural activities especially in the tea and coffee growing zones in the district" (District Development Plan 2002-2008) Most child labourers work to augment their household income as majority of them come from low income groups or families. A small proportion of child labourers drop out of school

because their parents think that education is irrelevant.

Limuru was strategically selected being the home of the researcher who over-time has witnessed the plight of this child labourers who are helpless. There are large scale tea farms in Limuru but the small and medium scale holders also make a sizeable contribution to the district earnings from the cash crops. The owners of these large scale farms are companies e.g. Brookbond, Co-operative societies e.g. Karirana, Mabroukie, Maboko and a few individuals. According to the District Development Plan (2002-2008) 'it has been difficult to establish the nature causes and effects of child labour. It is however, anticipated that a comprehensive study on child Labour will be conducted at the beginning of this plan period" (ILO/IPEC, 2002:20). This enhances the importance of this study which is timely. Apart from these, the farms where the children worked were easily accessible and therefore the cost implications were within the researcher's reach.

### **3.2 Unit of analysis**

Units of analysis are "the social entities whose social characteristics are the focus of the study" (Baker 1994:102). The unit of analysis was the working child.

The units of observation are the people who are placed in strategic positions as a result of having data pertinent to the research. They included:-

- a) The working children
- b) Parents/Guardians of child labourers
- c) Farm supervisors.
- d) Health officer from the local hospital.
- e) Teachers.

### **3.3 Types of data**

The primary data or first hand information was collected directly from the field.

The units of observations were children, parents/guardians of the child



labourers, and health workers, farm supervisors, and teachers.

The secondary data were used to supplement the primary data. These included reports and publications from various libraries. Statistics drawn from the Central Bureau of Statistics and the Ministry of Labour was used. The legislation from the Children's Act was also useful. Records from ILO/IPEC, ANPPCAN, media reports, books and periodicals were also used.

### 3.4 Sampling procedures

According to Singleton et al (1988:137) "sampling design refers to that part of the research plan that indicates how cases are to be selected for observation". This study used non-probability sampling because adequate sampling frames were not available. Purposive sampling method was used in this case. This is a method that is often used for case studies. According to Peil "one or a few communities are selected because they are considered to be either typical or outstanding examples of the variables with which the research is concerned" (Peil 1982:27).

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In the absence of a sampling frame, the researcher had to identify the children engaged in child labour with the assistance of farm supervisors and teachers. Some of the parents were not very co-operative as they were afraid that they may get into trouble for failing to send their children to school especially after the government's decree on free and compulsory primary education.

The children engaged in labour were then selected purposively from the information obtained. This was to ensure that the children selected were outstanding examples of the variables with which the research was concerned. A total of 83 children were selected purposively these children included those who were engaged in labor full time and part time.

The farms were also selected purposively so as to include both large and small scale farms. The researcher had in addition to include farms which had child labourers as it was evident that some farms did not allow child labour and they had conspicuous notices at the gates which read "we do not employ people who are under 18 years". These farms only employed people with identification cards. The researcher having confirmed from the supervisors that this farms did not employ children carefully selected only the farms where there were child labourers, to ascertain this the reseacher also enquired from the workers themselves whether there were children who worked in the farms. Then using the snowball sampling technique it was possible to identify other members of the population since the children would lead the researcher to their peers who engaged in child labour in other farms. This way the sample size reached a reasonable number.

#### Selection of key informants

These included 10 respondents from the various categories of people who were familiar with child labour issues in the area. Key informants were purposively selected. They included 4 parents/guardians of child workers, 2 farm supervisors, 2 health officers and 2 teachers.

### **3.5 Methods of data collection**

The following data collection techniques were used:

- (i) Structured interviews
- (ii) Key informant interviews
- (iii) Observation
- (iv) Review of secondary data

#### **1. Structured interviews**

The structured interviews were used for the children who engage in labour.

The tool used was a standardized questionnaire which was administered by the

researcher. The questionnaire included both open and close ended questions. This created room for the researcher to clarify the issues and for the respondents to express themselves freely. The researcher administered the questionnaire to the children so as to get the correct information. Some children were not willing to share their experiences as they were afraid of their parents.

## 2. Key informant interviews

Key informant interviews of respondents purposively selected were carried out. According to Singleton (1988:153) "purposive sampling allows the investigator to rely on his expert judgment to select units that are representative of the population. "Unstructured interviews for the key informants were used with the assistance of an interview guide to capture the required information. The key informants are the people assumed with good reason to be more knowledgeable and competent to provide the required information. The interviews were administered on key informants who included, parents/guardians of the child labourers, farm supervisors/farm owners, health officers and teachers.

## 3. Observation

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To supplement the above methods, the researcher observed the children personally as they worked. This was in order to justify the working conditions the children were exposed to and link this to their health status. The researcher also observed them in the home environment to establish what type of families they came from.

## 4. Review of secondary Data

A review of secondary data was used to supplement the primary data. This included a review of books and information from organizations which deal with child labour. These included information from the Ministry of Labour, the Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS), the Children's Act department, the ILO/IPEC reports, Unicef, African Network for the Prevention and Protection against Child Abuse and Neglect (ANPPCAN), and the Federation of Kenya Employees (FKE).

The information included media reports, periodicals, books and magazines on child labour.

### 3.6 Data analysis

The collected data were analysed quantitatively through descriptive statistics and inferences were made through use of qualitative data. "Descriptive statistics refer to simple statistical methods which do not support or falsify a relationship between two variables, but simply help in the description of data" (Baker 1998:105). These procedures were used to help the researcher to understand the data collected from the field. The data collected were interpreted using percentages, frequency distributions, and tables. The Statistical Package of Social Sciences (SPSS) was used to compute the statistics.

## CHAPTER 4

### 4.0 CHILD LABOUR AND FAMILY WELL BEING

The findings in this chapter are based on a sample of 83 children working in the tea plantations in Limuru Division. The aim of the study was to establish the relationship between child labour and the economic status of the family. Establishing the influence of child labour on the child's health and education was part of this objective. The chapter presents and discusses the findings established from the study using descriptive statistics and insights from qualitative data; since there were no vigorous tests of hypothesis, but the propositions are discussed in relation to frequency distributions and the related qualitative data.

#### 4.1 Characteristics of the children

It was established that the children were working in large and small scale farms. Table 1 shows that 77% of the children worked in the large farms and 23% worked in the small scale farms. Findings show that the small scale farms mainly used family labour because they could not afford to hire labour.

Table 1: Distribution of the sample by size of Farm

Size of farm	Frequency	Percentage
small farm	19	22.9
large farm	64	77.1
Total	83	100.0

The findings show that the children working on the farms were between 6-17 years (see Table 2). The majority of the children engaged in child labour were between 12-14 years. These formed 56% of the total sample population. The children aged between 6 and 11 years accounted for 22% of the population. This implies that the majority of children (77%) working in the farms were above 12 years.

**Table 2: Distribution of respondent's by age**

Ages	Frequency	Percentage
6-8	9	10.8
9-11	10	12.0
12-14	47	56.6
15-17	17	20.6
Total	83	100.0

These data suggest that the children aged 6-11 years were too young and for most of them picking tea is a demanding task. The mean age of the children was 11.5 years with the mode falling in the 12-14 age bracket. The findings hence contravene the Employment of Servants Ordinance Act of 1937 which provided that no child under 10 years of age could be employed. The Act prohibited industrial work for children under 12 years but despite doing so, the study confirmed that the children continued to engage in wage labour in order to supplement family resources. However, the findings show that the children continued to engage in child labour which is an illegal practise. According to the Children's Act of (2001:10), child Labour is defined "as work undertaken by children aged 5-17, and which prevents them from attending school, is exploitative, hazardous and inappropriate for their age". The UN Convention on the rights of the child of 1989 in Article 32 specifically prohibits Child Labour and Kenya ratified this convention in 1990.

The majority of the children working in the farms (55%) were female. The words of one of the respondents, Judie, a child of 12 years old testifies to this by saying "my mother advised me to drop out of school so that we can get money to educate my brothers. She told me that boys are the pillar of the home now that she is a single parent". In the African tradition, the boy child is expected to remain in the home while the girl is married off. This supports the views of a patriacial society where the culture entrenched leads to discrimination in the provisions of education against the girl children. Thus we find more females in the labour market as the boys are sent to school.

Data collected on where the children stayed revealed that they lived mainly in the staff quarters in the farms while a few families rented out premises in the neighbourhood. On being asked whom they stayed with, the children responded as shown in Table 3.

**Table 3: Response on who the children stay with**

Responses	Frequency	Percentage
Mother	37	44.6
Father	3	3.6
Relative	8	9.6
Both parents	28	33.7
Grand parents	6	7.3
Employer	1	1.2
Total	83	100.0

Table 3 shows that majority of the children (44%) live in female-headed households with 33% staying with both parents and the rest residing with father, relatives, grandparents or employers. Hence it was observed that most of the children were from female-headed households who in most cases had large families.

**Table 4: Distribution of the number of children in the family**

Number in family	Frequency	Percentage
1	1	1.2
2	5	6.0
3	11	13.3
4	16	19.3
5	17	20.5
6	20	24.1
7	4	4.8
8	5	6.0
9	1	1.2
10	2	2.4
11	1	1.2
Total	83	100.0

Table 4 shows that most of the families had 3 to 6 children which is a large number considering some are from single parents. From the data collected the parents of these children earn between Kshs.3,000 and 8,000/- per month. This is a meager salary when we take into account that the parent has to provide for basic necessities and also pay fees for children in the nursery classes and in secondary schools these then explains why in the past before the governments decree on compulsory free education at primary level most of the children were in and out of school with the majority of them ending up dropping out of school or not going to school at all.

This demand for extra money for family support forced the children to work in order to supplement earnings. Onyango's (1988:161), argument supports this view as it states that "most children join the labour market because their parents cannot keep up with the financial demands of schooling or are even unable to pay for their basic subsistence needs". Through this, Onyango shows that the driving force for these children to work is poverty; they need to work to supplement on the family's income. It is anticipated that poverty and gender accentuates intensity of child labour. In the Central Bureau of Statistics report (CBS, 1999:28) report, it was found that children living in large households were more likely to be working compared to children living in smaller households. The report adds that 13% of the children living in households with fewer members were working compared to 17% of children living in households with 7-9 people, and 20% of children living in households of nine or more people. This concurs with the data collected from the sample which shows that more children from single parent households with large families worked compared to families with fewer children.

Some of the children said that their parents did not send them to school so that they would look after a younger sibling while the parent went to work. In other cases the study observed that some children did not want to go to school as they were fifteen years old already and were afraid of being



stigmatised. Being illiterate they did not see the point of going back to school. Some expressed the view that they were already used to fending for themselves and it was evident that they already knew the value of money and had a problem of having to be dependant on their poor parents.

Data on the ethnic groups to which the children belonged is shown in Table 5.

**Table 5: Ethnic groups of the children and percent distribution**

Ethnic group	Frequency	Percentage
Luo	5	6.0
Kikuyu	45	54.2
Luhya	19	22.9
Kisii	9	10.9
Nandi	3	3.6
Buganda	2	2.4
Total	83	100.0

It was observed that since the location of tea estates is in a Kikuyu-dominated district, 54% of the children came from the Kikuyu community. Other children included 22% from the Luhya community, 10% Kisii, 6% Luo and 2% were non Kenyans from Uganda. This data suggests that most children involved in child labour in the tea plantations were from Central Province; however, it was interesting to observe that other communities had migrated to Central Province in search of employment.

This concurs with a CBS report which states that "the highest concentration of the poor is in the densely populated districts around the lake basin in Nyanza, Western provinces, Rift Valley and Coast Districts. The people mostly affected by poverty are defined by other socio-economic categories such as the landless, pastrolists, the handicapped, the female headed households, households headed with people without formal education, unskilled casual workers, aids orphans, street children and beggars" (CBS 2001:12). The tea plantations being a labour intensive activity had attracted a cross section of

people from other districts to come and work there and ultimately their children were also drawn to work to supplement on the family's income. Some of the respondents admitted that their parents forced them to work. One of the parents of the respondents said that "most of us have been forced to work here with our children because we want them to assist in earning the family bread". Therefore the children worked some not out of their own choice but due to demands from their parents.

#### 4.2 Child Labour and Education

The data collected on the children's educational attainment revealed that 87% of the children were in school and only 13% were out of school. The high percentage of children in school can be explained by the government's decree on free primary education.

**Table 6: Distribution of level of education**

Level of education	Frequency	Percentage
Nursery	22	26.5
lower primary 1-4	30	36.1
upper primary 5-8	24	28.9
secondary level form 1-2	1	1.2
None	6	7.3
Total	83	100.0

Table 6 above shows that these children are concentrated in the Nursery 27%, lower primary 36% and upper primary 29%. Secondary education 1% and the 7% had not been to school at all. From this table, most of the children are in lower primary school.

**Table 7: Percent distribution of age of respondents by level of education**

Ages of respondents	level of education					Total
	nursery	lower primary	Upper primary 5-8	secondary level form 1-2	No responses	
6-8	66.7	11.1	-	-	22.2	9 100
9-11	60.0	30.0	-	-	10.0	10 100
12-14	14.9	46.8	31.9	-	6.4	47 100
15-17	17.6	23.5	52.9	5.9	-	17 100
Total (N)	22	30	24	1	6	83
(%)	26.5	36.1	28.9	1.2	7.2	(100)

However, it should be noted that the children's ages do not correlate with the classes that they are supposed to be in as shown in table 7. This is because in the past before the decree on free education most of the children were in and out of school. The rate of school dropouts was very high since many children were sent home due to lack of school fees. With the government's decree on free primary education we find 41% of 15 year olds in the Nursery school and in lower primary (see table 7).

The data collected from the respondents revealed that the enrolment rate in the lower classes increased in most schools for example in Kiawaroga Primary School the children in standard one increased from 64 in 2002 to 80 in 2003. This has affected the quality of the teaching as the school does not have enough classrooms and teachers. The Government's decree on compulsory free primary education has led to an overwhelming enrolment of school goers. Findings from the sample revealed that the main reason that the children had been out of school was lack of school fees (see table 8). This data therefore confirms the proposition that child labour affects the children's education. According to the respondents most of them had been in and out of school. Some of them had not been to school at all citing lack of fees as a major hindrance. Therefore after the government's decree on free education we find children who are 15 years old in Nursery and lower primary. Most of the 13 year olds (46.8%) were in lower primary that is standard 1-4 when the

appropriate class they should be in is class 6 or upper primary. This implies that child labour affects the children negatively as the children are not in the classes they should be as there is no relationship between the child's age and the level of education.

A recent survey on child labour conducted in May 2003 by the Ministry of Education suggests that despite the introduction of free primary education (FPE), latest statistics indicate that out of the 1.9 million child labourers in Kenya, 1.3 million are completely out of school, while the rest combine work with school. The respondents confirmed this as most of the children interviewed in Limuru worked on Saturdays and during school holidays. We can therefore conclude that free education has changed children's working times and patterns but has not eliminated it completely. This implies that school enrolment, poverty, wealth creation and child labour are almost inseparable

**Table 8: Response whether school dropout was due to parent Guardian's inability to pay fees**

Reasons whether drop out was due to inability to pay fees	Frequency	Percentage
Agree	52	62.7
Disagree	29	34.9
No response	2	2.4
Total	83	100.0

It can be observed in Table 8 that 63% of the children agreed that the main reason why they had dropped out of the school in the past was because the parents/guardians were unable to pay fees. The highest percentage dropped out of school was due to financial problems, which further supports the view that low socio-economic status contributes significantly to involvement in child labour. Another major reason why children did not enroll in school was because they were engaged in other activities such as child labour. The

findings indicate that the proposition regarding the relationship between the economic status of families and child labour in Kenya holds as the children who dropped out of school would engage in child labour to supplement income. The respondents revealed that they worked during the weekends and school holidays to be able to buy food, school uniform and other basic commodities. This inadvertently supplemented their parents earnings as it was used constructively to help themselves or their families in various ways.

### 4.3 Labour activities and earnings

The children were involved in a variety of jobs in the tea plantations. The most common jobs included picking tea, weeding and other chores which involved looking after small children and performing other household chores. This is shown in Table 9 where 59% of children were engaged in picking tea, 3% in weeding and 37% in other wage related chores such as domestic work. This implies that most of the children were engaged in picking tea and other labour activities which are wage related.

Table 9 Type of work done on the farms.

Type of work	Frequency	Percentage
Picking tea	49	59.0
Weeding	3	3.6
Other	31	37.4
Total	83	100.0

From the 83 children interviewed it was observed that most of them had resumed school as shown earlier, and therefore the number of hours they worked was based mainly on weekends and school vacations. The hours of work by the children ranged from 1 to 16 hours per day see table 10. The children went to work either alone or with their peers, while some accompanied their parents.

**Table 10 Hours worked per week and percent distributions**

Hours worked	Frequency	Percentage
Under 5	5	6.0
5-8	42	50.6
9-12	28	33.8
13 or more	3	3.6
NR	5	6.0
Total	83	100.0

From the responses it was observed that the children who worked for more hours in the tea plantations were the ones who accompanied their parents to work as they would leave home early in the morning by 7.00am and work until 2.00 p.m. The children who worked for more than 10 hours were mainly employed as housegirls, who were left taking care of the babies while the parents went off to work. This was common before the government decree on free primary education was imposed, and many of the children dropped out of school due to inability to pay fees. However, most of the children interviewed now work only during the weekends and school holidays on an average of 5 to 9 hours per day. The number of hours is an indication of the intensity of child labour, especially where a significant proportion of the households were single parent households where the parent, often the mother has low income. On the other hand the proportion of children working diminishes as the households monthly expenditure increases. Data collected shows that most of the children came from households with monthly expenditure of between 5,000-8,000 per month. This shows the need to work in order to supplement on family income. It was established that most parents encouraged children to work and the data revealed that the children earned between kshs.10 to 150 per day. (See Table 11)

**Table 11 Distribution of money paid per day**

Amount in Kshs.	Number	Percentage
10-30	18	21.7
31-60	18	21.7
61-90	10	12.0
91-150	37	44.6
Total	83	100.0

Findings from this data shows that the children who earned more were the older children who were between 15-17 years and those who accompanied their parents to work. The average salary received by the children per month was Kshs 600/- with an average of Kshs 19/- per day. According to the Regulation of Wages and Conditions of Employment Act cap 229, the minimum set wage is Kshs.1,259/= per month for unskilled agricultural workers aged 18 and above. From the data it was observed that the employers exploit the children as they pay them less money compared to the adults. The money the children earned was considerably low given the various needs and commitments these children had. This low pay keeps the children "permanently" in labour. None of the children would recall when they had been given an increment as the farms paid the same amount of money. It can be concluded that it did not matter where a child worked as the payment in the large scale and small scale farms did not have any significant effect on children's earnings.

It was also established from the data how the children spent the money earned from their work.

**Table 12 Percent distribution of how money earned is spent**

How money is spent	Frequency	Percentage
family subsistence	50	60.2
self subsistence	6	7.3
No response	9	10.8
Not sure	18	21.7
Total	83	100.0

From table 12 it shows that 60% of the children spend their money on family subsistence, often buying food and clothing. Only 7% spend the money earned on self sustenance to buy items such as *mandazis*, clothes or school uniform. 30% of the children either could not account how they spend the money and did not say anything or were not sure how the money was spent. This was more evident with the younger children who did not seem to understand the value of money earned. From the findings it implies that the majority of children gave the money to the parents to supplement on earnings while some children bought clothes for themselves and others were too young to understand the value of money and did not even know how they spend it.

#### **4.4 Child Labour and the children's health**

Observations of the surroundings around which these children worked revealed that they were harsh. Limuru is generally known for the cold weather and the tea bushes are thick and prickly. To pick tea one needs warm clothing, boots and an overall to prevent one from the cold and from being pricked by the bushes. It was evident that most of the children were not warm enough for the chilly weather and some did not have shoes on, they did not have protective clothing. This made it extremely difficult for them to pick enough tea compared to most of the adults who were well protected. Observation show that the living conditions in their homes were also not comfortable as most of them lived in single rooms with large families. From observations the living conditions were not conducive to child health as the children were exposed to diseases due to the few bathrooms and toilets which



were shared by many people. Their moral behaviour was also affected as most of their parents lacked time to be with them, this led them to be exposed to sex at an early age due to their living conditions.

The children encountered various problems at work as shown in Table 13.

**Table 13** Percent distributions on the problems children encountered at work

Problems encountered	Frequency	Percentage
Job difficulty	8	9.6
Illness	6	7.3
Inadequate food	5	6.0
Fatigue/backache	6	7.3
Physical injuries	5	6.0
Head/stomache	3	3.6
Chest pains	1	1.2
Harassment/ Mistreatment	1	1.2
No response	3	3.6
No problems	45	54.2
Total	83	100.0

Most of the problems were related to fatigue and job difficulty as tea is not easy to pick one picks two leaves and a bud which requires some skill and concentration and this can be a very tedious task for the children. The children looked exhausted and malnourished. They worked so hard and did not eat a balanced diet. This had an adverse effect on their health. Other problems experienced included backache, hunger and physical injuries from the tea bushes especially for those who did not have shoes. The children also experienced health problems as a result of picking tea in the chilly weather. It was interesting to note that 45% of the respondents said that they had no problems. We can conclude that they probably felt that minor ailments such as fatigue were not significant problems to complain about and simply said they had no problems.

**Table 14** Distribution of the health problems the children experienced.

Health problems	Frequency	Percentage
sight problem	2	2.4
Toothache	2	2.4
Fever	6	7.3
head/stomache	16	19.2
ENT	6	7.3
chest pain/coughing	9	10.8
Allergy	1	1.2
nose bleeding	1	1.2
Pimples	1	1.2
No response	39	47.0
Total	83	100.0

The common ailment as shown in Table 14 included coughing, chest pains, respiratory diseases, malaria, fever, headaches, stomachaches and problems related to the upper airways. The headaches and stomachaches were mainly caused by hunger as the respondents complained of hunger and also looked malnourished. From the foregoing, analysis the diseases which are mainly respiratory and physical are as a result of child labour. From observations and findings from the respondents on the state of their health we can confirm the proposition that child labour affects the health of the children. When the children were asked whether they enjoyed the work most of them answered in the affirmative, however majority were happy with the Narc's government's decree which forced them to go back to school. However, most of them were forced by circumstances to pick tea on weekends and school holidays as mentioned earlier in order to supplement on family earnings.

Data obtained on who took care of the children when they fell sick revealed that 80% were taken care of by the parent or guardian, 15% by relatives and 3% by either themselves or other people. This showed that the employer in most cases did not shoulder that responsibility. When the children were asked whether they received medical attention table 15 shows that 90% received medical attention when they were sick 10% said they had not. The

reason given for not receiving medical attention were mainly lack of money to take the children to the hospital.

**Table 15      Percent distribution on whether children received medical attention.**

Whether children received medical attention	Frequency	Percentage
yes	75	90.4
no	8	9.6
Total	83	100.0

The children who received medical attention were mainly those whose parents worked in the large farms like Jacana, Karirana and Stragollen as the farms had dispensaries for their employees and their families. Most of the other children relied on self cure as their parents bought drugs from the shops. The children who attended Kiawaroga Primary School also benefited from a mobile clinic sponsored by the Nazareth Hospital where doctors gave them free health care twice a month. Some children who had special problems such as eye, dental and ENT problems took advantage of the free medical clinics once a month at the Nazareth Hospital.

## CHAPTER 5

### 5.0 SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.

This chapter summarizes and draws conclusions from the findings. Recommendations and areas for further research are also highlighted. The aim of the study was to establish the relationship between child labour and the economic status of the child's family. Establishing the influence of child labour on the child's health and education was part of this broad objective. Based on these objectives the study did not carry out vigorous tests of hypothesis but there were propositions which were confirmed thus highlighted herein.

#### 5.1 Summary and conclusions of the findings. /

The study found out that most of the children involved in labour in the tea plantations were between 12-14 years. This indicated that the children were too young to engage in wage labour. The majority of the children were females 55% supporting the views of a patriarchal society where parents would rather educate the boys who were seen as the pillars of the society and not the girls. The majority of the children stayed in female-headed households 44% which in most cases had large families. This indicates that these children were forced by circumstances to engage in labour to supplement on family income. Most of the children had been forced to drop out of school due to lack of fees and other necessities. Findings show that poverty was a hindrance to most of the children's education as some of their parents preferred that they work instead of going to school.

The study concluded that most of the children who had earlier on dropped out of school had gone back to school in 2003 after the government's decree on free primary education. However, it was observed that their ages did not correlate with the level of education. Thus we find 15 year olds in nursery school. This indicated that due to the problems elaborated earlier most of the children were in lower primary.

The type of work that the majority of children were engaged in was picking tea 59% while others were involved in weeding and domestic chores. This study concluded that the children were involved in these jobs because this was what was available in their immediate environment. Most of the children were employed in the large farms 77% and observations revealed that these farms were more labour intensive compared to the smaller farms where the owners and members of the immediate family and relatives engaged in picking tea. It was observed that some of the children accompanied their parents to work while others worked with their peers.

The conditions of work were found to be harsh. The children worked in chilly weather without adequate clothing or shoes. They were not protected as they worked and this exposed them to dangers of accidents from the tea bushes and harassment from the supervisors. The average salaries received by the children was low as the maximum wage earned per month was 600/=. This is below the set minimum wage of Kshs.1,259/= per month for unskilled agricultural workers aged 18 and above. It was frustrating for the children to get such low wages considering that most of them were poor and were working to supplement family income.

The children enumerated various problems they experienced as they worked on the farms. This included fatigue, job difficulty, hunger and other illnesses. Despite all this 45% of the children indicated that they had no problems. We can conclude that due to the hardships they had experienced in their lives they considered the issues mentioned as petty and not worthy talking about, hence they did not visualise them as problems.

However, the study concluded that the children's working conditions were poor, they did not have protective clothing and some worked for long hours on meagre salaries.

Most of the factors that contributed to Child Labour from the research were poverty. Findings show that the parents of the children interviewed earned between Kshs.3,000-8,000/= per month. The high population growth rate leading to large households which in most cases were female-headed is 44% while most of the families had 3 to 6 children 76%. This is a large household considering that most of them were single parents. The meagre pay that parents received also shows the majority of families needed money. The children were forced by circumstances to work to supplement earnings. The parents themselves forced the older children to work so that they would assist them to make ends meet. It was observed from the study those children who accompanied their parents to work are the ones who earned more money as the families were given a lump some of their earnings per day.

The study concluded that poverty was the major factor as far as child labour was concerned. Poverty increased inequality in the distribution of wealth and income and led to poor access to economic and social goods as well as remunerative employments. This ultimately led to low income families, low salaries and debt which have impacted negatively on the social welfare of the child.

The education system in the past has led most children to child labour as they could not afford the fees 62% of respondents agreed that the major reason they had dropped out of school was lack of school fees. The situation may change with the decree on free education as children no longer have to pay fees at the primary level. However, fees will be paid at nursery, secondary and tertiary levels.

The declining trend in the gross domestic product GDP, poor governance and corruption was seen as one of the major factors contributing to child labour. Unless the poverty eradication programme is dealt with it may be hard to eliminate it completely. Reports from the findings show clearly that despite

the free primary education (FPE) child labour has not been eliminated but only the patterns of work have changed as the children who go to school still work during the weekends and school holidays. In addition illiteracy among their parents has contributed to the ignorance of communities on the value of education and the dangers of child labour. Culture entrenched traditional practices such as customs, values attitudes and discrimination of the provision of education against the girl child were evident in the research, where 55% of the sample population were females. Findings show that the large family size of between 3-6 children who in most cases were single parents households 45% pushed children from the protective family setting into child labour. Conclusions drawn from the study were that poor law enforcement, policy formulation and conflicting policies have created an environment that does not adequately protect children.

Analysis from the study based on the education of the children revealed that child labour had adversely affected children's education. Findings indicate that the proposition stating that child labour adversely affects the education of the children was confirmed. The study concluded that there was a relationship between child labour and education. Most of the respondents had dropped out of school at one time or another to go and work. Some of the children who were 15 years joined school in 2003 after the government's decree on free primary education. Some of the children had never been to school at all and had joined school in 2003. The study concluded that children as old as 15 years were in nursery school the same class with 5 year olds. Findings indicate that some felt stigmatized and were already dropping out of school.

The proposition regarding child labour and its effect on health showed there was a relationship. There is a relationship between the health of the children and child labour as observations showed that most of the children were malnourished. Some children 19% complained of stomachaches and

headaches. The researcher found out that these were mainly related to hunger and fatigue. Most of the other health complaints had to do with the upper airways which included chest pains, cough 12%. These can be attributed to the poor working conditions the children were exposed to. These conditions were chilly weather, lack of shoes and warm, protective clothing.

The findings show that the children worked mainly to supplement on family income and therefore the proposition that there is a relationship between the economic status of families and child labour in Kenya was proved. The low meagre pay their parents get leads them to work. In some cases the children are forced to work by their parents.

Finally the study concluded that poverty was the underlying factor to child labour. Children are sent to work to augment family incomes. To eliminate the menace of child labour requires addressing the root cause which is 'poverty'. The government has to stem the rising poverty in order to stop child labour.

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## 5.2 Recommendations for further research

Poverty eradication is a vital intervention as far as child labour is concerned as it is the root cause. A study on the implementation of the poverty reduction strategy paper would determine how this problem could be tackled.

The government's decree on FPE needs to be studied as only 1.6M out of the 1.9M children are in school. It would be interesting to find out why school going children would prefer to work when free primary education has been provided.

Further research on the behaviour of 15 year olds who are in the same class with 5 year olds would create interesting reading.



### 5.3 Recommendations for Policy

Based on the findings of this study; the following policy recommendations are made:-

#### 5.3.1 *Policy on Child Labour*

There is lack of a comprehensive and explicit child labour policy in Kenya. What exist are several legal provisions governing the employment of children.

The government should therefore formulate a coherent and comprehensive policy on child labour. The targets of which should be the various strategic sectors where they predominate and effective and sustainable measures to combat it. Child labour issues should be explicitly articulated and mainstreamed in the macro and micro policies and programmes in all sectors of employment. Social security should also be provided for the unemployed parents, or guardians so that their children do not have to work but can go to school.

#### 5.3.2 *Education policy and child labour*

However despite the introduction of FPE statistics indicate that out of the 1.9 million child labourers in Kenya 1.3 million children are completely out of school while the rest combine work with school. The Kenya government has formulated an education policy which guarantees universal, free and compulsory basic education which enables all children of school going age to enroll. This education policy should ensure that the guidelines stated are enforced in order to reduce the number of child labourers and eventually combat the problem. There is an urgent need to formulate and implement programmes to address cultural issues that discriminate against girl's education and those aimed at reducing regional disparities to ensure that every child has an opportunity of going to school.

### *5.3.3 Legislation and Enforcement*

With the enactment of the Children's Act of 2001, the issues affecting children, e.g. Child Labour Legislation are now harmonized. The government with other stake holders should ensure that the provisions stipulated in this Act are enforced.

### *5.3.4 Strong action against child labour.*

Several public and private sectors such as NGO's have worked tirelessly to combat child labour, using the community based approaches. However, due to lack of resources small scale successful local programmes have not expanded to the National Level and have mainly focused on research and workshops.

An effective strategy to combat child labour would be to involve all key players in the public, private sectors, NGO's and CBO's providing children's services or dealing with children's issues in problem identification resource mobilization and programme implementation. Successful community based programmes can be set at the grass roots level through active participation of the Local Community.

### *5.3.5 Awareness Creation*

Most Kenyans are not aware of the problem of child labour. For many it is regarded as a normal process of bringing up children.

Awareness creation can be intensified at National, district and community levels. Child labour messages should be mainstreamed in the mass media and folk media. They should also be included in school programmes such as National Music and drama festivals as part of the campaign to eradicate the practice.

### *5.3.6 Monitoring and Evaluation*

Most child labour Programmes have no monitoring and evaluation systems in place.

Monitoring and evaluation systems should be built into all programme activities and these should be supported as part of the implementation process. The monitoring and evaluation systems should be coordinated by an independent national body with each district taking responsibility of their own systems and reporting to the national body.

### *5.3.7 Capacity Building and Sustainability*

Resource Limitations and Lack of Capacity have constrained many direct action programmes in Kenya

Capacity building is essential for the sustainability of child labour Programmes.

The government and other key players such as ILO/IPEC, should take the lead against child labour. Sustainability should be built into the programme right from the time of its design. The Local Communities should be mobilized and efficiently utilized for sustainability. The children themselves should be involved to a 'reasonable extent' in decisions for continued acceptability and in sustainability of the actions taken. These would go a long way in combating child labour in Kenya.

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## APPENDIX A

### A QUESTIONNAIRE ON CHILD LABOUR IN LIMURU DIVISION, KIAMBU DISTRICT.

Good day. My name is \_\_\_\_\_ from the University of Nairobi. I am conducting a study on, The relationship between the economic status of families and child labour in Kenya. These are children who are aged between (6-17 years) and who are engaged in labour for wages. The information provided will be treated with utmost confidentiality. Your co-operation will be highly appreciated.

#### Section I Background

1. Name of respondent. \_\_\_\_\_.
2. Age of respondent. \_\_\_\_\_.
3. Sex of respondent. \_\_\_\_\_.
4. Do you have both parents?  
1. Yes 2. No
5. Where do you stay? \_\_\_\_\_.
6. Who do you stay with? \_\_\_\_\_.
7. Which ethnic group do you belong to? \_\_\_\_\_.
8. How many children are you in the family? \_\_\_\_\_.
9. Which is your birth position in the family? \_\_\_\_\_.

#### Section II Educational background

10. Have you ever enrolled in school?  
1. Yes 2. No

If yes answer questions 11-13. If no move to question 14.



11. If yes above what level of education are you in?

1. nursery
2. lower primary 1-4
3. upper primary 5-8
4. secondary level form 1-2
5. secondary level form 3-4

12. Please let us know why you dropped out of school? Specify the extent to which the reasons explain why you dropped out of school by using the following table:

**Table 1**      **Reasons for dropping out of school**

Serial	Reasons for dropping out of school	Agree/Disagree
1.	Parent/guardian unable to pay fees.	1.Agree 2.Disagree
2.	Parent/guardian forced me into child labour	1.Agree 2.Disagree
3.	Marital problems in the family	1.Agree 2.Disagree
4.	Child not motivated to stay in school	1.Agree 2.Disagree
5.	Child realised that life out of school was better	1.Agree 2.Disagree
6.	Child found the school environment too harsh	1.Agree 2.Disagree
7.	Child had health problems	1.Agree 2.Disagree
8.	Encouraged by peers already out of school to drop out	1.Agree 2.Disagree
9.	Lost parent/parents	1.Agree 2.Disagree
10.	Could not afford school uniform	1.Agree 2.Disagree
11	Others (specify)	1.Agree 2.Disagree

13. So what do you consider to be the major reason why you dropped out of school?
14. How does working on the farms affect your education?
15. If you were enrolled in school, are you literate (can you read and write)
1. Yes
  2. No.
- If yes, test whether the child can write down their name and a few other words.
16. Why were you not enrolled in school? Please give us the major reasons.
1. Parents/guardians could not afford.
  2. Parents were not willing to enrol me in school.
  3. I lost parents.
  4. No school was easily accessible.
  5. I refused to enrol.
  6. I was engaged in child labour.
  7. Due to my health.
  8. Could not afford school uniform
  9. Other (specify)
17. Now that the government is offering free education why are you out of school?
18. Are you planning to go back to school
1. Yes
  2. No
- Explain why in either case.

**Section III Labour activities and earnings**

19. What work do you do in the farms?
1. Picking tea
  2. Weeding.
  3. Taking tea to the factory.
  4. Others specify.
20. How many days per week do you work? \_\_\_\_\_.
21. What time do you start and end work? \_\_\_\_\_.
22. How much money are you paid per day? \_\_\_\_\_.
23. How do you spend the money? \_\_\_\_\_.

**Section III The impact of child labour on the children's health**

24. Do you break for lunch when you are at work?
1. Yes
  2. No.
25. Where do you go for lunch? \_\_\_\_\_.
26. How many meals per day do you have? \_\_\_\_\_.
1. One
  2. Two
  3. Three
  4. Four
  5. None of the above
27. Do you encounter any problems while you are working?
1. Yes
  2. No.
- If yes, name the problems \_\_\_\_\_.
28. Do you have any health problems? \_\_\_\_\_.
- If yes, specify which ones.
- \_\_\_\_\_.

If no, when were you last sick?

\_\_\_\_\_.

Indicate the disease you were suffering from.

\_\_\_\_\_.

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

1. Employer
2. Relatives
3. Parent/Guardian
4. Others

30. Do you receive medical attention when you are sick?

1. Yes
2. No

If yes, specify where? \_\_\_\_\_.

## APPENDIX B

### INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR KEY INFORMANTS

#### Section A Background

1. Sex \_\_\_\_\_.
2. Age \_\_\_\_\_.
3. Marital status \_\_\_\_\_.
4. Educational Background \_\_\_\_\_.
5. Occupation \_\_\_\_\_.
6. Income \_\_\_\_\_.
7. Size of household \_\_\_\_\_.
8. Ethnic group \_\_\_\_\_.

#### Section B

9. Generally what are the problems facing children in this area?
10. Why do you think children participate in labour?
11. Comment on the magnitude/seriousness of the problem of child labour in this area
12. What are some of the factors forcing children into child labour?
13. How has child labour affected the enrolment in schools?
14. Has the enrolment increased after the decree from the government offering free education?

15. What is the general performance in schools of children who engage in child labour?

16. Do you think child labour affects the health of the children?

If yes what are the common ailments these children face.

17. Has child labour uplifted the economic status of families?

1. Yes 2. No

If yes, specify how

18. Comment on the consequences of child labour on the

1. Children \_\_\_\_\_.

\_\_\_\_\_.

2. Their families \_\_\_\_\_.

\_\_\_\_\_.

3. The community \_\_\_\_\_.

\_\_\_\_\_.

19. Give suggestion on how child labour can be curbed?

20. What other comments would you make regarding child labour in Tea plantations.