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A CULTURAL UNDERSTANDING OF CHILD LABOUR IN LOWER NYAKACH, KISUMU DISTRICT (KENYA)

**A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF
AN HONOURS BACHELOR OF ARTS (ANTHROPOLOGY)
DEGREE IN THE UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI, AUGUST 1997.**

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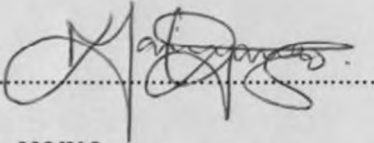
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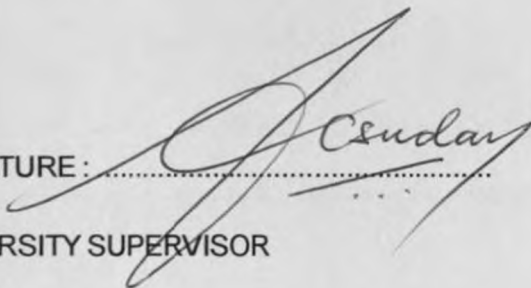
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DECLARATION

I, D. Onyango - Maina, declare that this is my original work and has not been presented by anybody in any University for examination.

SIGNATURE: 

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I. A. S.

27/8/97

DEDICATION

To my siblings Elga Achieng, Steve Ogweno and Felix Lenox - Omondi - Victims of detrimental Child Labour -, I dedicate this work. Your plight is my inspiration.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Grateful acknowledgements are herewith made to all those individuals without whose support this study would never have been accomplished.

Particularly, much thanks are owed to the respondents who willingly gave the much needed information that formed the data for this study. Here I am greatly indebted to the children of lower Nyakach, some of whom, amidst restrictions from parents and guardians could sneak out of their homes to respond to the interviews.

Financial support for a substantial portion of the study and typing of the manuscript was provided by my brother Dan Abunga Maina. Without his support the manuscript would never have left the typist's desk. To him I owe much more than a word of thanks.

The timely advice given to me by Mr. Charles Owuor Olunga at the inception of and during the study is gratefully acknowledged.

Quite indispensable too were the services of Mr. Martin Okelo Mboha who typed and edited the manuscript at a minimal fee.

To all those individuals who supported this study in one way or the other but whose names are not mentioned here, a debt of gratitude is owed.

ABSTRACT

As early as 1919, the International Community was addressing the problem of Child Labour - one of the first International concerns. At both national and international levels, laws have been passed and ratified, safeguarding the interest and welfare of the child. Several conventions have been held, recommendations of which are almost universally ratified today. Child welfare institutions at international level like UNICEF and at national level have come up as strategies for containing the problem. In Kenya African Network for the Protection and Prevention of Children Against Abuse and Neglect (ANPPCAAN), (Kenya Chapter), Child Welfare Society of Kenya and several church - based organizations have been set up to address child welfare yet child labour, to date, remains a major threat to the development and welfare of the child and a major concern.

Even though drawing such a magnitude of attention, the escalating rate of child involvement in labour is mind boggling. Efforts have been focussed on child employment in the industrial and plantation agricultural sectors, and in the urban centres, yet it is the rural and particularly in the family and household sector in which majority of children are involved in detrimental child labour.

Containing and erradicating the problem calls for a conceptualization of child labour within a cultural context and understanding the cultural forces attendant to it. The approach then has to be holistic and multifaceted.

This study is a comprehensive ethnographic analysis of the cultural understanding of Child Labour in Lower Nyakach in Kisumu District (Kenya). The study focuses on cultural definition of the child, work, and the cultural understanding of child welfare. It also focuses attention on the socialization process which children of this society go through and its role in child labour, socio-demographic determinants of child labour, exploitative nature of child labour and its implications on the development and welfare of the child.

Making its analysis in a socio-cultural context and framework, this study finally makes recommendations on how to contain and eradicate child labour in all sectors of society - rural, urban, industrial and domestic.

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CHAPTER ONE

What is the title of this chapter?

4%

1.1 Problem Statement

Despite the global efforts to recognize and ensure the best welfare of children as evidenced by the passing and ratification of several declarations and conventions on the rights of the child, ranging from the minimum age (Industry), Convention No. 5 of 1919 and culminating in the 1989 Convention on the Rights of The Child, this noble ideal is yet to be achieved even as we closely approach the third millennium. In particular, the convention on the rights of the child (1989) recognizes the fact that the society should provide the natural environment for the growth and well being of its children, affording them the necessary protection and assistance so that they can fully assume their responsibilities within the community. It also recognises the fact that the child, for the full and harmonious development of his or her personality, should grow in an atmosphere of happiness, love and understanding. In article 6 of the convention, states parties shall ensure to the maximum extent possible, the survival and development of the child (UNICEF 1990). In any given society, children are the single most important and valuable resources as they ensure the continuity of a particular society. However, the lives of the children are determined by other people, on whom (be they parents, guardians, teachers or the adult society in general) falls the responsibility for the protection, survival, welfare and above all, development of the children. All societies recognise this fact and this accounts for the universality of the socialization process through which every society imparts into its young ones the knowledge, skills and dispositions that enable them to participate as more or less effective members of their societies.

However though, attitudes towards children and childhood vary greatly from culture to culture. There is also great cultural variability in definition of who a child is. Every culture as well describes and distinguishes differently the gender roles. The resultant outcome of all these is the great variability in

the socialization patterns through which children are put. These have seen children, albeit defined differently, put through processes, situations, places, activities and obligations that grossly abuse and violate some, if not all, of their most basic and fundamental rights. These include the rights to good health, shelter, education, life, nationality, parentage, free associations, play, privacy, liberty - basically, conditions adequate for the child's physical, mental, spiritual, moral and social development.

One basic right which children all over the world have been denied, albeit in varying degrees and forms, is, as enshrined in article 32 of the Convention on The Rights of the Child (1989), the right to be protected from economic exploitation and from any work that is likely to be hazardous or to interfere with the child's education, or to be harmful to the child's health, or physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development.

The world over, in various settings, children have been engaged in activities and forms of labour that violate this fundamental right.

Today, Child Labour remains a widespread phenomenon throughout the world, and by and large, the greatest form of child abuse (Boyden and Beguele, 1988). Tens of millions of children are engaged in work in factories, agricultural plantations, in the streets, in mining, fishing and most important, in domestic service. According to the *State of the World's children, 1997*, millions of children are in virtual slavery; many in the invisible industry of domestic service (UNICEF, 1997).

Child Labour is child abuse. Children who are engaged in labour, work under conditions that deny them not only childhood, but also their full development into adulthood. They work long hours, thus denying them the rights to play, leisure and association with their peers. Today, education, for

example, is a primary means of socialization. It socializes children into adults who can take part in today's society that has become highly meritocratic. Long hours of engagement of children in labour denies them the time to be in school and thus denying them the fundamental right to education.

Participation, as a socialization strategy, has seen children engaged in tasks always performed by mature adults. In carrying out such tasks, children share the same social and physical environment with the adults. They work under conditions for which their bodies are not prepared. These tasks therefore jeopardizes their health, growth and development (physical, social and psychological). For example, children working in rice plantations stand for long hours in muddy water with all the possible infections. They also bend for too long when planting, weeding or harvesting, and this could lead to growth problems.

Socially, children are not given free time to associate and assemble with their peers as a result of which they grow up into inferior people. Moreover, the authoritarian nature of the work done by the children in the company of adults, as is mostly the case, infringes on their free psychological development. Child Labour also frequently involves diverse forms of exploitation, in which the beneficiaries of their labour are members, either of another class, or of another generation. Two aspects of exploitation are of importance; the extent to which part of the product of child workers is expropriated by others; and the extent to which working children in particular are discriminated against, relative to their abilities and developmental needs (Rodgers and Standing, 1981).

Great efforts have been made with an objective of reducing all forms of child labour. These have included conventions and declarations spanning the whole of Twentieth Century. These have resulted to the formation of Child Welfare institutions at the national and international levels, and to the

enactment of laws that protect the fundamental rights of the child. Regrettably though, very little has been achieved towards realising this goal, especially in the developing countries.

This failure to significantly reduce child labour can be attributed to basically two factors : inconsistent definitions, especially of *work* and *child* : and secondly, the approaches which have been employed to understand the forms, nature and extent of Child Labour.

According to Schildkrout (1981), database of many statements about Child Labour is often marred by an inadequate and inconsistent definition of work. To him, the definitions of work most often used in labour force surveys and censuses are largely based on the participation in wage labour, yet most children's work occurs outside this sector. The criterion most frequently used to define unpaid activities as work is whether or not the activity contributes directly to production. This approach has been used in many studies that have attempted to analyse the value of children from an exclusively economic point of view. Measuring children's productive output has proved to be difficult since in many cases their contribution is indirect. For example, are boys who spend their time playing in the rice fields and scaring away birds working ? They may not perceive their activity as work, nor may their parents, yet it may have a positive effect on productivity. Children who run errands for their mothers, care for their younger siblings or assist in other domestic chores are contributing to the maintenance of their households as well as reducing the opportunity costs of their mothers' work, although not directly generating income. It is therefore regrettable that most definitions used in comparative research have emphasised only the economic basis of children's work yet as Schildkrout emphasizes, definitions of work, especially children's work, are highly variable and differ according to the cultural and economic circumstances.

Problems of definition also arise in the concept of *child*. In survey research, terms such as *adult*, and

child are often used in situations where chronological age is unknown. In using such categories, it is important to clarify whether the terms refer to chronological age, to status, or to dependency of a particular type, and whether they have different meanings according to sex and kinship relationships. Modern society has so heavily relied on chronological age that we so often forget that this way of calculating age is very unusual to so many societies. Systems of age classification are varied. For example, in Hausa, (a Nigerian society) age categorises difference according to sex. A Hausa girl of ten to twelve years is often married and once married, she is often classified as a woman. Marriage in Hausa, is thus the *rite de Passage* that changes a female status from childhood to adulthood. Boys, on the other hand, may be well over twenty years old before they are considered to be adults for they are expected to be economically productive, before they marry, and they are often over twenty before this transition occurs.

Approaches which have been employed to comprehend the forms, nature, extent, and ways of bringing down Child Labour have also been grossly inadequate. Most studies on Child Labour focus on industrial and related sectors - mostly non-agricultural occupations. They also focus so much on urban areas. The general assumption is that the whole increase in Child Labour has been observed in industrial activities and that working children in urban areas and in industries are likely to be more deprived than those in rural areas, and therefore especially deserving attention from policy makers.

Such studies have not focused on Child Labour as it takes place in the family and domestic circles, and in non-industrial sectors. They have only focused on child employment as child labour, thus ignoring the vast lots of children not directly under waged employment, but still engaged in arduous and hazardous labour. Indeed, other than waged employment of children in industries, millions, virtually all children, are engaged in child labour in domestic circles where they are engaged in farmwork.

trade, household chores - tasks which deprive them of their childhood.

Most important, is the fact that all efforts and approaches which have been employed towards a complete comprehension and fight against child labour have not recognised the fact that child employment not only reflects economic processes, but depends on normative attitudes towards children in society, the culturally determined roles and functions of children, the values by which the activities of children are judged, and the nature of socialization process. Participation of children in various types of economic activities from an early age is considered an essential part of socialization. The process of socialization and the cultural objectives it responds to are clearly interdependent with the structural economic system within which socialization occurs (Rodgers and Standing, 1981).

Too long for a problem statement

Therefore, child labour can only be understood in the cultural context and any effort put towards bringing it down must, from the start, be made within the cultural context. Indeed, cultural attitudes towards childhood, the level of structural differentiation in society, the structure and function of the family and its relation to production, the definition of adult sex roles and the gender division of labour are all factors which determine the pattern of child activities and child labour must be understood within this broad spectrum.

1.2 Objective of the study

5%

GENERAL OBJECTIVES

Small letters

To critically analyse the cultural understanding of child labour in Lower Nyakach, thus analysing, whether in their cultural understanding, the people perceive child labour as child abuse.

SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES *small letters*

- Too many objectives*
- i. To get the society's cultural definition of a child.
 - ii. To critically analyse the extent to which participative socialization plays a role in enhancing child labour.
 - iii. To critically analyse the gender which is more involved in and suffers more from the effects and implications of child labour.
 - iv. To assess the bearing of the social and economic status of a child's family on his or her involvement in labour.
 - v. To critically analyse the effect of child labour on the child's health and on his or her physical, mental and social development.
 - vi. To assess the impact of child labour on the education of the child.

1.3 Justification for the Study

03%

Child labour was one of the first and most important issues addressed by the international community resulting in the International Labour Organization (ILO), 1919 Minimum Age Convention. However, these early efforts were hobbled, in part, because the campaigners struggling to end child labour, appealed to the industrial power barons. Their efforts were thus easily sidelined by the drive for profits and hard realities of commercial life (UNICEF, 1997).

Today, children's work plays a more significant, perhaps even fundamental, role in the economies of developing countries than has been appreciated. There exists too many careful, often vivid, and sometimes refined accounts of the work of children at particular times and in particular places. But there have been few attempts to understand the courses, functions and consequences of child work

as opposed to descriptions of its manifestations.

While there is a widespread wish to uncover and understand the problem thoroughly, adequate data is lacking. Little research has been done to unearth the specific roles of children in different socio-cultural settings, and the effects on development and socialization needs of the child.

More qualitative and anthropological research needs to be done in the rural communities. Albeit many studies contain information on child labour, this is generally non-specific and deals with crucial elements of child labour only in periphery. Researches in rural economies deal very little and peripherally with the age element, for example, in the labour force.

There has, of course, been a great deal of legislative activity with respect to child labour. The ILO has been active in this field since 1919, and has produced a series of conventions on particular types of child labour, some of which have been quite widely ratified by the member states. The most recent and comprehensive of these is the Minimum Age Convention of 1973 (No. 138). But the very failure of legislation to reduce child labour significantly in much of the world raises basic questions about the effectiveness of a purely legislative approach.

Applied research is therefore urgently needed to determine whether or not legislation has had much impact on the extent and type of child work. Indeed, effective policy designed in general requires an understanding of the roles of children within a broad socio-cultural framework. This then being a current and urgent problem, calls for intensive anthropological investigation where other research techniques have failed. This study therefore comes as a step in realising this noble objective.

The study has been conducted in the middle of the agricultural season - a time when the people of the

area of study are busy working in their fields and at home thus giving a good opportunity to study the work behaviour and labour structure on a primary basis.

The study has employed relevant tools of anthropological research in order to generate, as earlier researches have not done, the much needed knowledge and understanding of the child labour situation in a cultural framework and context. Thus, using direct and participant observation as a qualitative method of investigation, the researcher has been able to obtain first hand information and observe the situation in its most natural setting and context. This is in contrast to other studies and surveys which have observed from a distance and in out-of-context situations, the labour contributions of children. The direct and participant observation was also to check the validity of the responses generated by the interviews. Employing this later technique (interview) as a quantitative method, the investigator was able to get a cross-sectional analysis of the child labour situation, so as not to over-concentrate on a few non-representative respondents.

CHAPTER TWO

2.1 LITERATURE REVIEW

17%

In any given society, children are the single most important and valuable resource as they ensure the continuity of a particular society. Due to their tenderness, in age and development, the lives of children are determined, though in varying degrees, by other people. On these others, be they parents, guardians, teachers or the adult society in general, falls the responsibility for the protection, survival, development and general welfare of the children. Of essence then is to understand how the society that this is done (Muthoga, 1989).

As enshrined in the convention on the rights of the child, which entered into international law on 2nd September 1990, children have special needs (UNICEF, 1990). This idea has given rise to the conviction that children have rights, the same full spectrum of rights as adults: civil and political; social, cultural and economic. It is therefore a fundamental responsibility of the society to not only protect its children, but also give them opportunities and facilities, by law and by other means, to enable them to develop physically, mentally, spiritually and socially in a healthy and normal manner in a condition of dignity and freedom. Indeed as Wako (1989) stresses, the care of children is basic to any society and children occupy a unique and central role in society.

2.1.1. THE CHILD

2.1.1.1 *Who is a child ?*

According to the *Convention on the Rights of the Child* (1989), a child means every human being below the age of 18 years, unless under the law applicable to the child, majority is attained earlier.

However, one should bear in mind that the definition of who a child is and attitudes towards child-

hood and children vary from culture to culture, and indeed from country to country. Different countries have laws which define childhood differently.

In Kenya, the law recognises the existence of a child from the time of its conception. Thus the Kenyan Law provides protection for the unborn child, through its birth. However, the Kenyan Law has several and inconsistent definitions of childhood. According to Kabeberi (1989), the Kenyan Law sets out different ages of the child for the purpose of their operations. The *Age of Majority Act* (Chapter 33 Section 2) provides that a person shall be of full age and cease to be under any disability by reason of age on attaining the age of eighteen years. By this act therefore, any person aged under eighteen years is for all purposes regarded as a child. The *Children and Young Persons Act* (Chapter 141) proceeds to provide different age categories, in defining the child. Section two of this act provides that : (i) a child is a person under the age of fourteen years. (ii) A juvenile is a person aged between fourteen and sixteen years of age, and (iii) A young person is a person aged between sixteen and eighteen years of age. The *Employment Act* (Section 2) recognises that a person who has not yet attained the age of sixteen years is a child.

From the foregoing review therefore, the law in Kenya defines a child in several different ways, giving different ages. This can be exploited to violate the rights of the persons who by International Law are children.

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Different societies and cultures too, define children differently. Among most Bantu tribes, persons enter adulthood after circumcision for boys and clitoridectomy for girls. This allows them to undertake adult roles like marriage. Amongst some Nilotic groups, removal of some teeth indicates that a person has become an adult (Ibid). Among the Hausa of Nigeria, age categories differ according to

sex. A Hausa girl of ten to twelve years is often married, and once married, she is often classified as a woman, *mata*. Marriage is thus a *rite de passage* that changes a female status from child to adult woman. Boys on the other hand may be well over twenty years old before they are considered to be adults for they are expected to be economically productive, not simply capable of sexual reproduction, before they marry (Schildkrout, 1981). Among some Muslim communities, one has the capacity to marry (and thus become an adult) once he or she has reached the stage of puberty.

The reviewed literatures make one thing clear : that while most modern societies use age to determine childhood, others use observable physical, physiological changes in certain parts of the body, yet still others initiate their children into adulthood through a customary *rite de passage*.

However, even though there are differences and disparities in the definition of *a child*, all societies recognise the fact that children need to receive preparation for an active and useful adult life, as well as protection from various hazards and handicaps to which they are generally more vulnerable than adults (UNICEF, 1967); that their welfare needs to be ensured and that they need to be developed into responsible adulthood; that children need to be socialised. The process though, of socialization, varies from society to society. It is this crucial element of variation that results into practices and processes of child - upbringing that, by International Law, breach fundamental rights of the child.

2.1.1.2 *Rights of the Child*

By law, children have their fundamental rights which have to be protected, whether in civil society or in the special and especially difficult situations of refugee, displacement and as victims of war (Manuh, 1990). According to the *Convention on the Rights of the Child* (1989), these include : rights to life (Article 6); right to a name and nationality (Article 7); right to preserve his or her identity (Article 8);

right to parental care and non - separation (Article 9); right to freedom of expression (Article 12); right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion (Article 14); right to freedom of association and peaceful assembly (Article 15); right to protection of privacy (Article 16); right to education (Article 28); right to leisure, play and participation in cultural and artistic activities (Article 31); and the right to be protected from exploitation and from engaging in work that constitutes a threat to health, education and development (Article 32). Article 32 of the convention thus protects the child against child labour.

2.1.2 CHILD LABOUR

Today, one of the most fundamental rights of the child which has been and continues to be violated is the right to protection against child labour. Indeed, it can never be in the best interest of a child to be exploited or to perform heavy and dangerous forms of work. No child should labour in hazardous and exploitative conditions, just as no child should die of preventable illness.

Child labour is a major global concern. It is for this that UNICEF's annual publication, *The State of the World's Children - 1997* focuses on child labour.

According to UNICEF (1997), children do a variety of work in widely divergent conditions. The kinds of work they do, take place along a continuum. At one end of the continuum, the work is beneficial, promoting or enhancing the child's physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development. At the other end, it is destructive or exploitative. To UNICEF, the work that is considered as Child labour is that which is economically exploitative and is likely to be hazardous or to interfere with the child's education, or that endangers the child's physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development. Child labour is also exploitative if it involves full time work at too early an age.

Similarly, UNICEF asserts that it is exploitative if Child labour involves too many hours spent working. Exploitative child work also exerts undue physical, social or psychological stress. It also undermines the child's dignity and self-esteem. Finally, child labour is exploitative if it is detrimental to the full social and psychological development of the child.

According to Bequel and Myers (1995) however, the impact of work ^{or} of a child's development is the key to determining when such work becomes a problem. Among the aspects of a child's development that can be endangered by work are: Physical development including overall health; coordination, strength, vision and hearing; Cognitive development including literacy, numeracy and the acquisition of knowledge necessary for normal life; Emotional development including adequate self-esteem, family attachment, feelings of love and acceptance; and Social and Moral development including a sense of group identity, the ability to cooperate with others and the capacity to distinguish right from wrong.

The most obvious impact of labour on a child however, is physical harm. Carrying heavy loads or sitting for long periods in unnatural positions can permanently disable growing bodies. Hard physical labour over a period of years can stunt children's physical stature by upto thirty percent of their biological potential, as they expend stores of stamina that should last into adulthood (WHO, 1987).

2.1.2.1 *Definition and Measurement of the Work of Children*

The phrase *Child labour* has always conjured up a particular image : we see children working in looms making carpets, in mines, in commercial agricultural plantations, in deep sea fishing, in factories - generally children working in industrial settings. Child labour has been misconstrued and misunderstood in most instances to mean waged labour done by children in industrial settings or any

occupation that is directly geared towards making a profit or contributing to the national economy.

This misconception is greatly attributable to conventional definitions of work - *what work is work?*

Until recently, only paid labour was defined as work. In 1938, ILO defined gainful occupation as that for which the person engaged therein is remunerated directly or indirectly in cash or in kind. In 1966, the statistical commission of the United Nations defined economically active population as comprising all people of either gender who furnish the supply of labour for the production of economic services and goods (Moore, 1991).

Such definitions of work are not only economic, but they also only include remunerated work that can be enumerated for national statistics. This approach has been used in many studies that have attempted to analyse the value of children from an exclusively economic point of view. Yet if work is conventionally understood as paid work outside the home, then focus is shifted from the informal labour establishments that go unregistered in the domestic set-ups.

As Bequele and Boyden (1988) point out, much of the work carried out by children lies in statistical limbo, consisting of tasks around the home, and not treated as conventional labour activity. Child labour studies have focused so much, if not exclusively, on children's employment in the industrial and manufacturing sectors like brick making, leather tanning, looming, textile and carpentry.

These are the most visible sectors in which children work. However, we must not lose sight of the tens of millions of children all around the world who work in non-industrial and non-manufacturing sectors. In fact, only a very small percentage of all child workers are employed in these sectors. Most children work on farms and plantations, in the house - far from the reach of labour inspectors

and from media scrutiny (UNICEF, 1997).

Therefore, if we allow the notion that the most exploited child workers are all in the industrial export sectors to take hold, we would do a grave disservice to that majority of children who labour in virtual invisibility - around the household.

2.1.2.2. *Prevalence and Magnitude of Child Labour*

According to ILO (1996), Child labour remains a serious problem in the world today. However, statistics on Child labour are illusive not only because of the special and practical difficulties involved in the design and implementations of child surveys, but also because of differences in perception about what constitutes a child, or child labour. The collection of solid and reliable data is limited also by the fact that in certain instances, it is presumed officially not to exist and therefore is not covered in the national statistics. Yet while it is impossible to cite a single authoritative figure, it is clear that the number of child workers worldwide runs into hundreds of millions.

ILO's bureau of statistics estimates that in developing countries alone, there are at least 120 million children between the age of five and fourteen years who are fully at work; and more than twice as many (about 250 million), if those for whom work is a secondary activity are included.

Of these, 61% are found in Asia, 32% in Africa, and 7% in Latin America.

The same document further reports that in Africa alone, one in every three children work! ILO, to better quantify the problem, launched experimental surveys in Ghana, India, Indonesia and Senegal. The results show that the average percentage of economically active children aged between five and

fourteen years was 25% and in Senegal, it was as high as 40%. Around 33% of the children did not attend school.

Most statistical surveys, however, only cover children aged ten years and above. But many children begin work at an earlier age. Rural children, in particular girls, tend to begin their economic activity at an earlier age of five, six, or seven years.

2.1.2.3 *Typology of Child Activity*

Child labour manifests itself in many ways depending on the angles from which one looks at the problem.

Onyango, (1989) divides child work into two categories. These are unremunerated family labour, and paid labour outside the family circle. According to her, family labour involves around 90% of Kenyan children between six and fifteen years of age and is common in both rural and urban areas. In this sector, children are engaged in tasks such as the preparation of meals, washing clothes, childcare, cleaning, milking domestic animals, fetching water, gathering woodfuel, and the sale of crops in local markets. They also plant, weeds and harvest crops. Most children work in agriculture during the school holidays, although many parents withdraw their children from school to provide labour during peak periods of production. To Onyango, family labour facilitates development of skills among the young and provides parents, especially mothers, with assistance in domestic chores and production. She reports that waged labour outside the family is concentrated in sectors like urban domestic service and in agricultural plantations, in forestry, and work in the streets. To her, child labour outside the family also has its positive side: it gives the children an opportunity to earn a living and help support themselves and their families. However, she observes that this form of labour also conflicts

with the demands and needs of childhood. It can result, at the very least, in the abandonment of childhood and the assumption of a proto-adult status at a very early age.

Rodgers and Standing (1981) also devised a typology of child activity patterns. They came up with five major categories: domestic work; non-domestic - non-monetary work; tied and bonded labour; waged labour; and marginal economic activities. Here, *domestic work* includes cleaning, cooking, childcare and other domestic chores which do not produce marketable goods and services. The tasks tend to be sex-typed with girls taking a disproportionate share of the total, and in the process intensifying the sex-typing of adult roles. *Non-domestic - non-monetary work* encompasses farm work and such tasks as hunting and gathering - tasks in a subsistence economy. In agrarian economies, children spend a great deal in such activities, particularly those that are highly time intensive such as livestock tending, protecting crops from birds and animals and weeding. Such tasks form a continuum with domestic work. *Tied or bonded labour* includes activities that often form a set of obligations to a landlord, with children having to contribute a specified amount of work as part of a peasant family's feudal rent. This entails, for example, children working as unpaid household servants for the landlord usually for some minimal lodging and boarding. Another common practice is the pledging of children as workers in part-payment of a debt. Certain types of apprenticeship system too, although not part of a classic feudal system, have implications similar to those of bondage of child labour. *Wage Labour* includes those children working as part of waged family labour force and those working as individual wage workers. The former involves working as part of hired family group or as domestic servants of distant kin. *Marginal economic activities* are those characterised by their irregularity and short-term nature, including the selling of newspapers, looking after cars, shoe-shining, selling of sweets, running errands and the sorting of garbage for useable objects.

UNICEF (1997) in the *State of the World's Children, 1997* has typologised child activity patterns into seven categories. These are domestic service, forced and bonded labour, commercial sexual exploitation, industrial and plantation work, street work, work for the family, and girls' work.

Child domestic workers include children handed over by a poor rural family and provide domestic help for a usually urban, wealthier family. UNICEF reports that millions of children, worldwide, toil in obscurity in private homes behind closed doors as domestic workers. Nine out of ten of these children are girls! Because such work is largely hidden, its true extent is difficult to gauge. However, recent studies have helped to define the problem more clearly. In Jakarta (Indonesia), a survey discovered that almost one third of all domestic workers - about 400,000 - are under fifteen. A study of a lower middle class residential area in Nairobi (Kenya) found that 20% of households employed children in 1982, though by 1991 this had dropped to 12 per cent, UNICEF reports in the same document. Very often, these children are related to the employer, children of brothers, sisters and cousins in the rural areas.

Commercial sexual exploitation as UNICEF reports is a scandalous underground multi-billion dollar illegal industry. Though due to its very scandalous nature, data about this industry is difficult to gather. UNICEF reports that NGOs in this field estimate that one million girls world wide are lured or forced into this form of hazardous labour, annually. Boys are also often exploited. It exists in the form of sex tourism in which holiday makers from rich countries, mainly, though not exclusively men, travel to the location in developing world. Thousands of young girls also serve the sexual appetites of local men from all social and economic backgrounds. They are often exported from the villages to the towns and cities where when shunned and ignored, they often turn to the brothel or the streets. The physical and psychological damage inflicted by commercial sexual exploitation makes it one of the most

harzadous forms of child labour.

Children also work in various sectors of industrial and plantation work as waged labourers. Especially in Africa, Asia and Latin America, they are found in factories, mines, deep sea - fishing, textile industries, leather works and brick - making to count but a few. Children are also found in commercial agriculture where they work in plantations that grow the major export crops especially of Africa, including cocoa, coffee, tea, sisal and cotton. In all these situations, children work under deplorable conditions which are not only extremely exploitative but also harzadous.

In contrast with child domestic workers, children who work in the streets work in the most visible places possible - on the streets of developing world cities and towns. They are everywhere : hawking in markets and darting in and out of traffic jams, playing their trade at bars and train stations, in front of hotels, shopping malls. They are mainly regarded as nuisance, if not as dangerous mini - criminals. What most of these children do on the streets is of course, work. Children who work in the streets often come from the slums and squatter settlements where poverty and precarious family situations are common. Their numbers have increased in places experiencing armed conflicts. On the streets, they shine shoes, wash and guard cars, carry luggage, hawk, collect vegetables and find a myriad other ingenious ways to make money.

Of all the work that children do, under the typology of UNICEF, the most common is agricultural or domestic work within their own families. In most families, children are expected to help in the household, whether preparing food, fetching water or groceries, herding animals, caring for younger siblings or more harduous work in the fields. This kind of work can be beneficial as children learn from a reasonable level of participation in household chores, subsistence food growing and income -

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generating activities. They also derive a sense of self - worth from their work within the families. On the contrary, as UNICEF reports in the same document, (*State of World's Childre, 1997*), work for family may demand too much of children, requiring them to labour long hours that keep them from school and take too great a toll on their developing bodies. Such work can prevent children from excercising their rights and developing to their full potentials. Such work are as well exploitative as children do not work for themselves but for their parents, for kin or for strangers. In rural Africa, children begin helping with the family chores well before school age. Girls, for example, must fetch household water and fuelwood. Children of both sexes help in farmwork. Children also look after animals, and performing all tasks to do with water, jobs often physically taxing in their extremes. They also work in the informal sectors including crafts and small trades for the family, which are essential for village life.

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 Lastly, in girls' work, UNICEF reports that according to ILO, 56% of the ~~ten to fourteen~~ years olds currently estimated to be working are boys, yet if we were able to measure the number of girls doing unregistered work as domestic help, or working at home to enable other family members to take up paid employment, the figures would show more female child labourers than male ! Girls also work longer hours on the average than boys, carrying a double work load - a job outside the home and domestic duties on their return.

From the reviewed literature on typology of child activity therefore, one thing comes out clearly, that from whichever angle one wants to look at it, or in whichever categories one divides it into, manifestations of child labour are the same. They also asserts one point : that children are heavily and deeply involved in labour in various settings both around the household and beyond.

2.1.2.4. *Causes of Child Labour*

Zani (1993), discussed the factors that contribute to child labour under three main sub - titles. These are socio-economic status of family and fathers occupation; influence of other already working children and; other contributory factors.

Under the socio-economic status of the family, she asserts that, child labour, a problem rampant in the developing countries can be attributed to the fact that most of these families are poor. Poverty forces children to go to work in order to supplement the little, if any, income from their parents (Bequele and Boyden, 1988). The parents depend on these earnings. Kayango - Male and Waji (1984), also observed that children are encouraged to work in order to improve the family's socio-economic status. When wealth is increasingly distributed among families in a community, poorer children may be exploited by the better off families as cheap labourers.

Abdalla (1988) also supports the general idea that children labour is readily supplied by poor families who depend on their offsprings for income in his study. In his sample, when the parents were asked why they sent their children to work, their respondents gave more than one answer to a question, 90 % replied that the family needed the child's income, 56 % mentioned that their income was irregular, 48 % said they could not afford the cost of schooling while 20 % gave the unemployment of the household head as a reason. Maroquin's survey (1988) shows that child work corresponds closely to the father's employment status. Thus the incidence of child labour among families in which the father has regular employment is much lower than among those in which he is either in sporadic employment or is unemployed. The employment status of mothers also significantly affects child labour. Mothers who are either self - employed or irregularly employed are more likely to have children who work than those who are in full employment. Parental occupation can thus be critical in

ascertaining the participation of young people in the labour force, since adult income influences the degree of dependence of children's earnings.

Influence of already working peers is another contributory factor, Zani discusses. As a means of persuasion, influence brings about a decision on the alter's part to act in a certain way because it is felt to be a *good thing* for him. Influence can be exemplified by the frequency of interaction between the potential child labourer and other already working children. Knowledge of what a particular kind of work entails, received from the already working children, can interest and encourage a non-working child to engage in that work.

According to UNICEF, 1997, children are pushed into work by three key factors : the exploitation of poverty; the absence of education; and the restrictions of traditions.

Exploitation of poverty, according to UNICEF, is the most powerful force driving children into hazardous and exploitative labour. Where society is characterised by poverty, and inequity, it reports, the incidence of child labour is likely to increase as does the risk that it is exploitative. For poor families, the small contributions of children in income or assistance at home that allows the parents to work can make the difference between hunger and a bare sufficiency. Children are either sent out to work for wages or involved in the family's wage - earning labour. At this level, children's work is considered essential to maintaining the economic level of the household and for its survival. To better quantify this problem, Anker and Melkas (1996) report that today, children contribute around 20% - 25 % of family income. The parents of the child labourer are often unemployed or underemployed. Yet it is not they but their children who are offered the job. Why? Because children can be paid less of course. In Latin America, UNICEF reports, for example, children aged 13 to 17 earn on average

half the pay of a waged earning adult with seven years of education (UNECLAC, 1995). Because children are more malleable : they will do what they are told without questioning authority. Because children are powerless : they are less likely to organise against oppression and can be physically abused without striking back. Put simply, children are employed because they are easier to exploit.

The lack of relevant education is another factor that UNICEF reports. In most developing countries, costs in social spending have hit education severely. Education is underfunded. The school system is also often too rigid and uninspiring in approach, promoting a curriculum that is irrelevant to and remote from children's lives. The quality of teaching is frequently abysmal and the discipline violent. In such conditions, overall 30% of children in developing countries who enroll in primary school do not complete it. The figure rises to 60% in some countries (Worldbank, 1995). Boyden and Bequele (1988) point out that one of the most serious problems in many countries, is the high drop out rates and the poor quality of education. They also point out the poor training of teachers, overworking, poor and inadequate infrastructure, irrelevant curriculum and shortage of schools are some of the incentives* for parents to send their children to work, rather than to school. Parents could also view their children's school attendance as a waste of time. The educational system may be based on that of the developed countries and not addressing immediate problems of its consumers thus creating high expectations which cannot be realised. The value of education thus may not be understood being that most parents may not have been to school themselves and thus encourage their children to work (Agnelli, 1986; Mendelievich, 1978). According to Salazar (1988), parents feel that schooling does not guarantee better jobs for their children. They do not, therefore, see the need of taking the children to school. They find it preferable for them to learn trade. Education then has become part of the problem, yet it should be reborn as part of the solution.

The economic forces that propel children into hazardous work may be the most powerful of all, but the traditions and entrenched social patterns play a crucial role (UNICEF, 1997). Social stratification in most societies entails that the people of lower classes do the harder and more hazardous jobs. Children born in such families end up doing hazardous labour, yet it is seen as their lot in life. An example is the Indian Caste system which just dramatizes what takes place elsewhere. The notion of child labour is thus rooted in the traditions and attitudes of the religions where it is practiced. The dominant cultural groups in such societies does not always wish its children to do hazardous labour, but it will not be so concerned if young people from racial, ethnic or economic minorities or majorities do it. Certain families and indeed cultures, have a tradition of children following in their parents' footsteps. If the family has a tradition of engaging in hazardous occupation such as leather tanning, then there is a likelihood that the children will be caught up in the same process (ILO, 1996).

From the foregoing review, then, it is clear that even though factors contributing to child labour are manifold, the socio - cultural and traditional framework and background has a significant contribution to child labour and thus deserves a better attention. The following sub-sections illustrate this.

2.1.2.5. *Socio-Cultural Dimensions of Child Labour*

From the foregoing review, it is clear that child labour not only reflects economic processes but depends so much on normative attitudes towards children in society ; the culturally determined gender roles and functions of children; the values by which the activities of children are judged; and the nature of the socialization process. Therefore, while many child activity patterns may be conditioned by the needs of the economic system, this does not permit us to ignore the independent effects of the socio - cultural framework.

The effects of the prevailing modes of domestic organizations and of the system of kinship and marriage are a case in point (Rodgers and Standing, 1981). The related sets of rights and obligations clearly influence the development of a child's activities. A broadly based family with a wide and complex obligation structure, as in the case of African societies, may nevertheless imply a greater variety of child activities merely because it presents a wider range of options and obligations. By contrast, kinship systems in which the nuclear family is functionally individuated and residentially isolated, and in which parental and filial rights and obligations are not shared, may provide an economic and social framework to support the child for the obligation network is narrower as are possibilities for child work. Provided that household income is adequate for perceived household needs, child labour supply will be lower. In some contexts, however, the delegation of aspects of parental roles and the institutionalised practice of fostering of children by non - parental kin, involve widespread transfers of the obligations to train and maintain children, and the rights to enjoy the services of the young. Single parents provide a range of conflicting needs for children. In such cases, very high child employment rates are probable (due to death, incapacity or just absence of a parent).

Another example of the independent effects of socio - cultural variables is the attribution of gender roles among children. Some of these roles clearly consist of preparation for adult gender division of labour. Thus it seems almost universal that child care and housework fall more to girls than to boys, in keeping with the traditional view of the domestic role of a woman (Ibid).

At a broader level, according to Bulatao (1975), the roles of children are associated with the values attached to children by the parents and the culture in general, with the images of the future which the parents perceive, and with the objectives underlying particular levels of fertility. As Bulatao asserts, several *Value of Children* studies have explored the psychological factors underlying fertility. Though

many factors are cited by parents as reasons for having children, the work of children, domestic or otherwise, reoccurs frequently. Mendelievich, (1979) reports that in many developing countries, there is an idea that a child, who is no longer a baby should not be maintained without him working. There is also a belief that children must work from an early age to contribute to the family's upkeep and thus the necessity to have many children. The implication here is that parents see *production* of children as a means of adding to the family labour force.

However, of all the socio-cultural factors responsible for child labour, participation of children in various types of economic activities from an early age is considered an essential part of socialization. The process of socialization and the cultural objectives to which it responds are clearly interdependent with the structural economic system within which socialization occurs (Rodgers and Standing, 1981). From the age of around three years, two principal phases can be identified in a child's life: Upto six or seven years, during which a child's activities are centred on the life of the household, and from seven to sixteen years, during which activities range over the whole area of the village. In such tasks, children share the same social environment as the adults. They are not confined to special corners of the social environment, but rather they participate in the same tasks, uphold the same clan interests, either of the village or of the family, have the same objectives, experiences the same emotions, behave in the same values as the parents (Bekombo, 1981). Children's games, for example are a preparation for more serious work and are echoed in the rhythmic, song - accompanied and often competitive work of the adult which preserves something akin to play. Very soon, the child must search for his own food, very soon, he will be initiated into sexuality, very soon he will act freely within the framework of the rules and consider himself a responsible person. Lombard (1978) confirms these observations when she notes that from the time when an individual can do so, he participates in the activities of the family community; this participation begins around the age of six years

and ends at death. Each person's contribution is an essential precept to which the group gradually accustoms the child.

Therefore, the early introduction of children into the productive sector is not the result of a delicate decision on the part of adults; it is the outcome of a socialization strategy adopted to a way of life and to the functioning of other social institutions.

From the above review, it is notable that because development in attitudes is more a product of culture as a whole than of one of its consistent elements, any investigation of children's productive activities must be carried out within a global appreciation of the society concerned. An anthropological approach is therefore not only useful but necessary.

2.1.2.6 *The Impact, Consequences and Implications of Child Labour*

The consequences of child labour are as ~~varied~~ as the causes (Zani, 1993). Child labour, in whichever form it manifests itself, is an abuse of the child. It is not only hazardous, but also leads to economic exploitation, interferes with the child's education, harmful to the child's health and deters his or her physical, mental, spiritual, moral and social development.

According to UNICEF (1997), child labour is ^{exploitative} ~~exploitative~~ if it involves: - full time work at too early age; too many hours spent working; work that exerts undue physical, social or psychological stress; inadequate pay, too much responsibility; work that hampers access to education; work that undermines children's dignity and self esteem, such as slavery or bonded labour and sexual exploitation; and work that is detrimental to full social and psychological development.

To UNICEF, impact of work on a child's development is the key to determining when such work becomes a problem. Aspects of a child's development that can be endangered by work are : Physical development including overall health, coordination, strength, vision and hearing; cognitive development including literacy, numeracy and the acquisition of knowledge necessary for normal life; emotional development including adequate self esteem, family attachment, feelings of love and acceptance; and social and moral development including a sense of group identity, the ability to cooperate with others and the capacity to distinguish right from wrong.

Child labour can also inflict physical harm. For example carrying heavy loads or sitting in awkward positions for long can permanently disable growing bodies. Physical structures can as well be stunted by hard physical labour over long periods of time.

Psychologically, labouring children can suffer devastating damage from being in an environment in which they are demeaned or oppressed.

All types of child labour inflict one or more of the above damages to a child in one way or the other. Education, as UNICEF reiterates, helps a child develop cognitively, emotionally and socially, yet it is one area often gravely jeopardised by child labour. Work interferes with education by absorbing so much of school time. It also often leaves children so exhausted that they lack the energy to attend school or cannot study effectively in class. Some occupations, especially seasonal agriculture, cause children to miss too many days of class, even though they may be enrolled in school. Moreover, children mistreated in the work place may be so traumatised that they cannot concentrate on school or are rejected by teachers as disruptive (Bequele and Myers, 1995). As Zani (1993) observes, given the low education and skill content of many of the jobs in which working children are involved, the

possibilities of acquiring remunerative and satisfying skills are remote. Those who attempt to work and still attend school do not excel in their school work as they give it a divided attention. The lifetime opportunities of these children are therefore jeopardised because of not receiving an adequate education.

Children who work rarely have access to leisure, play and association. Labouring children work for long hours. Child domestic workers in Jakarta work twelve to fifteen hours a day. In Dhaka, (Bangladesh), half the children interviewed in one study work even longer - 15 to 18 hours (UNICEF, 1997). UNICEF further reports that although they earn little, working girls consistently earn less than boys. Sometimes, the only remuneration is left over food or discarded clothing. As it reports, a survey conducted in Kenya showed that 78% of child domestic workers report payment in kind, usually in the form of the occasional new dress or shoes. Only 17% reported being paid in cash. Such children are undernourished, bullied and cut off from contacts. Commercial sexual exploitation inflict physical and psychological damage.

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

Labouring children are exposed to health risks in so many varied ways. The labouring children are required to perform heavy tasks which use up scarce reserves of energy thus raising their nutritional requirements, which they are unable to meet (Zani, 1993; Naidu, 1986). Domestic child labourers sometimes go hungry even when they prepare the meals. They are sometimes given left overs or eat a less nutritious meal (UNICEF, 1997). It is rare that child domestics share equally in the family meals. In a study conducted in Peru, a Peruvian girl says: *"They would give us two rolls to eat, After that, I go to bed. Meanwhile, they are eating buttered toast, coffee with milk, steak, and on top of that, grapes, pears, apples and peaches"*. (Chaney and Castro, 1989).

Child abuse

Conditions under which children work are health hazardous. In the factories, industries, plantations, mines and in deep sea - fishing, children are at the verge of health problems. They work for example in conditions of excessive heat, damp and dusty conditions. In the mines, children work with the barest minimum of safety equipment and constantly breathe in coal dust. The respiratory problems faced are many including tuberculosis, bronchitis and asthma. In the industries, children work under conditions of dust, heat, noise, monotony, sharp and falling objects. Prolonged exposure to chemical and toxic substances like mercury, lead, benzene, silica dust, can have serious health consequences to the child. In the agricultural plantations, the dangers associated with the children's work are no less appalling. In sugar plantations, children cut canes with machettes at the risk of mutilation. Children are also exposed to snake bites, insect bites, pesticides. Rising early to work in damp and cold, often barefoot and dressed in inadequate cloth, children may develop chronic coughs and pneumonia. Skin, eye, respiratory or neurological problems occur in children exposed to agro-chemicals or involved in processing crops like sisal. In deep sea fishing, working conditions are pathetic. Minimal diving equipment, congestion and insanitary living conditions result to diseases like typhoid, gastro-intestinals, beriberi, respiratory ailments such as tuberculosis, bronchitis and pneumonia; headache,

fever coughs and dysentery. Respiratory ailments, ruptured eardrums and damaged auditory nerves are associated with diving to too great a depth, and sometimes divers are attacked by needle fish or sharks (Bequele and Boyden, 1988; Unicef, 1977; ILO, 1988; Dosterhout, 1988).

Children working in the streets are not spared of the health risks. The nature of their work is most unhygienic, dangerous and demanding (UNICEF, 1997). They develop several kinds of skin diseases like ulcers and scabies. While collecting rusted iron pieces, they usually receive cuts in their hands, becoming susceptible to tetanus, their bare feet could get injured in the garbage. Many other sicknesses as well arise from exposure to extreme weather conditions like cases of sunstroke, pneumonia, influenza and malaria. Eating thrown away or left - over food often lead to digestive disorder and food poisoning. Zani (1993) confirms this in her study of the street children in the streets of Mombasa in which she found out that 25.4% of the children suffered from various types of skin diseases, 10.4% from malaria and other 10.4% had bronchial problems. Owuor (1996) in his study of the street children in the City of Nairobi found out that the most prevalent of the diseases were bronchitis (25%) followed by skin infections (20%) and diarrhoea and malaria - 15% each.

Working children are also exposed to sexual harassment of various types. These result into sexually transmitted infections including HIV/AIDS. Children in domestic servitude are prone to sexual appetites of their employers (UNICEF, 1997). Commercial sex children and children in the streets are the least protected groups from STDs including HIV/AIDS (Onyango, 1989).

2.1.2.7 *Combating Child Labour*

Since the causes, manifestations and consequences of child labour are manifold, the efforts to end it have to be as well diversified. According to UNICEF, (1997) in combating child labour, the

important thing is not that one particular strategy dominates but that maximum energy and attention are applied to the problem.

The whole world recognises that children need to be protected from hazardous and exploitative labour. ILO has been active in this field since 1919. On 29 - 30 September 1990, the world summit for children was held, bringing together 159 countries' representatives. They jointly signed the world declaration on survival, protection and development of children and a plan of action for the implementation of the declaration in the 1990's. Here, all vowed to work to end child labour practices and see how the conditions and circumstances of children in legitimate employment can be protected to provide adequate opportunity for their healthy upbringing and development (Ibid).

UNICEF asserts that intolerable forms of child labour are so grave an abuse of human rights. Other than recognising the fact that child labour should stop, it goes ahead to state that any comprehensive attack on hazardous child labour must advance in several fronts. It must aim to : release children immediately; rehabilitate them through provision of adequate services including education; and protect working children who cannot be immediately released. It also recognises the fact that any apprehensive attack on child labour must mobilise on a wide range of protagonists : governments and local communities, NGOs and spiritual leaders, employers and trade unions, the child labourers themselves and their family.

To end child labour, UNICEF proposes five initiatives of intervention. First, is the promotion and enhancement of education through provision of high quality schools and relevant educational programmes to which families will want to take their children. Second, building on national and international legislation and improving enforcement; thirdly,, empowering the poor; mobilising all levels of

society to combat the exploitative form of child labour; and campaigning to persuade corporations to show greater responsibility for their actions and those of their sub-contractors.

International Labour Organization [ILO] in its bid to end child labour has come up with several treaties and conventions including Minimum Age (Industry) Convention No. 5 of 1919; Forced Labour Convention No. 29 of 1930; and Minimum Age Convention No. 138 of 1973. It has gone further to adopt several labour standards to prohibit child labour in different sectors and conditions (ILO, 1996).

All being almost universally ratified, the States Party to the convention have drawn up legislations that aim at combating child labour. These particularly include setting minimum age for work in various settings.

In Kenya, the *Employment Act* protects children against child labour (Kabeberi, 1989). Kenya has also ratified the Minimum Age Convention, 1973 (No. 138). The Chiefs Act of 1982 also protects children from working in dangerous occupations such as *miraa* production. However, the legislation does not cover agricultural and domestic labour! (Onyango, 1989). Kenya has also drawn up institutional framework for policy formulation and implementation regarding child labour in which case the Ministry of Labour takes direct responsibility for working children and the Ministry of Education, Ministry of Home Affairs, Ministry of Culture and Social Services take indirect responsibility. Apart from the ministries, there are also NGOs that offer services to children including child workers. These include Undugu Society of Kenya, Child Welfare Society of Kenya and Africa Network for the Protection and Protection of Children against Abuse and Neglect (ANPPCAN) Kenya Chapter (Ibid).

However, even though there are comprehensive laws on child labour, enforcement is lacking. According to ILO (1996), most national legislation contains specific measures to facilitate enforcements of minimum age and other child labour provisions, as well as machinery for enforcement. Virtually, all countries have some forms of labour inspection. Even so, in practice, many encounter serious problems in enforcing child labour laws. Moreso, the priority areas have neglected the very gist of the problem. In Kenya, the priority areas for action in national plans include : children working in domestic service; in service sectors; commercial agriculture, quarrying and mining, tourist sector and informal sector (Ibid). These are areas that are exclusive of the vast majority of children working in the household and family circles, in the streets and commercial sex children.

Therefore, as Bequele and Boyden (1988) observed, the eventual abolition of child labour and the protection of the working children requires not only legislative approach and provisions, but also a range of complementary interventions aimed at attacking the root cause of child labour.

2.2 Hypotheses

This study has five hypotheses which are tested in chapter four :

- H1 Child Labour is not viewed as child abuse but as a normal process of socialization
- H2 Participative socialization as a means of transmitting knowledge and skills is responsible for the prevalence of child labour in the rural communities.
- H3 More girls than boys are engaged in detrimental and exploitative labour in the domestic and family circles.
- H4 Child Labour negatively affects children's performance in school.
- H5 Child Labour directly affects the health, and physical and social development of the child.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 METHODOLOGY

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3.1 Study Site Description

This study was conducted in Lower Nyakach Division between the months of January and June 1997. Lower Nyakach is one of the nine divisions that make up Kisumu District of Nyanza Province in the Republic of Kenya.

Geographically, the division is part of the larger Kano Plains - A flat valley bed which is an extension of the Great Rift Valley. It lies between the high Nandi Hill to the North and Kissii Mountains to the South. Lying on the shores of L. Victoria, the division is drained by rivers Nyando and Sondu, and several streams, all in their later stages before pouring their waters into the lake. The area receives its annual long rains between the months of March and May. The significant results of the flat landscape, the drainage pattern and the rains are : the annual floods during the long rains; and a permanent swamp along the shore of the lake.

The division is settled by the Luo Community and is densely populated. Major economic activities include Agriculture, trade, fishing, crafts and sand mining. Socially, the people are organised into patriarchal extended family units which are further organised into exogamous lineages and clans.

3.2 Sampling procedure

The study incorporated various sampling techniques in order to, as much as possible, obtain the most representative sample.

3.2.1 CHOICE OF THE STUDY SITE

The choice of Lower Nyakach as a study site was done purposefully, and for a number of reasons. First and foremost, the investigators familiarity with the area being himself a native of the place, has enhanced the choice. The investigator, being himself a native too of the culture, was in a position to understand the intrinsic and deep seated explanations and reasons behind certain processes that expose children to labour. Being also a member of the society, there was little suspicion and holding back of vital information by the study subjects, as a brief rapport revealed the closeness of the investigator. Above all else, as most subjects in such a study are oft to be illiterate, the choice of this site made communication much easier as the investigator shares the same vernacular language with the natives. Lastly, the investigator, having grown up in the area, has over time observed that child labour is rampant in the place and was himself a victim ! This long stay, spanning over twenty years enabled the investigator to visit pockets of the area where child activity is more manifest and over particular homes where it is more evident, with minimal assistance.

3.2.3 SAMPLING TECHNIQUES

Three sampling techniques were used in the study : *Multi-stage sampling, random sampling and purposive sampling.*

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

In this sampling design, the entire target area is subdivided into systematic sub-units. These are called the Primary Units, the Secondary Units and the Tertiary Units (Peter, 1994).

In the first stage, the whole division was outlined and its 8 (eight) administrative locations listed. These were : East Nyakach, North East Nyakach, Pap - Onditi, Central Nyakach, North Nyakach, Nyalunya, Rangul and Asawo.

In the second stage, all the sublocations within each of the eight locations were listed :

<u>Location</u>	<u>Sublocations</u>
East Nyakach	Kandaria Jimo East
North East Nyakach	Awach Agoro East Agoro West
Pap Onditi	Moro Kabodho East
Central Nyakach	Jimo West Olwalo
North Nyakach	Gem Rae Gem Nam
Nyalunya	Kabodho North Kabodho West
Rangul	Jimo Middle
Asawo	Lisana Rarieda.

These are 16 sub locations in number and on average there are two sub-locations per location.

In the third stage, out of the 16 sub-locations, eight of them, which constitutes about 50% of the population were selected. Being that there is, on average, two sub-locations per location, one sub-location was selected from each location.

In the fourth stage, a *simple random* sampling technique was used to decide which sub-locations were to be taken per location. This technique ensures that every element in the population has a known, non - zero probability of selection (Sudman, 1976). A simple lottery method was used where pieces of paper containing the names of all the sub-locations in the location are folded and put into a tin which is then shaken, and the researcher picks the required number of pieces [containing the name(s) of the sub-location(s)] for the location in question. The same procedure was repeated for all the locations. The resultant sub-locations were :

<u>Location</u>	<u>Sublocations</u>
East Nyakach	Kandaria
North East Nyakach	Awach
Pap Onditi	Kabodho East
Central Nyakach	Jimo West
North Nyakach	Gem Rae
Nyalunya	Kabodho North
Rangul	Jimo Middle
Asawo	Lisana

Finally, in the selected sub-locations, the researcher visited homes and work sites (where children

were observed working.

The choice of homes was done through *purposive sampling*. According to Peter (1994), a purposive sample is obtained when a researcher uses his own expert judgement and purpose to decide whom to select into his sampling frame. Such a sampling though is fully conditioned by the researcher's bias. The work sites included grazing fields, agricultural farms, rivers, markets and of course homes. The children found working in these places and in the homes were incorporated into the study.

3.2.3 SAMPLE SIZE

The study utilised a total sample of 40 respondents. A larger sample would have been ample for a more quantitative and descriptive study, but this was restricted to 40 respondents due, not only to constraints of resources, but also to, in as much as possible, give the study a *qualitative emphasis*. Of the 40 respondents, one quarter were children and the remaining three quarters were adults (Parents, guardians, relatives, e.t.c). This proportion was necessitated by the fact that greater emphasis was placed on the culture bearers, who in themselves are the adult members of the culture. The sample size was as well to enable the researcher to do a more direct and participant observation of the child labour situation.

Of the 30 adult respondents, four were obtained from each location apart from Rangul location from which two respondents were interviewed, being that it has just one sub-location.

3.3 Unit of Analysis

Basically, two units of analysis were used for the study. The first and the main unit composed of adults who are either parents, guardians or relatives of children. The second unit was the child.

The use of the parents, guardians and relatives of the children was appropriate for the study because it is those people and the general adult population who engage children in labour. More so, it is these people who are the primary socializers of the children. They are as well the culture bearers and translators. They thus have the very intrinsic customary and traditional explanations and meanings of most cultural practices. This population was thus the main unit of analysis.

The child as a unit of analysis was as well appropriate for the study. Interviewing and more so observing the children at work or away gave a deeper insight into and a primary data of the situation and the effects that the labour has on the children.

3.4 Methods of Data Collection

The study used primary data ~~data~~ obtained directly from the field. This kind of data is most appropriate for social scientific research since this type of research deals with human beings in a socio-cultural context. In this type of research, naturally, the people themselves will provide the primary data, for one cannot describe the beliefs and practices of a people unless one goes to the people themselves to find out what those beliefs are (Peter, 1994).

The first main method of data collection which was used in the study was *face to face interview*. This was based on an interview schedule. This method was appropriate for the study because it facilitates probing and can be used in areas where there are high levels of illiteracy as in the case in the study site. It also provides opportunity for clarification where questions directed to the respondent are not clear (Zani, 1993). Two interview schedules were used in the data collection : one appropriate for the adult respondents, and the other one appropriate for the child respondents. Both the schedules contained structured (close-ended) and unstructured (open-ended) questions. Close ended

questions gave the respondent a limited number of response options from which to choose. However, a code for *others* allowed the respondent to add the information that had not been given in the options nor envisaged earlier by the investigator. Open ended questions gave the respondents freedom to decide on the structure, form, detail and length of their answers.

Both the interview schedules were administered by the investigator as most people were illiterate.

This also enabled him to elaborate and clarify questions to the respondents.

Before every interview, the researcher created a brief rapport with the respondents before attempting to get answers to the questions. Rewards were avoided as much as possible as these would encourage dishonesty. Children were interviewed away from parents or guardians or relatives to avoid interference from the latter and for more objective responses.

The second technique of data collection was *direct observation*. This entails systematic and careful observation and recording of what takes place in the fields. In this method, the researcher is the principal actor, no longer depending on a respondent to give needed information. Observation can be both participant as well as non-participant. In this study, both methods were employed. As Kottak (1994) observes, in studying a community, we cannot be totally impartial and detached observers, we must take part in many of the events and processes we are observing and trying to comprehend. Using this technique therefore, the researcher stayed in the target community, observing from within ; the kinds of activities children do, conditions under which they do them, the work relations between the child and the person assigning duty; the whole social context within which they are done and their effects on the child. This technique was appropriate for the study. By this technique, the researcher took part in the activities carried out by the child, thus obtaining first hand experience of what they

do. how they do them and the effects of the activities on them.

3.5 Problems Encountered During Data Collection

In the field, the researcher met a number of problems and stiff challenges, to some of which he found solutions. The researcher was viewed in some places with a lot of suspicion at first, being suspected for either a spy or a government informer. Some thought he was a child abductor ! This led to some hostility. It also led to partial response and sometimes non-response.

Accessibility was another problem. Children were not so easily accessible for study. The responsible adults would not easily allow the researcher to exclusively interview their children. However, the researcher tried to solve these problems by first creating a rapport and then adequately explaining the purpose of the study. Children were as well approached when and where they worked in the absence of the adults. Participant observation also helped solve this problem.

Another problem was that of invalid and sometimes inaccurate responses. These came from people who engage children in labour. Interviewing the children themselves and direct observation, however, checked the validity of the responses of the adults and helped establish the truth.

Resources were not adequate to carry out a more detailed study. This was coupled with little time at hand for the study. Participant observation needs a long stay in the fields, yet time and resources could not enable the researcher to be in the field for long enough. However, drawing a small but very representative sample, and being that the investigator is very familiar, with the area of the study, helped solve (though to a very limited degree) the problem of time and resources. However, as Moser and Calton (1957) assert, one must accept the limitations imposed by a shortage of resources

and try to utilise what is available to the best advantage.

3.6 Methods of Data Analysis

Data from the fields ^{were} was analysed in four stages : Editing, coding, tabulation and interpretation. The data was first scrutinized and edited for errors, ambiguities and for accuracy, completeness and uniformity. The questions with major response errors were discarded.

In the second step, the data collected was coded. In this step, major categories under which the data falls were determined. Categorization of close ended questions followed the pre-coded response choices. The categorization of open ended questions involved copying the responses for each question on a separate card with the questions copied on top of each card. After this was done, broad categories under which the responses fall were determined. Quantification was then done by assigning numerical values to the categories to facilitate statistical representation of the data. The quantified data were then subjected to manual computation. This was necessitated by the fact that the interview schedules were not so many and the response categories were as well not many. More so, most of the responses could not be tabulated or subjected to statistical representation. This is because the study was aimed at unearthing the hitherto unknown cultural understanding of child labour. This involved more observations and elaborate explanations which cannot be coded. The study put more emphasis on quality, than statistical quantity, as is done in anthropological research.

In the third stage, tabulation was done to see the patterns emmerging in the data categories. These patterns were demonstrated in tables of frequency distribution and percentages calculated where necessary. In the fourth and final stage, the tabulated data was subjected to appropriate interpretation to deduce the needed inferences from them, so as to find out whether or not they supported or

rejected the initially set hypothesis.

Other than the above quantitative and more or less descriptive statistical analysis, the study also employed the quantitative ethnographic analysis. The latter method of data analysis was used to analyse the responses which could not be tabulated. These were the more explanatory, as opposed to descriptive, data which sought the people's cultural understanding and deep seated explanations to their attitudes towards children, childhood, child welfare and child labour. The latter method (qualitative ethnographic analysis) drew from the interview and largely from the investigators direct and participant observation.

However, in either way, the two methods reinforced each other to bring out the final result and conclusion on the people's cultural understanding of child labour.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

30%

This chapter presents the findings of the study based on the primary data collected through the interview schedules and the researcher's direct and participant observation of child labour situation in Lower Nyakach. The findings are based on a sample size of 40 respondents of whom 30 were adults and 10 were children. The children interviewed were between ages 10 and 16 years.

4.1 Prevalence of Child Labour in Lower Nyakach

4.1.1 DISTRIBUTION OF INVOLVEMENT OF CHILDREN IN WORK

Table 1 : Response of Parents and guardians regarding Involvement of children in work

Type of work	Response	Number N	%
Household chores	Yes	30	100.0
	No	0	
Economic Activities	Yes	24	80.0
	No	6	20.0

Source : *Primary Data*

This table indicates that all rural children (100%) are involved in some work within the household. All parents and guardians responded positively to involving children in performing household chores including running errands, cooking, laundry, cleaning, cutting grass, mending and trimming edges, fetching woodfuel and collecting water.

It was observed that children were always busy, whenever they were around, performing household tasks. In some cases it was observed that household tasks were left entirely to children. These were in cases where there were both boys and girls in the household. Such parents even confirmed to the researcher that household tasks were left entirely to children. These were in cases where there were both boys and girls in the household. Such parents even confirmed to the researcher that household chores were for children; theirs was to do heavier economic activities outside the home.

In economic activities, a majority 80% reported involving children. These were activities mainly of rural economy including tending livestock, garden work, fishing, trade, sand mining, and crafts. It was as well observed that here, some activities were left entirely to children. For example, trading in sugar cane (for chewing) was a business left entirely to children in most families that were visited. Only 20% of the parents reported non-involvement of children in economic activities. Closer observation and probing revealed that these were steady and nuclear (monogamous) families in which either both or one of the parents was involved in permanent employment. For example three (50%) of those who reported non-involvement of children in economic activities were primary school teachers. The other three (50%) were working in Nairobi.

The above reports were confirmed in Table 2.

Table 2 : Response of children regarding their involvement in work

Type of work	Response	Number	%
Household chores	Yes	9	90.0
	No	1	10.0
Economic Activities	Yes	6	60.0
	No	4	40.0

Source : *Primary Data*

In the above table, 90% of the children interviewed reported being involved in work in the household. Only 10% of the children reported non-involvement. It was however observed that the child not involved in household chores was in a family with employed house assistants, and the father is a teacher in a local secondary school. More so, the child was in a boarding school and had just come back for end term vacation.

Sixty percent of the children interviewed reported being involved in economic activities which included crop cultivation, grazing livestock, trade, hired labour, fishing and sand mining.

Forty percent reported non-involvement in economic activities. However, it was observed that those who reported non-involvement in economic activities were all girls, all of whom reported of being involved in performing household chores. Only 40% of the girls interviewed reported involvement in economic activities. Those had implications for gender division of child labour.

The above two tables confirm that though most studies have concerned themselves primarily with industrial and urban employment, in the full sense, as evidence of child labour, many children are involved in rural economy and work in the household (Bequele and Boyden, 1988). It also confirms the report of UNICEF (1997) that . . . *in Africa. . . , only a tiny proportion of child workers are involved in the formal sector. The vast majority work for their families, in homes, in the field . . . and on farms far from the reach of labour inspectors and media scrutiny.*

More so, of the children interviewed, 50% were aged between five and ten years. Of these, 80% were involved in work both in household chores and economic activities. From the study therefore, 80% of the children aged between five and ten years are involved in work for the family. This confirms the ILO (1996) that rural children tend to begin their work at an early age of 5, 6 or 7 years.

4.2 Socio-cultural Factors in Child Labor

4.2.1 DEFINITION OF A CHILD

Table 3 : Factors determining a child (Applied only to the adult respondents).

Factors	Response Rate	Percentage
Age	12	40.0
Initiation	0	-
Marital Status	25	83.3
Activities they do	5	16.6
Class in school	6	20.0
Economic Dependence	24	80.0
Physical reproductive characteristics	22	73.3

Source : Primary Data

The above table, shows the factors that the people use to determine who is a child and who qualifies to be an adult. The table shows that marital status, economic dependance and physical reproductive (sexual) characteristics are the mostly used factors in determining who a child is. Thus, most people (83.3%) cited marital status as a factor to determine childhood. This shows that as long as one is not married, he remains a child. The direct implication of this is early marriage. It was observed that many young boys and girls who are below the age of 18 years were already married and thus were counted or counted themselves as adults.

Physical reproductive (sexual) characteristics was also a much cited factor that determines Who is a child. Of the interviewees, 73.3% reported this factor. However, it was exclusively applying to girls. *Why* Thus the respondents reported that a girl who had developed female sexual characteristics like feminine shape, breast, pubic hair and had reached menarche *****.

Eighty percent (80%) of the respondents reported economic dependance of a person as a factor determining a child. To them, as long as one remains economically dependant - on the parents, guardians, or relatives - he is still a child. This means that as long as one attains economic independence at whichever age, he qualifies to be an adult. It was observed that this factor exclusively applied to boys. Thus boys as young as 12 years of age were striving to achieve this independence. In one of the locations (Rangul), three boys - 12, 14 and 16 years old - had their own rice paddocks. Two boys in Gem Rae Sub-Location (North Nyakach Location) were also reported to be having two rice paddocks each. The three boys were planning to buy goats, sheep and poultry at the end of the season.

Age was reported by only 40% of the respondents as a determining factor. This was contrary to the popular belief that age determines who is and who is not a child. Class in school was reported by

20.0% of the respondents who gave completion of primary education as a determining grade. However, it was observed that children were as young as 14 years in age by the time they go through 8 years of primary education. It was reported by 16.6% of the respondents that the activities like ploughing, putting thatches, sinking latrines, felling trees, and grave digging which were cited as preserves of adults.

CULTURAL DEFINITION OF A CHILD

The above figures were confirmed by the questions which probed the people's cultural definition of a child: According to your culture, who is a child? And in your culture, when does one stop being defined as a child? According to the people interviewed, going by the culture of the Luo, a child is one who is unmarried and one qualifies to be an adult once married. This has direct implications for early marriage so long as one is married, irrespective of the age, he qualifies to be an adult. Another cultural factor is economic dependence. It was reported that as long as one remains dependent on the parents, guardians or relatives to meet his basic needs like food, and clothing, then he is a child. Therefore, once one is independent, he joins the group of adults. People are thus encouraged, from a very early age to acquire properties, some of which they are bequathed by their parents. They thus attain economic independence at some times very tender ages. More important, children are encouraged to work physically hard to attain this independence. It is thus very common to find children in labour as the culture encourages and promotes this by encouraging people, especially men to acquire their own properties.

A child was also reported to be one who has not constructed a house of his own. Young men are encouraged to build their own houses in the father's home once they are perceived to be of age. This house is called *simba* and every boy at one time has to build his *simba*. Thus as long as a boy feels

he is ready enough to build a *simba*, he is given a go ahead. After this, he is now ready to marry.

It was observed that boys as young as fourteen years had their houses. A boy aged 14 years in Awach Sublocation, and who was a first born in his fathers' family was reported to have built his *simba* when he was only eleven years old.

It was also reported that in Luo Culture, once a girl develops breasts, has reached menarche, and is round and has pubic hair, then she is ripe for adult life. They can take responsibilities of motherhood including not only household chores, but even marriage. Boys, once they grow beards, and pubic hair, and masculine features, they are ready to be referred to as adults.

Culturally too, it was reported that there are certain activities which are preserves of adulthood. These are more labourers activities like sinking latrines, putting up thatches, ploughing, overnight lake fishing, sugarcane cutting and clearing of land for cultivation. Once a child is capable of performing these duties, then he qualifies to be an adult.

It was as well reported that children can sleep in their mother's house and once they become of age, they shift either to the boys' *simba* or the girls go to the grand mother's house. Thus as long as one still sleeps in the mother's house, then he is a child. More so, a child has the freedom to be in the kitchen irrespective of the sex. However, boys are soon discouraged from going into the kitchen and not only performing kitchen roles, but merely sitting there. It soon becomes an abomination to see a boy in the kitchen. At around this time, they qualify to be adults.

These culturally defined factors have direct bearing on child labour. Boys from very early ages strive

to achieve economic independence or are forced to do so. They thus get involved in laborious tasks at the expense of childhood. When they feel old enough, they take to marriage and start performing obligations of the family like fending for the whole family. They thus find themselves in a web of laborious activities when still they are children.

4.2.2 DETERMINANTS OF CHILD LABOUR

It was reported, by all those interviewed, that according to the Luo culture, children have to work.

There are several reasons which come up for this. It was reported that culturally children are born to help parents in performing their necessary roles.

Children are thus a blessing to the parents not just by the virtue of being born, but because they are born to help. This is a cultural notion that attaches a utilitarian value on children. The parents reported that the children take care of them, more so in old age. They do not only work today, they have always worked. In the traditional Luo Society, children had to work. Children are as well encouraged to work. It was reported that this utilitarian value of the child is even coded in the language, where there are proverbs, riddles and folktales which emphasize the work of children and encourage them to work. For example one of the Luo proverbs goes, *Nyathi ma jaote ema yieng* (The child who runs errands will fill his or her stomach), and *Nyathi ma jaote ema chieth ne duong* (The child who runs errands defaecates the biggest faeces). Children are as well encouraged to work through legends of hard working men like *Nyamgondho Wuod Ombare*. Such legendary men presented the true image of the ideal man every boy wanted to be (Odaga, 1985).

Children have to work, it was reported, as it is through participation in work that they are socialised into responsible members of society. They thus grow up a responsible people and eventually become

responsible adults.

Another factor which determines child activity, it was reported, is that through involvement in work, children gain the necessary skills in life. Some reported that strength, a necessary quality in adulthood, especially of men, is only acquired by participation in hard manual labour.

It is also through work that children and later on in adulthood become self-reliant. Children work hard so as to acquire property of their own even in very tender ages.

Another determinant factor, it was reported, is that work is healthy to the children. Through work, children gain a strong mind, a sound health in general. Conditions notwithstanding, work is understood to contribute to good health.

Work is considered to be a disciplining factor in children. Children who work are more disciplined than the idle ones. A case was reported of some two boys in Jimo West Sub-Location (Central Nyakach Location) who are not always involved in work. They were said to be just roaming around the village and were alleged to be involved in alcoholism and drug taking. Parents had complained that they spoil their daughters. Girls not involved in work were said to more often than not involve themselves in *village prostitution*. Such children who don't work and only idle around were said to be undisciplined.

Direct observation confirmed these cultural ideas and beliefs about the value of children and reasons why they have got to work. Children, it was observed, have internalized the cultural reasons to their participation in hard labour. One child when asked why he worked said : *Tich ema ichamo* (It is

LS
this
child
(about

work that is eaten). A fifteen year old boy said : *Tich oa chon* (Work is a traditional / customary thing). Parents were observed to be working together with their children or the children in the company of their older siblings, in this way acquiring the necessary skills.

These cultural determinants and reasons were confirmed by the interview :

Table 4 : Reasons for involving children in work (Applied only to adults only).

Reasons	Response Rate	Percentage
Traditionally, children should work	21	70.0
Short adult Labour supply	7	23.3
Way of socialization	26	86.7
Development of a sense of responsibility	26	86.7
As a discipline	13	43.3
Children like and opt to work	12	40.0
Acquisition of skills	21	90.0

Source : *Primary Data*

From the above table, children are involved in labour, principally because it is through this that they acquire necessary knowledge and skills as was reported by 90.0% of the interviewees. Of the respondents, 86.7% reported both development of a sense of responsibility and socialization as a reason for involving children in labour. 21% reported that traditionally, children should work. 43.3% saw child labour as disciplining the children. Only 40.0% of the respondents reported that children like and opt to work. This implies that in most cases, children do not like the work they are given. Only 23.3% of the respondents reported short adult labour supply as a reason for involving children. These figures by far confirm the cultural reasons for involving children in labour. Of all the reasons,

socialization through which children acquire necessary knowledge, skills and learn to be responsible children, and later on adults, stood as the major reason for involving children in work. It was strongly denied that there is always short supply of adult labour. It was even observed that children are sent to perform tasks outside the home as adults sit. Taking livestock to the grazing fields was considered to be mainly a work of children. In one home in Jimo Middle Sub-location (Rangul Location), the father together with his four adult sons patiently waited for his two children who were in school to come back at mid-day to take the cattle, sheep and goats to the field.

4.2.3 SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC FACTORS IN CHILD LABOUR

Table 5 : Types of families (Applied to adults only).

Family type	Number	%
Single Parent	5	16.7
Monogamous (Nuclear)	7	23.3
Polygynous	12	40.0
Extended (living together with grand parents) - 3 generations in one home	6	20.0
TOTAL	30	100.0

Source : *Primary Data*

From the table above, 40.0% of families in the area are polygynous, representing a majority of family types. This is followed by monogamous family of which there are 23.3% of all the families. Extended families in which there are at least three generations in the same home represented 20% of all families. The smallest number was the single parent families. These were families where the parents had divorced or separated. They were also families of widows, though inherited but the inheritor did not stay in the home and only visited occasionally.

This table shows that most families in this area are polygynous. These findings confirm those of Rodgers and Standing (1981), in which the prevailing modes of domestic organization and of the system of kinship and marriage influence child activity. Here, a broadly based family structure with a wide and complex obligation structure as in the case in African societies may imply a greater variety of child activities for it provides a wider range of options and obligations.

Table 6 : Educational attainment of parents and guardians

Level of Education	Number	%
No education	5	16.7
Lower Primary (1-4)	7	23.3
Upper Primary (5-8)	9	30.0
Secondary	6	20.0
Mid Level College	3	10.0
University	-	-
Other	-	-
TOTAL	30	100.0

Source : *Primary Data*

The table above shows educational attainment of parents and guardians of children. Most people (30%) have upper primary level of education. The highest level of education is a mid - level college which is attained by 10% of the population. Non of the respondents had a university education but 16.7% didn't have education at all.

These figures have implications for parents' and guardians' understanding of child welfare and the rights of the child. It was observed that those with no education denied that children have any rights. Even those with upper primary education did not understand what child welfare and the rights of the child mean. Only those with post - secondary (college) education knew what the welfare of the child

is and reported that child labour is an abuse of the child and as such they reported engaging children in manual work.

Table 7 : Number of siblings of children interviewed

(Applied only to children respondents).

Number of Siblings	Number	%
0 - 5	3	30.0
5-10	6	60.0
Over 10	1	10.0
TOTAL	10	100.0

Source : *Primary Data*

From the above table only 30% of the respondents had five siblings and below. 60% had between five and ten siblings, and 10% had over ten siblings. This means that 70% of the respondents had over five siblings.

This means that many households have many mouths to feed. In order to do adequate work to feed them, the work of the children is needed to supplement the work of the adult. This by extension implies that the size of the family directly influences the involvement of child in labour. Many rural families tend to be big leading to strained adult labour supply, and hence the more hands are always required, which is often found in children. Children thus do not rely on the parents and guardians to ensure provision for their livelihood but they have to take part in the process of feeding themselves. Self - reliance is thus inculcated into the children much earlier as necessity calls for.

Table 6 : Birth position of children interviewed (Applied to children only)

Birth position	Number	%
1	3	30.0
2	1	10.0
3	1	10.0
4	3	30.0
5	-	-
6	1	10.0
7	-	-
8	-	-
9	1	10.0
10	-	-
Over 10	-	-
TOTAL	10	100.0

Source : *Primary Data*

The above table shows that 30% of the children interviewed were the first borns. Similarly, 30% were the fourth born in the families. 20% were over 6th in birth position.

These contrasting figures show that the birth position is not a determinant factor in child involvement in work. It was observed that the birth position of the child does not affect his or her engagement in labour. This contrasts the findings of Zani (1993) in which first borns are more involved in economic activities to supplement the efforts of the parents. In this study, birth position is not withholding.

Socialization being crucial and important for every child, none is exempted. The work they do is part of their socialization which is participative. All children thus find themselves involved in harduous activities in the household and outside. This participative socialization defies the birth position of the

child. The work they do is not, for that matter, to contribute to the livelihood but a way of socialization, a process through which every child goes.

However, it is observed that for the economic activities outside the home like garden work and grazing livestock, the parents and guardians try to exhaust the labour of the older children before they go for that of the younger ones, who remain back, not to relax, but to do the household chores.

Whichever way, no child is exempted from work because of birth position.

Table 9 : Economic activities of the families

(Applied to all the 40 respondents)

Economic activity	Response Rate	%
Fishing	3	7.5
Crop cultivation	35	87.5
Livestock rearing (pastoralism)	24	60.0
Trade	21	52.5
Hired labour	13	32.5
Sand mining	6	15.0
Craft	11	27.5
Formal Employment	5	12.5

Source : *Primary Data*

From the above table, the dominant economic activities are : Crop cultivation in which a majority 87.5% is involved; pastoralism (60.0%) and trade (52.5%).

It is important to note that being a rural economy, it is a mixed economy in which the people are engaged in more than one economic activity. It was observed that some people combined as many as four economic activities with none dominating over the others. Being a rural economy, only 12.5% of the population are involved in formal employment as their source of livelihood. These were observed

to be mostly primary school teachers, church pastors and migrant town workers.

The area being not so close to the lake, only a paltry 7.5% of the population are involved in fishing as an economic activity. These are mainly river fishermen who use the waters of River Nyando as their fishing water. The majority 87.5% who cultivate crops are involved in cultivation of a variety of crops, including maize, millet, cotton, rice, and vegetables. Rice is the major cash crop. It is however used as a subsistence crop as well. Very few people cultivate cotton due to marketing difficulties. The 60.0% involved in pastoralism keep animals like cattle, sheep and goats. The 52.5% involved in trade do mainly market trade in a variety of commodities including the crops. However, of those involved in trade, about 40% of them were observed to be involved in trading in sugar cane (for chewing). 15% of the population are involved in sand mining. This takes place along the streams of Asawo, Ochuoga and Nyalunya. Hired labour, attracting 32.5% of the population is an economic activity where the people work on others' farms for a wage. It was observed that there is a standard wage where planting or weeding an area of 6m x 20m earns one thirty shillings. The people are involved in craft work which attracts 15.0% of the population. The dominant craft is making of mats from papyrus got from the swamp along the shores of Lake Victoria.

It was observed that all the economic activities are very tedious and labour intensive. Cultivation of rice involves bending in performing nearly all the work from land preparation to harvesting. Children who were observed to be working in rice paddocks had to bend for long hours either planting and hand weeding or harvesting rice. Moreso, it is done in muddy water for all the work. These conditions are ones generally detrimental to the health and development of the child. The muddy water is so dirty as it is supposed to contain semi - decomposed weeds and twigs and it is knee deep. Children were observed to be standing for an average five hours in this dirty and unhealthy water. They also

bend equally for long. It was observed that this water is so much infested with leeches that after about every 20 minutes, a boy or a girl pats out of his or her legs two or three leeches sucking blood. Biting insects are also in the water. The place was also observed to be infested with mosquitoes. The situation is so unhealthy that the researcher, who did participant observation of these activities had to suffer from a bout of malaria which kept him down for four days.

Children involved in pastoralism had to leave home with the livestock - cattle, goats and sheep at around 10.00 a.m. and stay out in the grazing field, which is always over a kilometre from home, upto six o'clock in the evening. They stay exposed either to the hot sun of the day or to the rain, which was very frequent, almost raining on a daily basis, during the period of study. The children are not protected from these harsh weather conditions.

Most children who were involved in trade as a family economic activity sold sugar cane to consumers. These children, it was observed, have to wake up as early as 4.00 a.m. to walk to the neighbouring Kano, a distance of about twenty kilometres, where they stay upto mid afternoon when they return. They do not take their lunch at home. When asked where they take their lunch, one girl reported : "We chew sugar cane on the way, in places where we stop to rest." Each of the children, both boys and girls, strives to carry the biggest load or the most number of canes. They end up carrying loads too heavy for them. When asked how many times they rest on the way, one boy reported that they rest on about ten occasions along the way, on average. The money got out of the daily sales goes straight to the market to purchase commodities for use in the evening meal. The children do not do anything of their own with the money.

Sand mining, though only done by 15.0% of the population, was a very tedious and harduous work

done by children in the company of adults. People, including children, go as early as 3.00 a.m. to scoop sand out of the river water. It is sometimes thrown out to the banks, a height sometimes as high as five metres. It is then made into fine heaps ready for mid morning when lorries come to buy them. Children again help in lifting the sand, using spade, into the lorry. It was observed that sand mining is a very fast paced activity where people are doing their job very fast. Further probing revealed that the work has to be done fast and early in the morning, lest it rains in the afternoon and all the sand is washed away. The work by its fast - paced purely manual nature becomes very harduous to the children, most of whom were observed to be almost breaking down in the process of speedy scooping.

4.3 Implications of Child Labour on the Development and Welfare of the Child.

4.3.1 HEALTH OF THE CHILD

Table 10 : *Reported health problems suffered by children*

(Applied to all respondents)

Health Problem	Response Rate	%
No problem	10	25.0
Physical injury	21	32.5
Headache	26	65.0
Stomach Ache	15	37.5
Cold and Flu	34	85.0
Skin Infection	13	32.5

Source : *Primary Data*

From the table above, the most prevalent health problem in children is colds, reported by a majority 85.0%. This followed by headache at 65.0%. Thirty two percent (32.5%) reported physical injuries in the course of children's work. Stomach ache was reported by 37.5% of the respondents. Skin

infections were suffered by children as reported by 32.5% of the respondents. However, it is interesting to note that 25.5% of the respondents reported that no health problems were suffered by children in the course of or after their work. This was mostly reported by parents and guardians and only a few children. On further probing, it was observed that these people either lost memory of the instances of sickness of the children or they did not see the health problems as problems worth reporting. One mother said that headache and cold are very common things that cannot be defined as sicknesses. To her, as she reported, the absence of these could easily be inferred to imply ill health!

Colds and stomach ache were reported mainly to be suffered by children working in the rice farms. This is mainly due to the conditions of water and the biting insects. Headache was said to be a very common sickness suffered by all working children from *herdsboys* to children working in the household. It was inferred then that the herdsboys suffered headache due to long exposure to either the hot sun or to rain. Children were also observed to be suffering from a lot of skin infections. It was reported that these mainly results from insect bites and the muddy water of the rice paddocks. Physical injury occurred in several forms. They ranged from thorn pricks to insect and other small animal bites, cutting implements also caused physical injury when they are used for example in harvesting rice (sickle), cutting (machettes) or any other work.

From the rampant instances of colds, headache and stomach ache it could be deduced that the children were very much exposed to malaria. When asked whether they took remedial steps like taking the children to hospitals, only 25.5% of the respondents responded to the affirmative. This implies that children are not treated from the ailments they suffer in the course of their work or after. This could have far reaching implications for the health of the children as malaria is a major killer disease and some of the insects and small animals like the leeches could be poisonous. Some of the

effects of these might not manifest themselves immediately but could have a long term and protracted impact.

4.3.2 IMPACT OF LABOUR ON THE EDUCATION OF THE CHILD

Table 11 : School attendance of Children

Response	Number	%
Yes	25	83.3
No	5	16.7
Total	30	100.0

Source : *Primary Data*

From this table, most parents, (83.3%) reported taking their children to school. However, 16.7% of the parents and guardians reported that their children dont go to school. These figures imply that most parents have their children in school so that the work their children do, they do it either before or after school, over the week ends and vacations or they are absented from school to do their work.

These findings therefore put to rest any fears of children not going to school. However, it is not easy to tell from the responses how often the children go to school or how they perform in school.

Table 12 : Times when school going Children work

(Applied to all respondents)

Times	Response Rate	%
Before going to school	10	25.0
After school	28	70.0
Withdrawal from school	9	22.5
Over week ends	37	92.5
Night	17	42.5

Source : *Primary Data*

From this table, most children do their work over week ends. This was reported by 92.5% of all the respondents. Another majority do their work after school - 70.0%. Twenty five percent reported work in the morning before school. Some children also work into the night as reported by 42.5% of the respondents. However, some parents go as far as withdrawing their children from school to go and work !

These figures reveal a lot about the effects on the performance of children in school. For the children who have to work before going to school, it was observed that some of them have to rise up as early as 4.00 a.m. to go ploughing and some go weeding upto around 7.00 a.m. when they come to prepare themselves for school. In this way children are exhausted by the time they reach school and can hardly perform effectively in the classroom. When they come from school, they do not have the time to study or do their homework as they have to work. Some of these work like cooking and washing extend to as late as 10.00 p.m. when people retire to bed. These children have thus virtually no time to do their studies. As if this is not enough, some children are occasionally or periodically withdrawn from school to go and work. It therefore means that though it goes down on record that most children are enrolled in school, it is only by numbers. Very little progress is achieved by these children as they spend a lot of study time in work for their families. The far reaching implication of these is the falling standards of education in the rural areas.

Table 13 : *Children's position in class (Performance)*

(Applied only to child repondents)

Position (Performance)	Number	%
Do not go to school	2	20.0
1 - 5	2	20.0
6 - 10	1	10.0
11 - 15	1	10.0
16 - 20	4	40.0
Over 20	-	-
TOTAL	10	100.0

There are several factors which influence school performance of children other than the child (about

Source : *Primary Data*

The above shows the performance of children in school. Most children, 40.0% perform poorly, falling in positions between 16 and 20. The sizes of classes was found to be averagely containing 20 pupils. Only 20.0% of all children are to be found in positions between 1 and 5. However, it was observed that these are children either in monogamous families or of parents who have stable employment. They are thus not involved in work and thus have ample time for their academic work. Performance was found to be directly proportional to involvement in work where children more involved performed poorly than the less involved. It was discovered that the children who had performed poorly were heavily involved in work. One boy lamented that he had performed poorly because he spent half of the term in scaring away birds from the rice fields. Another boy said that he is only able to go to school twice a week as he is busy looking after cattle in the remaining days. He could therefore not perform well. He said that his father was almost withdrawing him from school completely to go and look after cattle as nobody could do this work.

3.3 IMPACT OF LABOUR ON THE PLAY, LEISURE AND ASSOCIATION

OF THE CHILD

Table 14 : *Children with friends*

(Applied only to children)

Response	Number	%
Yes	7	70.0
No	3	30.0
Total	10	100.0

Source : *Primary Data*

From this table, most children, 70.0% have friends. But 30.0% of the children reported not having friends. This is not a small figure. The fact that 30% of children are lonely means that their social life is affected and by extension their development. The children who have friends reported that, among the activities they do together as friends include playing, working and visiting. Being that every child has a right to these things, no child should be denied access to play, leisure and association. When asked why they did not have friends, the children reported that they were either busy working or the parents and mostly guardians could not give them free time to have friends. These are children who will end up growing up into inferior people who cannot socialise. No matter how much work children do, they should have time out to go and play and meet friends as this develops their minds and psychology. It was observed that the children deeply involved in labour are generally shy and unwilling to associate. One boy confided in the researcher that he was afraid friends would beat him up, reasons for which he did not have. He reported that though he had not been beaten by his peers before, he feared their company. A number of this lot of children could not stand up to the interview as they were too shy even to answer questions at times, until they were given the reassurance by the researcher.

4.3.4 ECONOMIC EXPLOITATION OF WORKING CHILDREN**Table 15 :** *Parents' and guardians' reward to the working children*

Response	Number	%
Rewarded	10	33.3
Not rewarded	20	66.7
Total	30	100.0

Source : *Primary Data*

From this table, 66.7% of the sample (parents and guardians) reported that they do not reward their children for their work. The remaining 33.3% of the sample reported that they do reward their children for their work.

This table shows that most rural parents and guardians who engage children in labour do not reward these children for the work they do. These parents gave various reasons for not rewarding the children. They said that the children do not need any reward as this is a work that benefits them (children) - it is their own work. They also say that it is an obligation for children to work. This shows that there is no any form of appreciation for the work of children. What accrues from their work in any form, monetary or yield is not used for meeting material needs of the child. The children do not even decide on what is done by the fruit of their labour. Two girls who were found selling sugar cane lamented that though they get a profit of between Kshs. 40 and KShs. 50 every day, they cannot even use a share of this money to buy a dress for themselves as the whole money is taken by their mothers to buy food for the family. Thus children contribute directly to the subsistence of not only themselves but the whole family.

The response of children regarding their rewards was even more revealing. In table 16, 70.0% of the children are not rewarded for the work they do.

Table 16 : *Distribution of Children Rewarded for the work they do*

Response	Number	%
Rewarded	2	20.0
Not rewarded	7	70.0
Do not work	1	10.0
TOTAL	10	100.0

Source : *Primary Data*

From this table only a paltry 20.0% are rewarded. 10% reported non - involvement in work. It was learnt that the children who reported reward from their work said that once in a while a dress was bought for them, some considered the food they are given to eat as a reward for their work. To these children, they are to work so as to eat or dress ! The children who reported non - rewards gave reasons not different from their parents'. For them, the work they do for their families is not rewardable as it is part of their responsibility as children. To some, this is the assistance they give to parents and do not need any rewards. One boy, however, who is a sand miner in Lisana Sub - Location of Asawo Location revealed the bare truth. He reported that the proceeds of the sand they mine from River Asawo is taken by the father who ends up squandering this money. He reported that the father drinks every day and comes back home late in the night after they had slept (on bare stomachs), yet they get an average KShs. 500 every day !

Table 17 : *Length of time children spend working in the household**(Applied to Parents and Guardians)*

No. of Hours	Number	%
1 - 5	3	10.0
6 - 10	7	23.3
11 - 15	18	60.0
Over 15	2	6.7
TOTAL	30	100.0

Source : Primary Data

The above data shows the number of hours, in a day, that children spend working on household chores. These are chores including laundry work, kitchen work, fetching of wood fuel and water and child care. Of the respondents, a majority 60.0% reported engaging their children for between eleven and fifteen hours in a day. 23% of the parents and guardians reported engaging the children from 6 - 10 hours of work every day. Only 10.0% engaged their children for between one and five hours. Of more concern is the 6.7% of the parents who engage their children for well over 15 hours every day.

In one house, where the researcher stayed for two days, a thirteen year old girl was observed to be involved in a 16 hour day's work ! She woke up at around 6 a.m. and made porridge for the school going children. After that, she ran to the river, rushing, just to catch up with the baby before it woke up at around 9 a.m. As she attended to the baby, she was as well busy preparing lunch for the family. Meanwhile, the mother (not her real mother) had left home as early as 4 a.m. to go and cut papyrus for making mats. This tight schedule of work continued upto eleven o'clock in the night when the girl goes to bed.

Majority of the rural children however work for eleven to fifteen hours a day in the household and for the family.

Other than the direct observation, these figures were confirmed by the children interviewed. Even though their estimates of time was inconsistent, it was reliably learnt, through thorough probing, that about 60% worked for between 13 and 16 hours a day on average.

Table 18 : *Length of time children spend working on economic activities outside the home. (Applied to parents and guardians)*

No. of Hours	Number	%
1 - 5	6	20.0
6 - 10	8	26.7
11 - 15	16	53.5
Over 15 hours	-	-
TOTAL	30	100.0

Source : *Primary Data*

The above table, shows the length of time children spend working in economic activities to fend for their families' livelihood. Such activities included sand mining, craft work, crop cultivation and pastoralism. In this table, a majority of children - as reported by 53.5% of the children spent between eleven and fifteen hours working for the family's livelihood. It was observed that sand mining and rice production took the longest time.

In Rangul Location, a boy was observed to be waking up at five o'clock in the morning to go to the rice farm, five kilometres away, to scare away birds from feeding on the grains. The boy stayed there until it was dark - around 7 o'clock in the evening. Sand mining started even earlier: the work starts

Case
Study

at around four o'clock in the morning and goes sometimes upto seven o'clock - 15 hours of a day's work.

Twenty six percent (26.7%) and twenty percent (20%) reported that their children work for between six and ten hours and one and five hours respectively.

Therefore, tables 17 and 18 reveal one thing. That most children in the rural communities, work for an average 11 to 15 hours in a day either in economic activities outside the home or in the household chores.

4.4 Gender Dimensions on Child Labour

4.4.1 Gender Division of Child Labour

From the data collected from the field, it was learnt that both household chores and economic activities are not just done haphazardly, but there is a pattern of division of labour. The system of dividing labour is more marked along the gender line than along the age line. This gender division of labour however, was more marked along the dichotomy of household chores and economic activities in which there is a larger involvement of girls in household activities than in economic activities, though not exclusively. Boys on the other hand, are more involved in economic activities outside the household than in household chores, again not exclusively though. This can be presented as follows :

Table 19 : *Division of labour in economic activities*

Human Category		Activity						
		Fishing	Crop Cultivation	Livestock Rearing	Trade	Hired Labour	Sand Mining	Crafts (Mats)
Children	Boys	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
	Girls	—	✓	—	✓	✓	—	✓
Adult Siblings	Male	✓	✓	✓	—	✓	✓	✓
	Female	—	✓	—	✓	✓	—	✓
Parents	Fathers	✓	✓	✓	—	✓	✓	✓
	Mothers	✓	✓	—	✓	✓	—	✓

Source : *Primary Data*

The above table shows how labour is divided along the age and gender lines. From this table, fishing as an activity was reported to be a preserve of the males. Thus boys take part in this while girls do not. However, it was reported that mothers go out to fish in the river during drought when the water goes down using baskets. Also during floods they go out fishing in the open floods with their baskets. Girls, it was reported, however, do not take an active part in fishing. Crop cultivation is one activity that was reported to be done by everybody in this area. There is very little gender division of labour here. Livestock rearing was reported to be marked by strict division of labour. Here, it is mainly the males who attend the livestock outside the home. However, it was reported and observed that women take up activities like milking once the cattle returned back home. Here, division of labour also follows the age line. Younger boys of age three to five were reported to be looking after the goats and the sheep while the older ones and the fathers look after the cattle. Division of labour in trade was interesting. Here, both girls and boys were equally involved, for example in sugar cane business. However, a larger presence of girls was observed in this kind of business. Adults in general divided the labour in trade where it is only the women who did the rural trade. This is majorly market trade and trade in mats and fish. The whole family is involved in hired labour. Sand mining is a preserve of the males while making mats was also reported to be done by everybody.

This pattern however was different in the household chores where the lines of gender division of labour are clearly marked.

Girls do the laundry work, child care, fetching woodfuel, fetching water, sweeping and cooking.

Boys do the construction activities in the home, clearing the homestead, cutting the overgrown grass in the lawn, weeding fences and sinking toilets.

However, one observation was made : boys do similar activities with the fathers and their adult male siblings while girls do the same activities done by their mothers and the adult female siblings.

Table 20 : Comparison of the involvement or the amount of work by each gender
(Applied to parents and guardians)

Response	Distribution of response by gender		Row total number	Row percentage (Out of 30 respondents)
	Males (15)	Females (15)		
Boys do more work than girls	11 (73.3%)	5 (33.3%)	16	53.3
Girls do more work than boys	1 (6.7%)	7 (46.7%)	8	26.7
Both boys & girls do equal work	3 (20.0%)	3 (20.0)	6	20.0
Column Total	15 (100%)	15 (100%)		
TOTAL			30	100.0

Source : *Primary Data*

The above table shows the distribution of the views and feelings of prents and guardians regarding the gender that does more work.

In general, 53.3% of the respondents felt that boys generally do more work than girls. Of these, 73.3% of the male respondents (fathers and male guardians) felt that boys actually do more work

compared to girls, while 33.3% of the female respondents (mothers and female guardians) feel the same.

Of all the adult respondents, 26.7% felt that girls do more work than boys. Of these, only a paltry 6.7% of the males as compared to nearly half of the females (46.7%) think that girls do more work than boys.

Twenty percent of the respondents however, felt that boys and girls contribute equally in the activities done. Of these, again 20.0% of both males and females think that the involvement of boys and girls is equal.

These views, of the parents have several implications. The fact that a majority 53.3% think that boys do more work than girls reveals that the society still underrates the work of girls. It still fails to recognise the work done in the household (where incidentally most girls are to be found working) as work. To the society, only work that contributes to the income of the household is work. This is a view shared more by the men (73.3% of them) than the women (33.3% of women).

It is only 26.7% of the respondents who felt that girls do more work. Most of these however turned out to be women. This is most likely because women feel that the household chores are much more than the extra-household economic activities. However, further probing reveal that women are able to recognise that they combine both household and economic activities, thus rationalizing their feeling of women doing more work. One woman in the Kabodho East Sub-Location (Pap - Onditi Location) lamented that while she and her daughter did all the household work, she combined it with her market business (she trades in fish) and at the same time goes to the shamba, the husband and the boys had

only the shamba and the cattle to do. She said she could not complain as this is the work structure that the culture has put in place for them to follow.

Twenty percent of both men and women were able to appreciate the value of the work done by either genders. Mostly, teachers in primary school, people with education, they felt that the work done by both boys and girls are important and none can be underrated.

Which ever way, the view that boys do more work than girls is still stronger.

4.5 Combating Child Labour

The research sought to know whether the society understands that children have their rights which have to be protected, including protection against detrimental child labour; does the society understand child labour as child abuse; does the society think that child labour should be stopped ? and in what ways does the level of education of the parents and guardians influence their understanding of the rights of the child and of child labour in particular as an abuse of the child.

Table 21 : Do children have rights ?

(Applied only to Adult respondents)

Response	Number	%
Yes	12	40.0
No	13	43.3
Don't know	5	16.7
TOTAL	30	100.0

Source : *Primary Data*

The above table shows the response of parents and guardians as to whether children have rights or

not. Initially it was difficult to collect reliable data on this as it could not come out clearly what rights mean, because of problems of translation, in which case there is no one - to - one translation of the word rights into dholuo. However, with slightly lengthy elaboration it finally became clear what child rights means. From then, 43.3 percent of the respondents reported that in their view children have no rights at all. A nearly equal percentage of 40.0% recognised that children have rights. However, 16.7 percent, still could not clearly make clear the meaning of rights or whether or not children have their rights.

To those who reported that children have no rights they said that there is nothing like rights or if there are then children have no rights. One man said : "These children are like our properties, how then do they come to have rights?" He went a little further to say that such things like rights are only to be heard on radio and that the researcher and the government want to introduce politics even into the family. To these people it is the parents who have rights over their children.

Such rights include the right to tell them what to do and to protect them from external aggression. A little further parents have the right of ownership (especially fathers) over their children and no one can take them away, not even their mother !

However 43.3 percent who recognised the rights of the child reported that children have such rights as the "right to good health", education, right to be fed, to be clothed and to be protected from external aggression. To them parents and the society have a responsibility to safeguard its children and their rights.

It is however interesting to note though 43.3% recognise the fact that children have the rights, when

asked to count the rights of the child they know none counted protection against detrimental labour as a right. A probing question which asked, "is the work that children do an abuse of any of these rights?", met unanimous response that the work they do do not form part of their abuse. Only a paltry 13.3 percent (4 respondents) reported that child labour is child abuse.

Table 22 : *Stopping Child Labour (Applied to Adults)*

As to whether child labour should be stopped, the response was as follows :

Response	Number	%
Yes	5	16.7
No	20	66.6
Don't know	5	16.7
TOTAL	30	100.0

Source : *Primary Data*

A majority 66.6 percent think that child labour should not stop while 16.7 percent either do not know or think that it should stop. The lot that reported that child labour should not stop emphasised the necessity of engaging children in work. They recounted the reasons why children should work and these included socialization; it imparts responsibility and discipline in children, and the proceeds of their work help in the families livelihood. More so, children would be lazy if they stopped working, and therefore child labour cannot stop. However, on further probing, the parents were able to appreciate the need to give children work that is manageable.

This therefore means that awareness is greatly lacking and a little reawakening can change minds.

Table 23: *Level of education of parents / guardians and the understanding of rights of the child*

Response	Response per level of education					Row total
	None	Primary 1 - 4	Primary 5 - 8	Secondary	Tertiary	
Children have rights	-	1 (3.3%)	3 (10.0%)	5 (16.7%)	3 (10.0%)	12 (40.0%)
Children do not have rights	3 (10.0%)	5 (16.7%)	3 (10.0%)	2 (6.7%)		13 (43.3%)
Do not know	2 (6.7%)	2 (6.7%)	1 (3.3%)			5 (16.7%)
TOTAL						30(100.0)

Source : *Primary Data*

From the above table, there is no definite trend in the parents' understanding of rights of the child as determined by their level of education. Those with no education at all denied that children have any rights. All of them either reported their children have no right or they were not aware. They however form a significance percentage of the general population - 16.7% of the population. (The percentages in brackets in the above table are out of the total adult sample of 30 respondents). One in every eight people with lower primary (1-4) level of education forming 3.3 percent of the total sample reported that children have rights. Five out of eight people with this level of education reported that children have no rights at all representing 16.7 percent of the total sample of adult respondents. Of these people, two out of eight (1/4) said they were not clear in whether children have rights or not.

For people with five to eight years of primary education the response was almost balanced as 3 out of seven (3/7) reported they were aware of the existence of children's rights representing 10 percent of the total adult sample. The same proportion denied that children have any rights at all. However one in seven (1/7) did not know whether or not children have rights.

People with secondary education had far better knowledge of children's right as 5 out of 7 (5/7)

of them responded to the affirmative, representing 16.7 percent of the total adult sample, only 2/7 of them negated this. Their knowledge of rights of the child is clear cut as none reported lack of knowledge.

All the people with tertiary Education (3/3) however are aware of children's rights and reported this.

This illustrates one thing: That education determines the understanding of child rights. The higher the level of education the better the understanding of the rights of the child. However this is not so clearly marked as from the table, 3/5 of the people with no education and 5/8 of people with up to four years of primary education - almost similar proportions think that children have no rights at all. The same lack of clear and rising trend is seen between people with 5 to 8 years of primary education and those with secondary education where less than half of the people in both categories - 3/7 in the former and 2/5 in the latter - think that children have no rights. This therefore means that it is not education alone that determines the society's understanding of children's rights. Other factors are then responsible for the lack of this understanding on top of lack of or little education in the rural communities.

CHAPTER 5

5.0 FINDINGS AND IMPLICATIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Findings And Implications

Albeit being one of the earliest problems to catch and sustain the attention of the international community and drawing the attention of such world bodies like International Labour Organisation (ILO) and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), child labour to date remains a major societal concern. Surveys aimed at defining the prevalence and magnitude of the problem put the number of children involved at *tens of millions*, yet it is becoming clearer today that much of those surveys have only focused on the very small tip of the iceberg.

While many of these studies have focused so much on child employment in the industrial and especially urban settings, this study, among other anthropological studies is revealing that many children, virtually all, who are born and socialised in the rural communities, especially in the developing countries are subjected to a lot of detrimental child labour. These are children whom, as part of their socialisation, find themselves working for their families and in their households in situations and for reasons that sometimes grossly deny them of their childhood.

This study therefore shows that the failure to adequately map out the shape and the depth of the problem is, above all other reasons, due to the wide ranging variations in definitions of *the child* and of *work* itself. The variations are regional (varying from country to country), but not as much as they are cultural. While the contemporary definitions of the child use age as a determining factor, this study found out that this is not so often the case in many cultures. In the Luo culture, as this study has found out, variables including marital status, economic dependence, physical reproductive features, and acquisition of particular properties define childhood. Therefore, a child is one who is

unmarried, economically (and socially) dependent on other people, has not developed the adult reproductive features and has not acquired certain properties like constructing a house (*simba*). These definitions of a child implies that one ceases to be a child as soon as he or she marries be it at the very young age of ten. Economic independence tends to be prematurely forced on the children and through unnecessarily hard and detrimental labour. More so, changes in sexual characteristics tend to come at the onset of adolescents and sometimes before. However in many cultures, as this study found out, once these characteristics begin to show for example the growth of breast in girls, they are considered as adults and are from then assigned adult roles at the expense of the health, development and, above all, childhood.

From the findings of this study, work, in its true sense, does not only mean remunerated activity contributing directly to the national economy but any activity in which physical and mental powers are applied. In this way work done by children in their families has not always been considered as work because other than their subsistence value they do not go beyond the household.

Yet work done by these children as proved by this study, takes a lot of their time, energy and qualify as work. This by implication means that, of how much or what kind of activity qualifies to be defined as work or child labour varies depending on the cultures understanding of the variables child, and work.

Any attempt of understanding or even combating child labour needs first, and foremost, to discover the root causes and the very socio-cultural determinants. From this study, the root causes of child labour in the rural in the family and domestic set-up include not only poverty, lack of education and shortfall of adult labour force. As the study found out, the very crucial root causes include the

society's prescribed way of socialization which will determine what children have to do as part of this process and the form and nature. The Luo, and by implication many other cultures have participative socialisation where children are drawn up in and actually take part in activities performed by adults in the guise of instilling into them a much needed life skills, knowledge, discipline and responsibility. These are strenuous, heavy and sometimes detrimental activities for which the bodies of the children are not fully developed yet, they are not viewed as child labour, but as part of the normal process of socialisation.

Traditions, customs, and deeply entrenched social patterns, though not given adequate attention today, play a very crucial and deterministic role as far as child labour is concerned. The traditional and customary value of the child, the position of the child in society, obligations to the parents and the larger society, are as well determinant.

One of the findings of this study is that socio - demographic and socio - cultural factors such as the size, composition and type of the family (nuclear, polygamous or extended), number of siblings of the working child, his or her birth position among the siblings, educational attainment of the parents or guardians, and economic activity in which the family is involved determine the degree of involvement of children in labour.

The study has findings on the implications of harduous labour on the development and the welfare of the child. Depending on the form and extent of the activity, child labour can have far reaching implications on the development and the welfare of the child. Work done in unhealthy conditions can affect the health of the child. Physical development can as well be impaired by work done in the body in unnatural positions or with too much strains on the muscles or too heavy loads, leading to

stunted or disproportionate growth in certain parts of the body. As this study shows, rural children working in agriculture, bend for too long either hand planting, weeding or harvesting as was found with rice production. Moreso, rice is grown in conditions of waterlogging and rotten mud full of rotten twigs - conditions not healthy for a growing body by any standards. Education, a primary agent of socialisation is affected by child labour. Children were found to be spending their school time working for their family or they are too tired to concentrate on their studies by the time they go to school. Little time is available for home studies as these are *utilised* in work. Falling standards of education in rural Kenya and particularly Nyanza Province is greatly attributed to this factor. Children who are engaged in child labour, were found to be performing poorer than their counterparts not involved in labour. These children are also exploited economically. While they work long hours, the proceeds of their work does not directly benefit them. It is squandered by their, mostly polygamous fathers or to provide for the entire family.

In as much as child labour is a cultural phenomenon, there are manifest, albeit sometimes implicit gender dimensions of it. These are cultural notions determining who does what in the family. Child labour in rural communities and in the family was found to have its culturally determined gender dimensions that regulate the division of labour by sex. The girl child was found to do more work around the household together with the mother than the boy who goes out to do economic activities in the company of the father. This pattern of division of labour is so deeply entrenched into the culture of the Luos and by implications many cultures that changing the notion is not an overnight activity. While many people recognise and really know the dimensions of this labour arrangement, few really want to appreciate the unfair share of a - day's - work given to the girl child. Most parents and guardians still regarded boys and by extension men as being more involved than girls. Even women shared this opinion. The girl's Development and welfare are thus more at stake, she cannot

also compete on an equal footing with the boy child who has ample time off his duties. This then has implications for the challenge of gender equity. Gender disparities start from the household where the boy has more time to develop his capacity and is allocated, by culture though, activities that broaden his mind as opposed to the girl who apart from having little time of does most off her work locked up within the household.

Finally, the study found out that most people do not understand child rights. They do not know that children like any other human beings have rights. To them children are like properties. More interesting, the study discovered that even though some people (40 percent of the population) understand that children have rights, they do not understand child labour as an abuse of the child but as a normal process of socialisation. This confirms the first hypothesis (H_1) of the study. On stopping child labour, a majority 66.6 % do not want child labour to stop. These imply that while many laws have been drawn at both national and international levels, detailing who the child is and with acts protecting the child from employment, no break through seems possible unless masses are educated on the rights of the child, detriments of child labour and how much work a child should be able to handle.

The whole study proved one thing however; that child labour, in order to understand it adequately, must only be conceptualised in a holistic cultural context if an end to it is discerned.

5.2 Recommendations

Any attempt at finding a solution to or putting an end to a problem should first understand the very root causes and determinants. Being that most, if not all problems that face societies in which people live are basically of human agency, and as such a result of cultural behaviour, any attempt to conceptualize

them must be done within a cultural context. The root cause of child labour lies in the cultural understanding and behaviour of people. Therefore child labour can only be understood through an organized ethnographic study of people concerned. Therefore involvement of ethnologists (who will study the cultural context within which child labour occurs), in child labour surveys and studies are recommended. Anthropological approach to child labour, giving it a human face is the only way through which the problem can be brought down.

Being that majority of people in the countryside are ignorant of children's rights and by extension, labour laws, concerned ministries like Ministry of Labour, Ministry of Culture and Social Services and Ministry of National Heritage should educate people on the rights of the child, and on child welfare. This calls for setting up of local government departments, in these ministries at the local levels to facilitate this civic education.

Laws in Kenya defining the child are scattered in several acts. These laws do define the children differently by age thus giving loopholes to people who want to exploit children. The laws should come clear on one standard definition of the child which applies in all situations.

More so, the law protecting children and regulating child work in Kenya is the *employment act*. However, this legislation does not address child labour in agricultural, domestic and family circles. The laws should thus be amended to consider the great majority of child workers in the rural family setups. Such laws should also define definitely the marriage age.

Education, a primary agent of socialisation has always been taken for granted by parents and guardians of children. They easily pull children out of school at will to go and engage them in labour or

other uneducative ventures. The government should therefore enact laws which make education (at least basic) truly compulsory, putting in place a machinery to monitor school attendance of children and their performance. School inspectors should also take their duties seriously making sure that school attendance and teaching are effected appropriately so as not to give parents and guardians the easy access to the labour of school children at the expense of their much needed education.

More so, education, where necessary, should be restructured to make it relevant to the immediate needs of the society so that it is not seen as a mere waste of time by parents, and it should not lead to emptiness and frustrations but to pre-planned absorption areas. The cost of education should also be reviewed periodically to make education more accessible to the poor so that they don't find it too expensive leading to involvement of children in labour to sometimes subsidise the efforts of the parents and the guardians in educating them.

Economic factors leading to child labour are the most eminently strong factors. Poverty causes child labour. The poor should therefore be empowered economically through initiation of income generating activities and other projects that generate income. This will mean that the labour of children become unnecessary as economic and other needs are easily met.

Ending child labour calls for a strong mobilisation of the society so that all sectors of the society get involved in the movement against child labour. This mobilisation starts with proper permeation of the society. This therefore calls for a greater incorporation of agencies and institutions, whose concern is child welfare, in this crusade. Thus all relevant non governmental organisations in this field are incorporated in the campaign. Mobilisation also comes with a greater use of the media in this line. Media campaigns focusing in child labour should be launched . The use of radio, which is most widely

accessible to rural communities will reach a greater proportions of the society. Trade unions should also speak out on the plight of working children. Lastly the mobilisation should end with children getting involved in speaking out for themselves, against child labour.

5.3 Conclusion

While there is a widespread wish to uncover and put an end to detrimental child labour especially in the developing world, this noble objective may not be realised well into the third millennium which is approaching very fast . The prevalence and magnitude of the problem still remain elusive to the statisticians and labour inspectors who are yet to venture into the actual site of the problem. Virtually all children in their families are subjected to child labour though this information remains inaccessible to the statisticians and inspectors.

As any other societal concern child labour needs a human face. The problem has gone beyond statistics . Being a problem of cultural behaviour, its conceptualisation must only be done within this wide cultural spectrum. In this way, all the cultural forces attendant to the problem including cultural causes and determinants should be laid bare.

Action should follow there immediately. However this has to be done in a systematic manner. The approach must be holistic, addressing all factors related to the problem. This action therefore goes beyond legislative measures. A thorough understanding of the society in question will be necessary in this. This therefore being the situation, calls for immediate anthropological investigation and action.

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INTERVIEW SCHEDULE - 1

(Appropriate for the Adult Population)

Hello :

I am currently conducting a study in order to learn more about children and the work that they do in the domestic and family circles. Your participation and cooperation in this study will be very much appreciated. All the information which you will provide will only be used for this study and will be kept completely confidential.

Thank you.

Location _____

Sub Location _____

Question No. _____

1. What is your name ? _____
2. Sex of the respondent : Male _____ Female _____
3. How old are you ? _____
(Age in completed years) _____
4. What is your marital status ?
 - (i) Single (Never married)
 - (ii) Divorced
 - (iii) Widowed
 - (iv) Married (living together)
 - (iv) Married (living seperately)
 - (iv) Other (specify)
5. What is the type of family you live in ?
 - (i) Single parent
 - (ii) Monogamous (nuclear)
 - (iii) Polygamous
 - (iv) Extended (living with grandparents)
 - (v) Other (Specify)
6. What is the highest level of formal education you attained ?
 - (i) None
 - (ii) Lower Primary (1-4)
 - (iii) Upper Primary (5-8)
 - (iv) Secondary
 - (v) Middle level college
 - (vi) University
 - (vii) Others (specify)
7. How many people, including yourself, are in this family ? _____
8. How many offsprings (children) do you have ? _____
9. Of all your offsprings, how many are still children and how many are adults ?
 - (i) Children _____
 - (ii) Adults _____
10. Of those you classify as children, how many are: girls ? _____ boys : _____

11. What factors do you use to classify them as children and adults ?

- (i) Age
- (ii) Initiation
- (iii) Marital Status
- (iv) Kind of activities they do
- (v) Class in school
- (vi) Others (Specify)

12. What Economic activities does the family do for a livelihood ?

- (i) Fishing
- (ii) Crop cultivation (specify which crop)
- (iii) Livestock rearing
- (iv) Trade
- (v) Hired waged labour
- (vi) Sand mining
- (vii) Handicraft (specify)
- (viii) Others (specify)

13. a) Do your children help you in carrying out these activities ?

Yes _____ No _____

b) If Yes, then how are these activities divided among the family members ?

Human Category		Activity							
		Fishing	Crop Cultivation	Livestock	Trade	Hired Waged Labour	Sand Mining	Handicraft	Others
Children :	Boys								
	Girls								
Adults :	Male								
	Female								
Parents :	Mothers								
	Fathers								
Others :	Male								
	Female								

c) Of the economic activities that children help in, what work particularly do they do ?

- (i) Fishing
- (ii) Crop cultivation : Crop _____
What they do _____
- (iii) Livestock rearing
- (iv) Trade
- (v) Hired labour
- (vi) Sand mining
- (vii) Handicraft : Craft _____

What they do _____

(viii) Others (specify)

d) If NO in (a) above, then why don't the children help ?

- (i) Still too young for work
- (ii) Adequate adult manpower
- (iii) They do go to school
- (iv) Other (Specify)

e) At what times of the day/week do the children help you in these activities ?

- (i) Morning
- (ii) In the day
- (iii) Evening
- (iv) Night
- (v) Weekend
- (vi) Others (Specify)

14. a) Do your children help you in household activities ?

Yes _____ No _____

b) If Yes, why do they help ?

- (i) Traditionally children should help
- (ii) Short adult labour supply
- (iii) Way of socialization
- (iv) They develop a sense of responsibility
- (v) As a discipline
- (vi) Children like and opt to work
- (vii) Others (specify)

c) How are these activities divided among the family members ?

Human Category		Activities
Children :	Boys	
	Girls	
Adult siblings :	Male	
	Female	
Parents :	Mothers	
	Fathers	
Others :	Male	
	Female	

d) If No in (a) above, why don't the children help you ?

- (i) Still too young for work
- (ii) Adequate adult manpower
- (iii) They do go to school
- (iv) Other (Specify)

15. Of the work that children do, when do they start it and when does it end ?

a) Economic activities

Start _____

End _____

b) Household Chores

Start _____

End _____

16. a) Do your children attend school ?

Yes _____ No _____ Some (specify)

b) Of the children who go to school, when do they do their work ?

(i) Early in the morning before school

(ii) After school

(iii) Absenting them from school

(iv) Over the weekends

(v) In the night

(vi) Others (Specify)

c) If No in (a) above, why don't they go to school ?

(i) Financial constraints

(ii) They help in work

(iii) No reason of going

(iv) Too young for school

(v) Others (Specify)

17. Do children need supervision or accompaniment of an adult when doing their work ?

a) Economic activities Yes _____ No _____

b) Domestic/household activities Yes _____ No _____

18. a) Do you reward the children for the work they do ?

Yes _____ No _____

b) If Yes, in what way do you reward ?

c) If No, why don't you reward them ?

19. a) Have any of the children suffered a health problem in the course of their work or after ? Yes _____ No _____

b) If Yes, of what nature was the problem ?

(i) Physical injury

(ii) Headache

(iii) Stomach ache

(iv) Cold & flu

(v) Others (Specify)

c) Did you take him/her for medical attention ?

Yes _____ No _____

20. According to your culture, who is a child ?

21. a) In your culture, should the people defined as children work ?

Yes _____ No _____

b) Give reasons for or explain your answer above

22. If children don't work, what can happen to them ?

23. a) Do children have rights ?

Yes _____ No _____ I don't know _____

b) If Yes, count some that you know

c) Is the work that children do an abuse of any of these rights ?

Yes _____ No _____

d) If No in (a) above, why don't they have any ?

24. In your culture, when does one stop being defined as a child ?

25. a) Is involvement of children in work in any way related to their life in adulthood ? Yes _____ No _____

b) Explain your answer

26. a) In your view of the male and female child, which one does more work ?

Male

Female

Explain your answer

c) Is this right ? Yes _____ No _____

d) If (i) Yes, why ?

(i) No, why ?

27. a) Have the children complained in any way about their work ?

Yes _____ No _____

b) If Yes, what was the complaint ?

If No, can you explain why ?

29. Has anybody talked to you about child labour before, who is in a position of authority ? Yes _____ No _____

30. a) Do you think child labour should stop ? Yes _____ No _____

b) (i) If Yes, why should it stop ?

(ii) How can it be stopped ?

c) If No, why should it not stop ?

Thank you.

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE - 11

(Appropriate for the child)

Location _____ Sub Location _____ Questionnaire No. _____

1. What is your name ? _____
2. Sex of the respondent : Male _____ Female _____
3. How old are you ? (Age in completed years) _____
4. Do you go to school ??
Yes _____
No. _____
5. (a) If yes, in what class are you ?
(b) What was your position in class in the last two examinations you did ?
 Former _____
 Latter _____
(c) What do you do when you are not in school
 (i) Play
 (ii) Work
 (iii) Sleep
 (iv) Visit
6. If No in 4 above, why don't you go ?
 (i) Financial constraints
 (ii) Work at home
 (iii) No reason of going
 (iv) Too young for school
 (v) Others (specify)
7. Whom do you stay with ?
 (i) Father
 (ii) Mother
 (iii) Both parents
 (iv) A relative
 (v) Others (Specify).
8. a) How many siblings do you have ?
b) What is your birth position ?
9. What do your parents, e.t.c. do for a living ?
10. Do you help you parents, e.t.c. with any work.
a) At home? Yes _____ No _____
b) Outside the home? Yes _____ No _____
11. a) If Yes, what do you do
 (i) at home ?
 (ii) Outside the home ?
b) When do you start your work
 (i) at home ?
 (ii) Outside the home ?
c) When do you end your work

(i) at home ?

(ii) Outside the home ?

d) If NO in 10 above, why don't you help your parents in work ? ,

(i) Still too young for work

(ii) Adequate adult humanpower

(iii) Go to school

(iv) Others (specify).

12. a) Do you have friends ? Yes _____ No _____

b) If Yes, what do you do together ?

c) When do you do these together ?

d) If No, why don't you have friends ?

13. How do you feel when you are going about your work ?

(i) Nothing

(ii) Tired

14. Do you take breaks in the course of the work ?

Yes

No.

15. How do you feel after work ?

(i) Dizzy

(ii) Sick

(iii) Tired

(iv) Normal

16. a) Are you rewarded for doing the work ?

Yes _____ No _____

b) If Yes, in what way ?

c) If No, why are you not rewarded ?

17. a) Are you satisfied with the work you do ?

Yes _____ No. _____

b) Explain your answer

18. a) When you don't feel good after work, do you tell anybody ?

b) If Yes, who do you tell.

c) If No, why don't you tell

19. a) Have you been sick in the recent past ?

b) If Yes, were you treated ?

Yes

No

20. What is done to you if you don't do your work ?

21. a) Is there a friend of yours who does not work ?

Yes

No

b) If Yes, what was his/her positions in class over the last two examinations ?

Former _____

Latter _____

Thank you.