

**BODO UNIVERSITY COLLEGE**  
**FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**

**A Study of the Experiences of Domestic Child Labour among Primary School Children whose Parents are in the Formal or Informal sector.**

*(The case of Itigi Ward in Manyoni District- Singida Region in Tanzania)*

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## **Abstract**

The study aimed at developing an understanding of the attitudes and experiences of child labour among the primary school children whose parents were in the formal or informal sectors. It was hypothesized that the rights of the children were being abrogated and abused through domestic and field labour and that children whose parents were in the formal or informal sectors had different attitude and experiences toward the labour they performed. Also, it was thought that Child labour might have different implications on the rights of the child.

In Africa and Tanzania in particular child labour in all its forms is a burning issue requiring attention for stakeholders. However, the attitudes of the children themselves towards such Worst Forms of Child Labour- (WFCL) which they engage with have rarely been discussed.

This study has employed qualitative methods of research for collecting and analyzing the data. Three categories were identified during data analyses which were useful for examining the attitudes of the children towards the labour they performed. These are: first, **Institutionalization** this embraces all the things that are related to Socialization and Inculcation. That is the whole range of child development and care within and outside the family institution. Also, the agro-pastoralist lifestyle subcategory came under the category of institutionalization to entail the child labour phenomenon. Secondly, **Welfare coping strategies** which entails the attitudes of the primary school children in relation to family size, locality and the economy of the household; thirdly, **Modernization and development** in which the consideration of the attitudes based on the desire to acquire things and participate in modern social affairs, peer influences, and the emerging urban values.

It was found that the attitudes of the primary school children towards the WFL they performed were embedded within the social institutions necessary for the welfare of the family, household and the community. Itigi being among the emerging urban areas was found to be hit by the forces of modernization and development which were also realized to have negative impact and implication not only on the attitudes of the children but also on their own

rights. In the course of development in the Tanzanian society, the processes of urbanization and modernization were reported to be the main factors for children to engage in WFCL leading to self abusing of their rights including that of accessing and getting formal education.

A combination of factors including poverty, ignorance, the diminishing role of the extended family and many others, all resulting from the urbanization processes taking place in the area, were reported to contribute to the abrogation of the rights of the children leaving them with the WFCL as their last resort for their amenities.

There was a need to empower parents and families (kin, friends and neighbors) at large. These are the frontier for the realization of the basic needs of children and hence, have the primary responsibility to stop them from doing abusive domestic chores and heavy and disastrous field activities. Social workers should find ways of combining the emerging categories so as to help solving the persisting problem of Child Labour.

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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATION**

- WFCL- Worst Forms of Child Labour
- WFL- Worst Forms of Labour
- URT- United Republic of Tanzania
- CHODAWU- The Conservation, Hotels, Domestic and Allied Workers Union
- ILO- International Labour Organization
- IPEC- International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour.
- SIMPOC- Statistics Information & Monitoring Programme on Child Labour
- ANPPCAN- African Network to Prevent and Protect Children Against Abuse and Neglect.
- TAWLA- Tanzania Women Lawyers Association
- UN- United Nations
- UNICEF United Nations International Children’s Fund
- TDHS Tanzania Demographic and Health Survey
- TFR Total Fertility Rate
- FAO United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization
- TSHs Tanzania Shillings
- HIV /AIDS Human infectious Virus/ Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
- NSGRP National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty
- WEO Ward Executive Officer

## **CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION**

The problem of child labour in Tanzania is part of African traditional rural culture and has existed across cultures. Child labour is characterized by a heavy workload, very long working hours, physical and often sexual abuse, neglect harassment and exploitation. Children work either at domestic level or in fields like mining and agriculture. The International Labour Organization (ILO) and Tanzania Government have been close partners in dealing with this issue. From 1993 the ILO offices through its International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC) started to collaborate with Tanzania Government in dealing with Child Labor problem. IPEC supports Tanzania financially, morally and materially to ensure total elimination of child labour in all its forms (ILO/IPEC/Tanzania, 1997).

It is a complex phenomenon which is contributed to by a number of factors ranging from social, economic and cultural, all contributing to the supply and demand of child labour. Tanzania as a developing country with low economic power, low technology associated with poor saving and investments for most of her citizens still use children as means of labour. The modernization taking place in Tanzania, particularly with the free market economy which has opened doors for private investors from outside the country, has resulted in immigration of people particularly the youth from rural to urban and urbanizing areas like Itigi in search for employment. Since, a number of these young boys and girls are not skilled for specific jobs, they end up undertaking WFCL which deny and abuse their rights.

According to the Child Labour Country Report 2000/2001 Integrated Labour Force and Child Labour Survey (2001) it was reported that in Tanzania there were 11, 965, 146 children aged 5-17 years on mainland Tanzania. Of these, a total of 777, 708 children aged below 15 were counted as child labourers, while 153, 654 children worked more than 4 hours per day. Over 22% of the children reported working more than 40 hours per week or more than 6 hours per day. Nearly 23% of the working children reported illness that may be work related (breathing problems, anaemia, back pain, in addition to common cold and fever). As many as 893, 531 working children were estimated to have sustained injuries in the twelve months preceding the survey (URT/ ILO/IPEC 2000-2001: 75-76).

The so-called child labour in Tanzania is found in many areas and forms including in agriculture, mines, construction, sometimes working in bars and guest houses etc. However, ILO/CHODAWU, (2001:1) found that *child domestic work is one of the most common forms of child labour in many countries including Tanzania*. It was observed that *domestic child labor is characterized by a heavy workload, very long working hours, physical and often sexual abuse, general neglect and harassment as well as exploitation* (ILO-IPEC/CHODAWU: 2001:1). So, Tanzania, like many other African countries, in 2001 ratified ILO convention No. 182 of 1999 on the elimination of WFCL, but still there are obstacles to attain this goal. Some of the obstacles include the poverty which remains more severe in the rural than in urban areas, marital problems leading to poor child care and socialization as well as HIV/ AIDS that leave a number of helpless orphans and widows. All these and many others make people particularly children create ways of living where for most of the poor family child labour is the major option.

Many studies at national and regional levels have focused on the causes, types and consequences of Child Labour. This is partly indicated by ILO/SIMPOC- Tanzania in its country report of 2000/2001 where various studies on different areas and types of child labour in Tanzania have been made. Nonetheless, there has been no much exploration on the experiences and attitudes of the children involved at the domestic and field levels. The situation remains the same as documented by the African Network for the Prevention and Protection against Child Abuse and Neglect- ANPPCAN through the ANPPCAN Tanzania Chapter. Altogether, most of the studies seem to have concentrated on child labour among children where the majority are out of school (ibid.) and have been more quantitative by nature trying to give figures of children who are involved in child labor.

In Tanzania it is not unusual to realize that most of the school children, especially at primary school level, come from families where the parents or guardians are engaged either in the formal or informal sector (URT National Employment Policy: ---p1). These are the main sectors under which a number of sub-sectors can be found like the mining sector, industrial sector (processing and manufacturing), agricultural sector, education sector, health sector, small industrial sector etc. Whether voluntarily or by force, children engage in those sectors doing activities of which some are good while others are hazardous for them, hence the possibility attaching negative attitudes and perceptions.

The study was expected to unveil the covert attitudes and meanings the children themselves give to such labour which they provide particularly the kind of work which seem either to be beyond their



age or mental and physical capacity hence, interrupting with their normal mental and physical growth and development. The study has concentrated on the exploration of the experiences and attitudes accumulated by the primary school children from their involvement in domestic chores which tend to encompass some field activities like farming and grazing of tamed animals commonly cows, goats, sheep and, camels as well as mining activities. The idea behind is that such activities abrogates some of their rights as children and interferes with school progress; and that the children and parents are either aware or unaware about it.

It should be remembered that not all forms of child work are harmful; some are legitimate and beneficial for both children and the society as a whole. For instance, it is good that children learn by practices how to perform home chores like cooking, washing utensils and clothes, farming (especially in the rural areas) etc. Also, it is beneficial for children to engage in income generation like selling fruits during ripe season, digging and selling gypsum, working for wages, selling milk for pastoralists etc. But it is beyond reasonable doubt that upon doing these works some children are notably abused together with their rights in the respect of the standard conventional by ILO. Therefore, the study anticipated to identifying different “worst forms of domestic and field works” that children performed. It also aimed at uncovering the implication of child labour towards their rights leading to ascertain the perceptions and experiences.

Furthermore, the study examined the extent to which the respondents were either informed or not about the “rights of the children” according to the Charter of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child of 1989. In turn, this would help to discover the connection between the WFCL and the attitude attached to it by the primary school children who perform them.

Besides, there was a supposition that children whose parents were workers in the formal sectors stood a greater chance of hiring a house worker than it would be for the parents in the informal sectors. This was due to the fact that the latter have unreliable income hence; need to examine their level of satisfaction. In Tanzania especially in the rural areas, it is common to find children performing various domestic activities of which some are beyond their age, or are harmful to their health physically, socially, culturally and the general mental development (ILO/IPEC and TAWLA paper).

Moreover, domestic child labour which sometimes might be covered under the name of child domestic work affects not only girls but also boys. At the community level the domestic child work

are normally considered as part of socialization. As commented by Groves (2001: 166- 167) in pre-colonial times, child work was an essential part of community survival strategies as well as an important part of the informal and socialization process. Nonetheless, such activities ought to be part of the WFCL as far as they can deny children with enough time for playing or accessing formal education. It should however be remembered that the ideas of child labour and rights of the child are Eurocentric concepts coming to the developing world with the wind of Internationalization. Before this movement, children in the traditional society used to perform varieties of activities and none saw it as torturous or inflicting some pains or as an abuse to the children. But, to let the truth speak, it is obvious that some of the works done by the children are harmful and to the extent of endangering their well being.

Moreover, it can not be rejected that children play a major role contribution to the economy at local and national levels. In Tanzania, many children particularly those from poor informal sector families- especially families of peasants, are sometimes bound to perform heavy workloads. These include making and carrying bricks, digging-up deep bore waterholes, walking a number of kilometers in the bushes and forest in search for fuel woods, all aiming at raising the income of their families. The main research question is what is the attitude and feelings of the children themselves while doing such activities?

Most families are found to involve children in many activities right from home to the fields. For them this is seen as part of upbringing necessary for their children. And for a greater part of the agro-pastoralists what is valued is the increase and safety of the stock of animals, such that it is prestigious to have children staying at home, tending for grazing animals, selling animal products like milk, and butter and all that is related to it. But then, the issue of children rights is a new phenomenon which is accompanied by modernization and urbanization. In this processes whereby all children of the school age are supposed to be registered and attending school, parents respond negatively. That is, parents would like to go on with their former cultural values and norms which favor their children to engage fully in domestic and field activities. On the contrary, the government and other stakeholders for children rights want children to be registered and attend schools and get other rights related to them as children.

It is, for instance, the favor of parents to see that girls fetch dowry and assist with domestic chores while the boys support in grazing animals and some other field related activities. A number of parents

particularly in the rural still see their children as 'investment' in old age security for themselves and other dependant household members. On the contrary, parents feel insecure when children are taken or go away from their home in pursuance of formal education as propagated by the national and International community. Also, because of the insecure state which results from poverty, parents look at school and the whole of formal education system as their enemy because it denies them with the right to use children as broad sources of family income.

At such a point the traditional cultural values and norms crushes with the new forces including the standard conventions by the ILO on various aspects related to the rights of the child. The roles of the Non- Governmental Organizations, Community Organizations and donors on matters related to child protection and particularly that of elimination of WFCL, become the enemies of the people who formerly used their children in such WFL. In fact, the awareness of children rights seems to evolve over time. Children are now viewed less as passive objects of adult concern and more as human beings with rights of their own. The concepts about children and childhood, including what is and not permissible for children of different ages, maturity and gender vary widely across and within countries and cultures; there is no 'universal' child.

Consequently, some questions need to be asked regarding the activities whether children do them at their own discretion and without jeopardizing their rights. If they act out of their own will, how about their rights as children, are they maintained without interference? And to what extent is their free will a cultural product? Do they really understand the demarcation between the kinds of activities that could be acceptable for them to do even as part of socialization and loyalty to their parents and those which are harmful for them?

Even so, it was expected that there would be differing attitudes and perceptions among primary school children whose parents were in the formal or informal sectors. It was presupposed that the two categories of children were surrounded by different home socioeconomic and cultural background. The former group was expected to have more time to engage in school affairs and perform less domestic chores than it could be for the latter group. This was due to the fact that the former group stood greater chance of hiring a home servant because they have a reliable source of income- salary. This was not expected to happen to the latter group whose income was thought to be unreliable depending on day to day's manual labour. The former group had been affected by the culture of valuing formal education more than the latter group whose culture was inclined to favoring children's

work rather than children education. The latter culture can be said to have affected and abused the rights of the children.

In the course of the study, the following research hypotheses were formulated that: 1). The Rights of the child are abused through “worst forms of domestic labour;” 2) Children whose parents are in the formal sector and in the informal sectors have different attitudes toward the “worst forms of domestic and field labour,” 3) Domestic and field labour have negative implications on the rights of the child and school performance. Altogether, the main aim of the study was to develop an understanding of the experiences of and attitudes towards child labour among primary school children whose parents are engaged in formal or informal sectors. It is worth noting that most of the children in Tanzania who are of school age, between seven and fifteen or sixteen years, engage in various activities of which some are WFCL. Such activities are e.g. selling in bar, commercial sex, spending the whole day long dealing with innumerable domestic chores etc. Some of the outstanding reasons given are attributed to the prevalent pervasive and deep income poverty within families. These families are also faced with the emerging urban values which results from the forces and processes of modernization. The combination of these factors prompt families to using children as tools for income generation to supplement the household income. Thus, children find themselves engaged in hazardous and sometimes WFL, yet they continue to withstand in order to earn a living for themselves and the family at large. It was expected that children involved in such activities developed a kind of experiences, perception and attitude while performing them. This is the basis for this study.

The significance of the study findings is to contribute to knowledge development especially in the field of social sciences particularly in social work. This is because, by understanding the attitudes developed by the primary school children who are engaged in WFCL, it can help social workers dealing with children’s rights to address the matter with clarity. Also, it can be easier to develop policy, programs and plans suitable for dealing with child labour hence, create a good environment for realization of their rights.

In this chapter, I have introduced the main aims, hypotheses and expectations of this study. I have also presented the challenges facing primary school children in Tanzania and the significance of doing this study. In the next chapter I am going to present the general situation of child labour with the objective of creating a base for understanding the situation world wide and at the National level-Tanzania.

## **CHAPTER TWO: GENERAL SITUATION OF CHILD LABOUR**

The previous chapter was an introduction for the greater picture of child labour in the course of societal development looking at the situation facing the primary school children whose parents are engaged in the formal or informal sector. This was done in relation to the chores children perform at home and sometimes in the fields and the resulting experiences and perceptions that eventually called the need for this study. In this part, I will present the general situation of child labour in the world, in Africa and in Tanzania.

### **2:1 World view**

The International Labour Organization (ILO) (2006) estimates that there are 218 million working children aged between five and seventeen. 126 million are estimated to work in the Worst Forms of Labour (WFL) - one in every 12 of the world's five to 17 years old. The estimates also show that 74 million children under 15 years of age are in hazardous work and should be "immediately withdrawn from this work" (2006). 8.4 million Children are in slavery, trafficking, debt bondage and other forms of forced labour, forced recruitment for armed conflict, prostitution, pornography and other illicit activities (2002).

Moreover, ILO reports that child labour is a serious problem in the world today. According to its revised estimates by the ILO Bureau of Statistics, the number of working children between the ages of 5 and 14 is at least 120 million where the majority of them are found in the less developed countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America (ILO/IPEC- Child labour Report 1996-20019). Poverty is suggested to be the leading explanation onto the reason why children work. These kinds of labour render children with negative attitudes towards schooling and compel them to prefer working to schooling. This is common among children from low income families. They end up valuing money because of the prevailing economic material conditions

### **2:2 African views**

The Tanzania Minister of State in the Prime Minister's Office, William Lukuvi told the Parliament in 15<sup>th</sup> June 2001 that, *[...] efforts would be done to combat WFCL like prostitution, mining, pornography and engaging children in war... He said about 32 percent of children in Africa are*

*being involved in child labour as 63 countries have ratified the ILO's convention number 182 of 1999 that calls for an immediate halt to child labour, a report by Mwalongo, (June, 2001), TOMRIC News Agency in Dar es Salaam- Tanzania. The report depicts that African countries have a long way to go in order to solve the problem of Child labour. Children are still used and exposed to hazardous and harmful activities leading to an urgent need to address it for the betterment of children.*

### **2:3 Situation of child labour in Tanzania**

According to Mwalongo (2001), TOMRIC News Agency (Dar es salaam) while reporting on one of the report given by the Tanzania Minister of State in the Prime Minister's Office during one of the Parliament sessions regarding the war against child labour , he said that it was reported by the minister that , *the efforts to fight against child labour comes when preliminary data from the first round of the 2000-2001 Child Labour Survey (CLS) in Tanzania suggest that about 40.2 percent of an estimated 10.2 million of school age children are partly not attending school, most of them are instead, engaged in economic activities or in house keeping.* One might be shocked with such report because Tanzania has a compulsory Universal Primary Education (UPE). The issue is, most of the people are poor living below the National poverty line of less than 1US\$ per day. Schools are free but such people cannot afford even the little expenses like buying school uniform and some other school requirements, hence; accelerate school drop- outs among children.

However, according to the Child Labour in Tanzania Country Report 2000/2001 Integrated Labour Force and Child Labour Survey (2001) it was reported that in Tanzania there were 11, 965, 146 children aged 5-17 years only on the mainland. Of these, 4, 735, 528 (39.6%) were reported to have worked in economic activities, while 5, 721, 496 (47.8%) were engaged in housekeeping activities. **A total of 777, 708 children aged below 15 were counted as child labourers, while 153, 654 children worked more than 4 hours per day. Over 22% of the children reported working more than 40 hours per week or more than 6 hours per day.** Nearly 23% of the working children reported illness that may be work related (breathing problems, anaemia, back pain, in addition to common cold and fever). As many as 893, 531 working children were estimated to have sustained injuries in the twelve months preceding the survey (URT and ILO/IPEC 2000-2001: 75-76).

Additionally, about 3, 203, 462 out of 4, 987, 615 children aged 5 and 9 years surveyed were not attending school. Only 426,600 out of 4,987,615 children surveyed were schooling Moreover, 1, 508, 120 out of 4, 987, 615 children surveyed were neither engaged in economic nor non-economic

activities and 4, 735, 528 out of 4, 987, 615 children surveyed were engaged in labour especially in rural areas (URT, Strategies for Elimination of Child Labour, 2005:2).

Apart from that, several studies regarding child labour in its worst forms have been and still is been undertaken in Tanzania by several private, national and International Organizations all trying to depict the areas and conditions and implications of it to the children and also trying to suggest some solutions. This is well grounded on line by IPEC/ SIMPOC/ Tanzania reports regarding child labour trying to show how the works done by the children appear to be WFCL.

The children are reported to engage in so many types of activities including working commercial agriculture like in tobacco farms, horticulture sector which is very common in areas like Arumeru District in Arusha, Tea plantations and farms in Njombe, Rungwe and Lushoto Districts, Coffee plantations and farms in areas including Karatu District and Tukuyu and Moshi rural District. Also, it is common for children to work in commercial sex particularly in all the emerging urban and urban areas like Dar es salaam particularly Kinondoni Municipal which occupies the heart of Dar es salaam City with every kind of social attraction, then Arusha, Mwanza, Mbeya Dodoma, Morogoro and Songea just to name a few. Children are also reported to work in Mining and quarrying. Other wise, domestic child labour is most common in many parts of Tanzania especially in urban areas where children work at home as babysitters at the same time ensuring security for the properties of their employers while they are away from home.

Nonetheless, children perform also some activities which are non- harmful. These can be exemplified by domestic works that children do while helping with family chores provided that they do not go beyond their ability and age. Also, it would be any kind of work which is not harmful to the child in any way including any work which is done as part of training, like cooking, digging or cleanliness. The work should not inflict or cause any detrimental effect to the child which in turn would abuse or abrogate the rights of the child.

The above areas in which children provide labour in Tanzania turns into WFCL when it comes to terms of working where children work for many hours, almost for the whole week and month long, low payments even not paid as such but given just a motivation like food or cloth. Also, in most of the activities children work with poor or without proper working tools exposing them to so many risks pertaining to their health, mental, physical and general psychosocial well being. The

information has revealed that child labour and its worst forms is a major problem surrounding children in Tanzania particularly primary school children aged 7- 15 years.

This chapter has shown the general situation of child labour worldwide, in Africa and in particular at country level in Tanzania, because the study took place in one of her regions- Singida Region. I have shown statistics on the magnitude of the phenomena and the most probable areas in which child labour in Tanzania, in its worst forms as suggested by the ILO, takes place. This has shown how Child Labour is widespread in the world. Now I am going to depict a theoretical framework which will guide the study.



## CHAPTER THREE: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

The previous chapter gave an overview picture of the child labour situation in the world, in Africa and also in Tanzania where the study took place. This chapter will present a theoretical framework which will guide this study as a reference frame for argumentation. It imparts something which helps to explain the processes of modernization and urbanization.

Giddens (2006: 405- 408) in his attempt to expound theories used to explain the processes of development has dared to elucidate modernization theory as one of them. The theory propounded by Rostow claims that low- income societies can develop economically only if they give up their traditional ways and adopt modern economic institutions, technologies and cultural values that emphasize savings and productive investment (The Take- off Stage). According to the theory, traditional culture tends to support fatalism- a value system that views hardship and suffering as the unavoidable plight of life. In this way, people are said to lose hope of life and withdraw from the spirit of hardworking and being thrifty in order to overcome their fate (ibid, 408).

However, literatures show that child labour has been a common phenomenon even in today's developed nations. Morgan (2004: 15) narrates that *juvenile labour was common in Britain throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries...* He emphasized that *despite increased number of schools by early 19<sup>th</sup> century in Britain, they did not bring regular attendance and many manufacturing and agrarian tasks still demanded child labour.*

Another study by Mathias (2001:179) tells us *that changing conditions of employment have to be related to their context before they can be evaluated historically. He cautions that any commentator has to remember the very poor standards existing before industrializing begin.*

Mathias (ibid, p180) noted that in the early stages of modernization the age structure of population was characterized with high birth rates and high death rates. He then saw that *a very high proportion of dependants existed at the same time as production and productivities were low...Women's and children's labour was virtually inescapable and universal in these economic circumstances, where the opportunity for it existed.*

Nevertheless, the modernization process in Tanzania can be said to have reached take-off to economic growth as some individuals, organizations and companies are now saving and investing money for the future. However, the process is gradual and uneven. The World Bank Country Report

of Tanzania shows that Tanzania is one of the poorest countries in the world. Her Per Capita Income in 2005 was estimated to be at about US\$ 330 with Life expectancy at birth standing at only 46 years. But still people now have started to see the value of saving and investing which is a good indicator for economic development of individuals and the country as a whole.

Moreover, Lugalla in one of the Online Journal for African Studies, detailed that *Tanzania has equalled development with modernization, which is a social process equated with Westernization. This path of development runs against national ability, values and traditions. The emphasis on Westernization is leading to resource constraints; it is now proving difficult for Tanzania to provide the basic necessities of life to everybody. Hence, modernization can be identified as benefiting only the privileged* (Lugalla: 1995)

Generally, in Tanzania, the process of modernization which go together the spread of urban values, is taking place more at the macro-economic than at the micro- economic level (as reported by the World Bank in 2005) to which the rural and urban poor majority particularly women and children belong. Lugalla (ibid) reported that *policies which emphasize the improvement of rural conditions of life have been very rare...If one looks at the history of development in Tanzania, one notes that during the period characterized by Ujamaa policies, which can roughly be considered as the period between 1967 to the late 1970s, Tanzania attained a variety of successes in social development initiatives. Private schools and hospitals were nationalized; the government began providing free education and health care services. Through the primary health care development strategy, the government built many rural health centers and many secondary and primary schools. The budget for social services was enormous. As a result, literacy rates rose, access to education and health care increased for the majority of the people, and the standard of living improved.*

Altogether, Tanzania is now in her early stages of development and modernization. At the Macro level the World Bank country report of Tanzania (Op cit) reported that *The Tanzania's economic performance was recommendable where the real GDP growth rate averaged 6.9 percent since 2001 and was 7.0 percent in 2005. Mining and construction are the fastest growing sectors, with growth rate of 15.6 and 11 percent in 2004, respectively. Agriculture, which contributes to 46 percent of Tanzania's GPD and affects 81 percent of Tanzania's poor, grew 6 percent in 2004. Growth is projected to reach 7.2 percent in 2006. In 2002 the urbanization was reported to cover 34 percent*

while the rural covered 64 percent. At the same time, the Least Developed Countries (LDCs) of which Tanzania is one of them was reported by Tibaijuka, Dr. Anna Kajumulo (2003), the Executive Director of United Nations Habitat to be facing an average 5 percent annual rate of urbanization.

However, poverty still weighs heavily on the rural dwellers such that it was shown by Sameji, R.J (2005) a paper on line that the proportion of poor rural households was 36%, compared to 18% in Dar es Salaam and 26% in other urban areas. Also, the process of development and modernization, which exhibit the economic reforms of the middle 1980s and 1990s to date, seems not to redress the actual Tanzanian situation. The free market economy and trade liberalization has positively led to mushrooming of foreign investments concurrently leading to the decline of the agricultural sector together with the small- scale industries. In the reform process a good number of Tanzanians are being retrenched through cut back policy. The process renders classes with few people holding the economy while the majority rural and urban poor remain to be poor.

The process has led Tanzania into socioeconomic and political crisis including an increasing number of youth unemployment, street children, child labour in all its forms, commercial sex, etc. They are accelerated by the decline in agriculture as the backbone of the National economy together with the removal of agricultural subsidies in the 1990s being one of the conditionality of Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP), hence, poverty alleviation is becoming difficult to manage. Additionally, the lack of access to land and the marginalization in rural areas compel many young people to urban areas. Otherwise, issues like poor access to credit, poor infrastructure and poor market information hinder the process more seriously in the rural areas like in Singida region in which the study was conducted than it is in the urban.

In spite of the process of modernization explained above, Singida region in which the study took place is one of the regions in Tanzania which lag behind in the process as compared to other regions like Dar es salaam, Mwanza, Arusha and Mbeya cities. The region is still characterized at large by rural features with high reliance on agro- pastoralism rather than manufacturing and processing industrial activities which is the case in the above mentioned regions. The findings from Singida revealed that majority of the residents in the region (97%) relied mostly on pastoralism and agriculture for their survival while the mining sector accounted for 2% and the industrial sector occupied 0.3%. The situation makes Singida region and its people differ from other regions like Dar

es salaam, Arusha and Mwanza where the industrial and mining sectors are being established paving a way to people to have a diversification of economy.

These processes backed by modernization theory have some implications on children particularly the primary school ones. A report on child Labour Survey conducted by the Ministry of Labour, Youth and Sports in collaboration with ILO-IPEC of 2000- 2001 revealed that the participation rate of children aged 5- 17 years in economic activities was highest in rural areas (45.7%) compared to Dar es salaam (6.5%) and Other urban areas (20.0%). In rural areas 34% of children worked compared to 11% of children in urban areas who worked. This denotes that within the process of modernization and urbanization going on in Tanzania children are affected most.

Children are actively involved in the provision of labour in all sectors of the economy including mining, agriculture, construction etc. It is no wonder to say that the type of economy in which children in Singida- Itigi are involved with, do not render them with clear skills with which to apply in their future lives. It is possible to find children serving as bar maids today and tomorrow working in cafés and the next day as babysitters or having nothing to do at all. Otherwise, the primary school syllabus in Singida and Tanzania at large does not incorporate topics which would enable children at their completion of standard seven to have a job oriented skills. The era requires people to have modern skills and technology like computer skills, but children in almost all public primary schools in Tanzania end up with general knowledge rather than skills which are needed for the better economy of them and the nation. So, children are not prepared to confront the competitive modern economy, but to stand still with the traditional ways of doing things.

This theoretical approach suggests that traditional culture cause people to lose hope of life as well as the spirit of hardworking and thriftiness. It can be true or not. The theory suggests that people give up their traditional ways of doing things and adopt modern economic institutions, technologies and cultural values which emphasize savings and productive investment. But it should not be forgotten that, traditionally most families in Africa and Tanzania- Singida has traditionally been using children as one of their means of labour both at home and in the fields. The urge to abandon using them advocated by the modernization theory would mean that families will lack an important tool for its growth and sustenance socially and economically.

The theoretical framework fails to capture the true life of the rural and even the urban poor people who cannot meet their daily bread because of abject poverty. It does not consider some of the social, environmental and geographical (location) factors which predict the incidence of child labor in Tanzania and so form another area of interest for further study. My interest is to see how the kind of modernization processes which are going on in Singida- Itigi through urbanization, can help in understanding the experiences and attitudes gained by the children while engaging in WFL.

So, in this chapter I have depicted modernization theory and the way it suggests for a way forward to development. I have also pointed out some justifications on the way modernization process went on in some parts of Europe. I have also shown how the theory can help to explain development process in any country like Tanzania. However, I have highlighted the way it saves for the purpose and not. In the next chapter I am going to define the key concepts that are used in this study.

## **CHAPTER FOUR: CONCEPTUAL DEFINITIONS**

In the preceding chapter the discussion has centered on the theoretical framework trying to relate the theory of modernization with the processes of urbanization and development taking place in Tanzania particularly in Singida region, at Itigi. I have tried also to link the dependence on child labour with the process of rural- urban transition which eventually sharpens the dilemmas of child labour. The following chapter will base on defining some of the key terms that will be used. These terms are: experience, child, child labour, domestic child labour, formal employment and informal employment.

### **4.1 Experience**

The term is used to entail the whole range of behaviors, attitudes, expressions and explanations that the school children who are working attach to the work they perform.

### **4.2 Child**

The 1989 United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child and the ILO Convention on the Worst Forms of Child Labour, 1999 (No. 182) defines a child as every human being below the age of eighteen. Tanzania provides for in the Age of Majority Ordinance Cap. 431 and the Age of Majority (Citizenship Laws) Act No. 24 of 1970, Section 3(1), that the age of majority is eighteen years from 1970. It is the same age which a Tanzanian is counted to be mature and allowed to vote and be voted for. Moreover, the Penal Code states that a child has criminal capacity at the age of 12 years, while the Law of marriage Act of 1971 sets the minimum age for marriage to be 15 for girls and 18 for boys. On the other hand, regarding the employment age in Tanzania, the Employment Ordinance (Cap. 366) prohibits employment of children less than 12 years of age. (URT: *At What Age*, on line). It is also stated by the Tanzania Education Act of 1978 that a young person is supposed to be enrolled in primary school for compulsory primary education between the ages of 7 and 13 years (URT, Education Act No. 25 of 1978).

So, in this study the word child is used to mean a young person aged up to **15** years of age.

### **4.3 Child Labor**

According to UNICEF (2003) child labour is defined as *children who are engaged in work that could be harmful to them*. So, in this study, child labour will be used to mean school children who are

engaged in any activity that is deemed harmful to their mental and health development like working beyond their capacity, heavy works, working for long hours, lack of time for rest and play with his or her age mates etc.

On the other hand, ILO conventions defines child labour as *all children under 18 who are involved in the WFCL and all children aged under 12 taking part in economic activity; all 12- to 14-year old who are engaged in more than light work*. The ILO defines light work as *work that is not likely to be harmful to children's health or development and not likely to be detrimental to their attendance at school or vocational training* (ILO/IPEC/SIMPOC Global Child Labour Trends 2006). Nevertheless, Tanzania through the Ministry of Labour, Youth Development and Sports- Child labour Unit (2004:10) defines child labour as *work undertaken by children aged between 5 and 17 that prevent them from attending school, is exploitative, hazardous, or inappropriate for their age*.

For the purpose of this study, the term child labour is used in unison with the definition provided for by Tanzania as stated above. This is also because majority of the key respondents (children) belonged in the same age group and that most of them seemed to disfavor child labour. They lamented that apart from imparting them with devastating experiences, child labour prevented them from attending school, and that it was hazardous and exploitative and sometimes inappropriate for their age. Thus, despite meeting basic needs for themselves and their families, and apart from supplementing the income in their households, child labour remained to be more dangerous than profitable for the children who were engaged in with.

#### **4.4 Domestic child labor**

For the purpose of this study, the term will entail all kinds of works which are done by primary school children both at home and in the fields which are characterized by a heavy workload, very long working hours, physical and sometimes sexual abuse, general neglect and harassment as well as exploitation. The examples of domestic labour includes: Carrying heavy luggage like cans of water, forced coking, unpaid and underpaid activities, drilling water boreholes, forced sexual intercourse, overworking with home chores. The examples of field labour included: carrying heavy loads like bricks, grazing animals during school hours and for many hours a day without food, collecting fuel woods and selling, farming beyond capacity, carrying and selling sculptures and artifacts all day long together with carrying heavy loads of fuel woods and some animal products for retailing e.g. milk and birds like chicken etc.

## **4.5 Formal sector**

The term is applied to mean persons who are employed, wage earners often paid on a monthly or weekly basis with a longer term (at least 3 months) contract.

## **4.6 Informal sector**

The Resolution concerning statistics of employment in the informal sector, adopted by the Fifteenth International Conference of Labour Statisticians (ICLS on line), January 1993 gives the understanding of what actually informal employment means that, {...} *the informal sector as consisting of production units that “typically operates at a low level of organization, with little or no division between labour and capital... and on a small scale...Labour relations - where they exist - are based mostly on casual employment, kinship or personal and social relations rather than contractual arrangements with formal guarantees.”* For the purpose of this study, is referring to non- criminal and accepted activities through which the individuals meet their life amenities. These include carpentry, masonry, traders like those who trade outside school, agriculture, retailers, shopkeepers, catering, sewing, etc. It also includes farming, animal husbandry etc.

It is however, worth noting that traditionally, children have been very important instrumental in helping families with domestic and field activities. Children would perform a number of duties being part of their obligation and roles, but with the modernization processes, families are forced by law to abandon such attitudes, hence making life a burden for them.

This chapter has defined the concepts that are used throughout and most frequently in this thesis. The following chapter is going to present the methodological approach which was used for the study.



## **CHAPTER FIVE: METHODOLOGY**

In the last chapter we looked at the concepts which are used in this study. This chapter is presenting the methodology used in the study and the reasons for employing them. The methodology includes: Choice of study area, study design, in-depth interview, observation, and document and records. The chapter also deals with the way how and why interviewees were selected, the techniques for data analysis and the challenges faced while conducting the study and the ways how they were solved.

### **5: 1 Area of study**

The study took place in Singida region, which is located in the Central Zone of Tanzania (See Appendices No 2, 3 & 4). The region shares borders with Shinyanga and Manyara Regions-North, Mbeya and Iringa regions- South, Tabora- West and Dodoma- East. The region had an estimate of a total population of 1,090,758 people (URT 2002 census). The region is made up of four districts namely Iramba, Singida Urban, Singida rural, and Manyoni in which the study took place.

The study was conducted at Itigi ward in Manyoni District. Itigi ward is one of the twenty- one (21) wards in Manyoni district (URT Census 2002). The ward had the total population of 18,680 of whom, 5108 were school children registered in the eight primary schools found in the ward at the time the research took place (Ward report, November 2006- January 2007). However, the study took place in four villages found in the ward and three schools were involved but are kept anonymous for the purpose of ethical considerations.

The reason behind selecting Itigi ward in stead of any other area in Tanzania and in the region is due to its peculiar characterization as explained here below. The area is both semi -rural and an emerging urban with its population falling into subdivision of partly sedentary agro-pastoralists and wage earners. Majority of the dwellers in the ward are agro-pastoralists. The rest, few are employees at St. Gasper Hospital which employs approximately 300 workers including doctors, physicians, nurses, clinical officers, health attendants (auxiliary nurses) and non medical staff like engineers and garage workers. It is a modern large hospital which was inaugurated in 1989 by Ali Hassan Mwinyi, by then the President of the United Republic of Tanzania. It is owned by the Society of the Precious Blood Missionaries and attracts people for its good and trustworthy healthy services despite being in remote areas. (Source: Hospital administration). Others are employed as teachers, police, Government Health Centre and railways workers, and in the forestry department. For this case, Itigi has a divided

population with people who are formally educated and those none educated whose majority fall in the informal sector with a large number of agro-pastoralists.

So, Itigi ward is typical for societies in transition. The processes of modernization taking place in the area have affected the lives of the people particularly the natives. It has created good times for the few traders, while majority of the families particularly children, are suffering on how to manage their lives. Parents of poor families resort to using children as a strategy for them to manage lives. Such strategy exposes children to activities including the WFCL, hence, the need to study the experiences and attitudes gained by the children while engaging in WFL.

Itigi is situated in arid and semi-arid areas along the East African Rift Valley with only patches of land on which agriculture takes place. The traditional culture of the natives' agro-pastoralists is being affected by the modernization and developmental forces. The solidarity morality value which used to bring together the people is being replaced by individualistic morality. Every individual person and family caring for himself without considering others as it used to be before. The ever increasing urbanization causes the natives to leave their homesteads and move further into the forest in search for fresh pastures. Moreover, the process has also increased impetus on the expansion of education infrastructures calling for parents to enrol their children in schools in stead of engaging solely in traditional agro- pastoral activities like grazing and marrying or getting married. The issue is how to resolve the conflict between the need for pastures and school attendance for children. Such changes contributed to the challenges of the study. Should the children adhere to the new orders or stick to the old ways of life.

Itigi area is also a crossing point for trucks including buses and transit goods heavy vehicles as well as the train going to and from upcountry. So, the place has an influx of different categories of people including passers-by either coming for treatment or taking a rest on their way to their destination. The area is also experiencing an influx of small scale petty traders coming from all over Tanzania including people from the Middle East who are trading in the area. A number of people including few natives are dealing with gypsum mining activities which according to the WEO employ 13% of the population in the Ward whereby 15% is filled by children. Gypsum mining has attracted the establishment of chalk industry in the area. There also has been an increase number of hotels, bars, groceries, and recreational places etc., all being the outcomes of the process of Tanzanian modernization.

Thus, despite being in rural areas, the economy of the dwellers in Itigi ward is affected by such interaction which offers both good and bad opportunities and challenges. Dwellers have to compete with the incoming and out going travellers who in a way have money, hence a good case area for study. Taking into account that the local population live below the national poverty line of 1US\$ per day, it can be questionable whether they can manage to cope with the superimposed new ways of life which requires them to spend money for each and everything. In this way, modernization has forced some individual and families to look for employment which sometimes expose them doing WFL simply because they have no other immediate solution to meet their demands.

The changes have prompted some families to turn onto using children as their means for income generation. Children are forced by parents, the new circumstances and environment to participate in economic activities. They are also faced with so many challenges including the need to acquire things and participate in the process as well as manage the situation (Report by WEO). It is good to note that traditionally, children have been useful in helping families with domestic chores and field works which accounted for the well being of the entire families. But the incoming of these modernization processes has its pros and cons. Families are prone to abandon using the children as they used to do and so making life unbearable. This leads me to think of the informal families to be most affected because they are the ones which relied most on the use of the children for income generation to supplement for family needs. All of these are challenges pertaining to the processes of modernization. The processes requires families and/ or children to have money which is also not easily available, hence, the option for paid works which in turn lead them into working in hazardous environment as well as doing WFL.

Therefore, the modernization, developmental and urbanization processes and the changes taking place at Itigi, are eventually affecting the whole economy of the people in the ward. In that respect, the processes leave great pressure on the performance and progress of the primary school children. I selected the area for this study in order to find out the experiences and attitudes towards domestic and field labour developed by the primary school children whose parents were in the formal or in the informal sector.

## **5: 2 Study Design**

The study was a case study which involved the quest for the underlying and hidden experiences and the attitudes of the primary school children themselves towards domestic child labour. It was an explorative study examining and analyzing the attitude, behaviors and beliefs of the people towards domestic child labour and the way it was perceived by the primary school children whose parents were in the formal or informal sector.

This case study focused on a small social and geographical confinement of Itigi ward. The reason for choosing a case study is as Punch, cited in Silverman, (2005: 126) pointed out that: *The basic idea is that one case (or perhaps a small number of cases) will be studied in detail, using whatever methods seen appropriate. While there may be a variety of specific purposes and research questions, the general objective is to develop as full an understanding of that case as possible.* The second reason is because of the nature of the study which has a limited time and resources. The findings are unique in the sense that their contents are typical to Itigi ward, yet capable of being interpreted by me (the researcher) and also capable of representing other areas of related kind, Payne and Payne (2004 pp 98-102).

## **5: 3 Research methods and procedures**

The study employed qualitative method in collecting and analyzing the data. This refers to research methods that produce insights. That is to say, people own written or spoken words and observable behaviors (Taylor and Bogdan, 1998:7). I interviewed twenty- two respondents, and used fourteen only for data analysis and discussion. The reason for this is explained on the part on selection of respondents. Traditionally, children have been performing a number of home and field activities including those of grazing, fetching firewood, farming and many others. So, respondents were informed about the rights of the child and the ways these rights could be abused. They were also informed about the WFCL and finally asked to discuss about it. This aimed at determining the level of awareness of the respondents on the phenomenon (child labour) especially the WFL that children performed. It was expected to help in probing on the experiences and attitudes of the children on the labour they provided and the implication of WFCL on their rights.

### **5.3.1 In-depth interview**

In order to come up with more detailed insights of the experiences of domestic child labour, I used in-depth interview method as the main method for data collection. It was supported by a checklist of open- ended questions aiming to ensure that all important information was obtained. Such questions

were like: What are the kinds of home activities that you do? How do you feel while performing these duties?

The interview with children was arranged to take place at any environment which was found to be convenient for them. The interviews took place at the time when children came for lunch, or in the evening after schooling. This was done purposely in order to observe also what children did at home hence, crosschecking domestic child labour.

The same method was used in all the interviews with parents and teachers who were selected for the purpose of verifying and making sense of what the children said. Likewise, Kvale as quoted in Gubrium and Holstein (2002: 337) who insisted on the importance of the interviewers to establish good relations in the field saying that *in a research setting it is up to the interviewer to create in a short time a contact that allows the interaction to get beyond merely a polite conversation or exchange of ideas*, then in- depth interviewing allowed me to create rapport and build sense of trust which resulted into the interviewees revealing their hidden experiences and perceptions towards domestic child labour hence, collect valid data. The method also gave me the opportunity to probe as many questions as possible on the subject matter. This could not have been possible if I had used different methods like questionnaires which would require respondents to fill in only.

In order to enable interviewees to understand the questions and participate in the discussion, the interview was done in Kiswahili language. This is the common language, national language and one of the languages of instruction in primary schools; henceforth make respondents to respond with an open mind.

Nevertheless, the use of this method has some problems. This is because in- depth interview is a process that requires the interviewer to deal with so many activities at once like following the schedule, probing, maintaining the track of conversation, taking notes, listening and also maintaining the required face (Yates: 2004). This is a hard work. But all of these and some others were dealt with applying the interview skills obtained from lectures for field work as well as using the experiences gained during the field work. Also, it was a hard time for example for me to listen properly when I had two sessions. Sometimes the environment for the interview was unhelpful with too much noisy in the home, hot or uncomfortable. But also there was a problem of interference by especially elders while conducting interview with children or a woman. Children could be called to be asked

something or the woman be called aside by her husband. These were solved by ensuring that where possible the interview schedules took place only at proper time. In case of noise, I could ask the respondent to take me to a place with no such disturbance for me and her or him.

### **5.3.2 Observation**

Observation method was a supplementary part of the methods for data collection. It was used in order to add on what was said by the respondents through looking at the concrete situation. Taylor and Bogdan (1998:90) suggested that, *No other method can provide the depth of understanding that comes from directly observing people and listening to what they have to say at the scene.* So, practical observations of situations and impressions by the pupils and parents during the session were useful in unveiling their covert overviews, perceptions and attitudes toward the research problem. Observation method gave me a chance to probe more on what seemed to have been contradicting between what was said and what I witnessed, thus ascertain the truth of my findings.

Despite being used to supplement the main method for this study, observation method has some difficulties while using it. There is the danger of misinterpreting and misrepresenting the facts of what is observed. This was solved by instantaneously checking the observation to confirm what the interviewee posited hence, furnish the ongoing discussion and study at large.

### **5.3.3 Documents and records**

I obtained some of the data from documents and records including those from library, journals, books; papers, theses, and from the internet etc to not only support and validate my topic but also appreciate what others have already done in such related topic as Silverman commented that, *sometimes, the previous literature or (for experienced researchers) one's own work will suggest a hypothesis crying out to be tested or a finding ripe for re- testing* (Silverman: 2005: 80). In that regard, some information on relation to the study topic was sought from the Ministry in Tanzania which is responsible for children that is the Ministry of Labour, Youth Development and Sports. Others were obtained from UNICEF, ILO/UN, and the World Bank offices based in Tanzania and from the University of Dar es salaam. Other sources of information included the Singida region and Manyoni district offices as well as records from Itigi Ward office.

However, sometimes it was impossible to get access to information in areas and offices either due to unnecessary bureaucracy or due to lack of motivation. It was for example hard to get the information I needed from the district because of lack of enough cooperation. Also, I could not get the information from organizations like UNICEF because of time limitation and too many conditions in relation to accessing their library.

However, to access official records and documentations required much time and money to make as many calls as possible and sometimes travelling to and from searching the needed information. Some records and documents required buying them or photocopying which in turn demanded money. While searching for records and documents I sometimes ended up with unfulfilled promises, despite having spent money for fare to reach to the place where I was promised to get the information. In such a situation I dare to say that there was lack of cordial cooperation from some of the bureaucratic officers.

The only solution to such encounters was tolerance and forbearance especially when promises are made to government officials. There is no way you can force them to work on your issue. Sometimes I had to surrender some of the information so as to keep good relationship with the officials creating good image not necessarily for myself but even for other future researchers. At this point I find the proposition put forward by modernization theory regarding traditional culture to hold water. That is the spirit of hardworking has not yet been enkindled, so need for people to be imbued with such a spirit.

## 5.4 Selection of respondents

For the sake of this study, fourteen (14) respondents were selected to form the units of analysis. They were selected falling in the categories as exemplified in the table below:

**A table showing the composition of the respondents:**

| School children |      | Children not schooling |      | Parents/ guardian |      |                 |      | School teachers |      | Total |
|-----------------|------|------------------------|------|-------------------|------|-----------------|------|-----------------|------|-------|
| Female          | Male | Female                 | Male | Formal sector     |      | Informal Sector |      | Female          | Male |       |
| Female          | Male | Female                 | Male | Female            | Male | Female          | Male | Female          | Male |       |
| 2               | 2    | 2                      | 2    | 1                 | 1    | 1               | 1    | 1               | 1    | 14    |

The strategies for selection of the respondents included stratified selection method and purposive selection. In the latter, after deciding purposely to deal with pupils in standard five and six only, I used the criterion selection whereby the pupils who met the criterion of coming from parents who

were engaged in either the formal or informal sector were selected for interviews. In this case, having done all the necessary procedures I went to the three schools. In every school all I did was to ask for the head teacher of the school to arrange for me to meet with the pupils from standard five and six because standard seven had already accomplished their studies.

Then, a stratified selection method came in at the absence of the teacher. I divided the children into two groups, the group of children whose parents were in the formal and informal sectors. I had the total number for each group. I wrote on small pieces of papers 'yes' and 'no' whereby the number of 'yes' was equivalent to the number of children needed from each group. I told each pupil to pick only one piece. Then, each of them came in front and read what was written on the picked paper. At this point only those pupils who picked the paper written 'yes' formed the group of respondents needed. Then arrangement on the day and date for meeting for each one of the respondents was made. This method was good because it was transparent and gave all the children the possibility to be one of the samples for the interview and it minimized the chance for biasness in getting the interviewees, hence, avoid complaints from the pupils.

Regarding parents and teachers, a purposive sampling technique was used whereby individual teachers and parents were consulted and asked voluntarily to participate in the study. Having obtained the first one haphazardly, after the session was asked to propose the next person with regard to the criterion given to her/him hence, snowball technique came in. This technique was good for it provided researcher with respondents presumably qualified to provide the needed information. Nonetheless, the technique has the danger of someone mentioning his or her relative simply because you gave her/ him an offer, so she would prefer such an offer to be given to her relative also. However, having proposed the name, a pilot and reconnaissance study was carried out and where I found them not to suit the criteria needed, I asked them to propose other persons. This went on until I landed on the person whom I thought qualified for interview. Therefore, the method is also time consuming and requires enough time to accomplish it.

The reason for the categorization of respondents was to create a means for more in-depth understanding of the experiences of the two groups of children studied and partly use the explanation of parents, teachers and the pupils out of school to compare and contrast the claims given by the key respondents (pupils). The use of the purposive selection method roots from the fact that it takes cases that are rich in information from which the researcher can learn a great deal about issues of central



importance to the purpose of the study (Kumar, 1999: 47). All of the above steps relied on a cordial collaboration with leaders in the ward, parents and teachers.

It should be noted that before proceeding with the selection process, I revealed to the respondents the importance of my study and assured them of their anonymity and safety for participating in my study; something which has also been noted by Seale and Gobo et al (2004: 233) that researchers *are obliged to protect the participants' identity, places, and the location of the research.*

In lieu of interviewing fourteen key informants, I interviewed twenty-two. This was necessitated by the fact that some of the respondents after the reconnaissance study were found not to be very much informative. So, I asked them to recommend other persons whom they thought would be more informative and cooperative. Even so, I could not show any sign of dissatisfaction before them. Instead, I thanked them for their participation and asked them to propose another person as if it was planned before. In this respect, the responses from eight more respondents that I needed will not be part of the analysis and discussion for this study.

## **5. 5 in the empirical study Challenges**

The challenges included the following:

### **5.5.1 Time factor**

The timing of the research seemed not to be convenient because it was from early November when the primary school pupils in Tanzania are about to go for their long holidays. This means that their availability was also limited either for them being preparing themselves for final examinations and also leaving for holidays. Also, being a qualitative research, it demanded enough time to interview and sometimes make follow-ups of what was narrated, but the research was limited to only two months.

### **5.5.2 Data acquisition**

Due to culture, it was also difficult sometimes to have a discussion with a woman in the absence of her husband although the interview was meant for her alone. In this case, I had to accept the presence of the husband so that I could proceed with my study. I think this affected my data because the

presence of the husband in a way limited the freedom of the wife to respond to some of my questions. For example a question like ‘does your husband help in doing some of the domestic chores?’ There was also lack of cooperation with some officials such that I did not acquire some of the information. (Names and positions withheld for ethical purposes).

### **5.5.3 Life style**

It was also difficult to cope with the sudden changes in the life style from township to rural one. There were difficulties on how to get clean and safe water, even food too was a big problem such that without pressing an order I could go hungry the whole day. Otherwise, the accommodation was also not up to standards.

### **5.5.4 General attitudes of the respondents**

I also faced difficulties in my attempt to obtain good informants. At one primary school a member of staff could not turn up despite keeping promising. It seems that some respondents would like to be motivated before or after the interview. I wonder whether that was because of lack of understanding of the social value of research or not. This is because I could hear some saying, “Unaniacha hivi hivi tu?” – Literally translated as ‘Can’t you offer me something?’

### **5.5.5 Transport**

The area is a remote one such that there are no easy means of transport like commuter buses; hence, walking by foot or hiring a bike or motorbike was the order of the day for the whole period of my research. This rendered difficulty bearing in mind that the area is peopled by Agro-pastoralists whose housing are so sparsely scattered.

### **5.5.6 Language**

This was also a problem because some of the respondents preferred using vernacular languages including Nyaturu, Taturu, Gogo, Sukuma, and Iraqws which represent the biggest portion of the population. Sometimes, difficulties arose from failure in communication due to inadequacies in the understanding of the lingua franca- Swahili, but these were solved by having someone to make translation into Swahili.

This chapter have shown the way the study was conducted including the methodology which encompasses the area of study, study design, research methods and procedures, selection of respondents- random, purposive and snowball; data collection methods including, in-depth interviewing, observation and documentary and records reviewing; and finally, the challenges encountered and the ways to overcome them. The next chapter will immerse itself in data analysis, interpretations and discussion.

## **CHAPTER SIX: DATA ANALYSIS, INTERPRETATIONS AND DISCUSSION**

In chapter five I worked out the issue of methodology. I disseminated information pertaining to the area of study, study design, the research methods and procedures including in- depth interview as the main method used for data collection being supplemented by observation and secondary data from documentaries and records. I also showed the way respondents were selected, the challenges encountered and the ways to deal with them. In the following section I am going to deal with data analysis, interpretation and discussions.

### **6: 1 Data Analysis**

In this part I will discuss the way how the findings were analyzed and interpreted leading to the discussion of the findings.

Data analysis was the next step after collecting the data and typing all the interviews. I used Grounded Theory in analyzing the data as commented by Yates (2004: 201-207) and also by Strauss and Corbin (1998: 12-14). Both groups of writers see it as a systematic and intense analysis of data which is performed through a process called coding. It includes open, axial and selective coding. So, likewise Yates (2004: 218), from open, axial and selective coding, I compared and contrasted different pieces of data- phenomena- so as to bring out similarities and differences that finally helped in writing the thesis.

**Open coding:** This involved fragmentation of my data into different themes by reading through the raw data ending into identification of concepts. The concepts represented events and phenomena that were embedded within the data hence form categories. The vantage for this is that it minimized the bulkiness of the data. Open coding paved a way for me to understand my data by considering different ways of interpreting such that any arising new idea was written in a memo for future use. As for Strauss and Corbin (1998: 223) I had to write my initial thoughts and ideas without concern for what others think or whether the analysis was correct. The means was part of the thesis writing process.

**Axial coding:** During axial coding I went on shrinking and condensing together my data hence forming categories. It was a further step which has a close link to open coding but leading to a more clear categories. All themes with more or less similar impressions were linked in one category.

Therefore, likewise, (ibid, p225) that categories began to define the conditions under which an event occurred.

**A table showing some of the concepts developed during the analytic process from open coding to axial, to selective coding**

| <b>Open coding</b>   | <b>Axial Coding</b>  | <b>Selective Coding</b>        |
|--|--|--------------------------------|
| Concepts identified representing central ideas like: habit, family, leisure, study, work, gender, sex, school expenses, local activities, agriculture, training, pity feelings, elite family, help in chores, socialization, traditions, values, perception, feelings, obligation, prostitution, discotheque, pocket money, division of labour, care, attitude, heavy work, poverty, work for money, ignorance, institutionalization, education, ignorance, inculcation, family role, laziness, emerging urbanity, food, meals, customs, development, need for help etc. | -Socialization<br>-home chores<br>- Agro- pastoralist lifestyle<br>-Traditional values and norms<br>-Inculcation | Institutionalization           |
|  | -Desire to have and participate<br>-Peer group influence<br>-Emerging urbanity and school demands                | -Modernization and development |
|  | -Family size<br>-locality and environment<br>-Dependence and house hold economy                                  | -Welfare coping strategies     |

**Source: Field data December 2006: Itigi Ward, Manyoni District- Singida Region**

Most of the themes developed during the analysis seemed to stand for such common phenomena like habit- represented all those who supported to use children as their source of income generation; meals- represented anything to do with food including the number times which food is taken per day; family organization- All matters related to the way a family was run including division of labour, who does what, when, why and how; welfare strategy- represents affairs related to the well being of the family like how to earn the daily bread, the position of every family member especially the children in obtaining a daily living; modernization- coined to represent issues brought by urbanization process and development including children desire to have more pocket money, to attend and participate in music halls, watch video movies and so on; extra expenditures- this represents a condition where children are not satisfied with the service they get from their parents like food, clothes hence need to have more disregard of the family income; family size- refer to number of individuals in a family and how they affect the budget of the house; training and socialization- this is

for every aspect of upbringing in a family; dependency- stands for situations in which some members of the family, due to some factors like age, illness, elderly etc, can no longer depend on their own for survival; agro-pastoralist life style- represents every aspects of agro- pastoralists like the need for pasture land, water for cattle, people to look after cattle etc;

In short, such categories and many others like peer influence, poverty, family failures, Family role, Division of labour, were identified. Memos were written where an interesting relationship between categories appeared so as to help during discussion. At this point welfare strategy was identified to represent all dimensions and subcategories dealing with how a family organizes itself to ensure security and well being of its members. Also, institutionalization, modernization and development were categories which were seen prominent enough to answer some of the hypotheses for this study.

**Selective coding:** In this section the dimensions existing between the identified categories were further compared and contrasted meanwhile looking for linkages, and relations between categories hence, subcategories were also coined. It was a final step in analysis in which I tried to integrate concepts developed in open and axial coding around the selected core categories. It also involved filling in of categories in need of further development and refinement (Strauss and Corbin: 1998: 236). It was a step in which I choose abstract terms under which the rest of the subcategories could be subsumed hence, concepts able to explain variations as well as the main point made by the data (ibid, p147). The core categories were grouped as:

- **Institutionalization,**
- **Welfare coping strategies,** and
- **Modernization and development.**

Furthermore, I identified concepts which I thought were best at explaining those categories in more general terms. The concepts were; Socialization and inculcation, agro-pastoralist life style, Traditional values and norms- (**Institutionalization**); family size, locality and environment, dependency and household economy- (**Welfare coping strategies**); Desire to have and participate, peer-group influence, emerging urbanity and school demands (**Modernization and development**). These concepts were marked out during analysis. They summarize the findings and are found essential in explaining the attitude and experiences primary school children have towards the labor they provide both at home and in the fields. The selective coding step therefore paved a way to discussing and interpreting the findings.

**A table showing the core categories and sub- categories which were identified during analysis-  
Selective coding**

| <b>Core categories</b>               | <b>Subcategories</b>  |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| <b>Institutionalization</b>          | -Socialization and inculcation<br>- Agro- pastoralist lifestyle<br>-Traditional values and norms  |
| <b>Modernization and development</b> | -Desire to have and participate<br>-Peer group influence<br>-Emerging urbanity and school demands |
| <b>Welfare coping strategies</b>     | -Family size<br>-locality and environment<br>-Dependence and household economy                    |

**Source: Field data December 2006: Itigi Ward, Manyoni District- Singida Region**

## **6. 2 Data Interpretations and Discussions**

The previous section has shown how the findings were analyzed and coded culminating into generating categories which were seen best enough to summarize the study findings. Now, I am going to discuss the attitudes and experiences the primary school children develop and attach towards the labour they provide at home and in the fields. The discussion will look at various types of activities children perform, the attitudes of the children and the implications of the labour on their rights as children.

The study found that primary school children whose parents are in the formal or informal sectors have a slightly different attitudes and experiences towards the labour they provide while attending the domestic or field activities. In order to manage examine the kinds of attitudes and experiences; I have come up with three main categorical concepts as named above under selective coding. The three abstracted concepts developed through a long process of comparing various indicators, looking for similarities and differences and grouping together the similar concepts. The categories were spotted out for having the qualities of standing for and representing phenomena which in turn responded to the aims of the study and therefore, capable of summarizing and representing the findings. Out of them, I thought the experiences, attitudes and perceptions towards the labour the primary school children provided could possibly be examined by discussing the ins and outs of each of the category and their subcategories. So, each category will be discussed independently trying to focus on the

subject matter for this study which is to understand the experiences of the primary school children towards child labour.

### **6.2.1 Institutionalization**

Institutionalization is a category which developed to embrace all things that are directly or indirectly responsible for shaping the life of the individuals in the community. They consist of socialization and inculcation in Agro-pastoralist lifestyle. I will discuss the way how each of the subcategories leads to the understanding of the experiences and attitudes towards the labour that the primary school children provide both at home and in the fields.

#### **Socialization and inculcation**

Every human being passes through a process of informal and formal learning through which he or she is indoctrinated with the values and norms of the society in which the person is born and so become a self aware, knowledgeable person, skilled in the ways of the culture of that particular society (Giddens, 2006).

Primary school children as part of the large community of human beings, stay either with their biological parents or guardian from whom they continuously learn how to behave and act. Many children are expected to feel or set their minds in accordance with the daily encounter of life. It is not surprising that a child, who is brought up in a family where they work for many hours without sparing time for recreation, can take it as the normal routine of life. In Tanzania, and Singida in particular, children aged 6 and above can be found farming during cultivation season. Such kind of habit is taken as normal practices. It is regarded as part of socialization whereby children learn their obligations as future fathers and mothers. During the research I found some children aged between 5-10 who were weeding in a maize farm. Interestingly was to see that even the little child has a hoe relative to her age as seen in the picture:



**Small girls aged 5- 10 years old found working on a farm near their home**



**Source: Field Data December 2006, Itigi Manyoni District- Singida  
(Photo: By G. J. M)**

It is good that children are socialized in a way acceptable by the community members. But it is also the duty of the parents and the community to see that the process and activities pertaining to the socialization do not interfere with the standard conventions on the rights of the child. If you look at the picture above, it is obvious that four of them are of the school going age. But it is no wonder such children in the rural are not given such an opportunity.

Thus, within such institution like family, socialization has a great role in an attempt to understand the attitudes of the children. The labour they provide sometimes exceeds the standards of a normal work though it might be difficult to measure it with reference to the ILO standard conventions. It is quite normal in the rural and even in the urban areas to find them working for long time 6- 16 hours a day. I was told that some children go to dig gypsum at night when the moon light is shining. They can work until late in the night, yet the next morning are supposed either to go to school or go for other duties at home including grazing. In that respect, some informants said that they worked in poor and detrimental conditions only because of lack of alternatives for the family's living and their own living. Even then some parents dared to report that the situation was like that because they had no other ways out;

*“I find it usual because I have no any other alternative. They help me...must. I teach them how to work so as to know to live a self reliant life...”*

It was observed that children bared different attitudes towards the labour they used to provide both at home and in the field depending on whether they belonged to a formal or informal family. I witnessed boys and a girl carrying big bags of grains on head, walking a long distance of about 5- 7 kilometers to reach a place where a grinding machine was situated. They were aged between 9- 12 years meaning that they were supposed to be attending school as it was a school day and in the morning, but since the roles were being institutionalized and made to be accepted as a normal obligation for everyone, the children were also relaxed.

However, through probing it was realized that children from informal sector families performed a good number of roles and some of them never knew whether such roles abrogated their rights. They eventually said that they worked as part of their assigned duties and in no way could they go against. Such responses can be taken to signify that some children are forced to involve in worst forms of labour by circumstances like that of some of the institutions of socialization to fail to realize and prioritize the rights of the child.

*“We have been told not to go to school today instead go to Itigi to grind maize...Our parents are at home we left them sitting” We are used to missing classes so as to attend domestic activities...it makes us achieve poor grades and performances. We are here going to grind while our fellow children are studying...we can hardly cope with them...*

Boys and a girl aged between 9- 13years with their luggage of grains walking a long distance of about 5-7 Kilometers from Mkono wa tembo village in the interior to Itigi urban centre where they could find a grinding machine.



**Source:** Field Data December 2006 Itigi Ward in Manyoni District- Singida.  
**(Photo: By G. J. M)**

Moreover, many respondents- children reported to engage in a number of chores like cleaning utensils, fetching water, clean house, cooking, washing their clothes and those of the family members, On the other hand, they paid their labour to a number of field activities including, Girls: farming, prostitution, selling in hotels by receiving only daily food, selling alcohols, petty trading, selling firewood, picking charcoal on streets and selling, selling water using a wheel barrow. It was found also that, Boys: worked on gypsum mining, Laying and carrying bricks, farming, drilling wells, cooking and work as porters.

It should be borne in mind that some domestic chores are also part of the WFL in the sense that there are times when children attend to more than one chore at a time such that for the whole day a child is busy changing from one activity to another. This is clear from a child, who explained her daily routine as follows,

*“I work up in the morning, clean my teeth and face, I clean up my room and the home yard up to 6am when I go to school till 12 noon. I come back home for lunch which I have to cook myself and go back to school at 1:30pm from that time till 4:45 when classes ends. I reach home at 5:15pm or so then I wash the utensils used, and at around 7:45 I start preparing the evening meal to 9pm when we eat. From 9.10 I am tired and I go to make my bed and enter bed immediately. There is not enough time to rest. Whenever I work is when I rest. At least I rest for about an hour. I feel bad when I engage in domestic chores because I sometimes cannot get time for playing. No time for leisure, time for reading...”*

However, what emerged from the above quotation is that, asking the parents regarding this situation, they said it was a normal part of socialization for their children. They claimed to inculcate their children with the social norms and values especially of hard working. But on the other side, the children especially from the informal families posited contradictory statements of their experiences and feelings of their laboring.

*“... We work sometimes because of the fear of being blasted and scolded or even beaten for the failure to attend the home activities. It is unfair to attend many home chores while at the same time being awaited by school homework. Elders do not encourage schooling, but forces me to do the chores at first hand... This is one of the reason why I do poorly at school. No time to read or go through my previous class notes...”*

In any case, the fact that children worked either for many hours or in a way that did away with their rights was not seen as an abnormal but a right path for them to indoctrinate their cultural values and norms. It was uncovered that such traditions and norms were responsible for explaining the experiences and attitudes of the children towards the activities they engaged with. When children were asked to enumerate the types of work they performed at home and in the field, it was discovered that majority of them from formal families rarely had activities to perform outside their homes as it was common for their fellows from informal families. Even so, children reported to have been working for many hours, doing heavy works and sometimes abusive as have been enlisted above. They reported to work not because they were willing to do so but, because of the desire to get money for them and their parents/ family at large. Some of the children said that it was necessary to work so as to get money,

*“...I am forced to be satisfied because some of these activities give me some money with which I buy exercise books, pen and other important items for personal use. However, these activities give me not time for resting at all and cannot catch up with subjects at school as compared to those who attend daily...”*

### **Agro- pastoralist lifestyle**

For many years agro- pastoralists are known for their lifestyle of shifting from place to place in search for pastures for their cattle. This study shows that such kind of lifestyle favours the possibility of illiteracy and ignorance. The reason behind this assertion is that by nomadic lifestyle, agro-pastoralists deny the chance for their children to attend formal schooling. Additionally, they demolish their former homestead or sell to others and move further into the forest or rangelands where in most cases there are no educational infrastructures like schools. The claim above is also supported by one old man who was a ten- cell leader and was among the key informants as he pointed out that,

*“Itigi ward has originally been dominated by pastoralists- Taturu and Nyaturu who also practice little farming. However, it has been affected by development. That is, the in coming of Missionaries who established the Roman Catholic Church since 1969 and built St. Gaspar Hospital by 1980s. Moreover, there was the discovery of gypsum mining in between 1999/2000. All these affects the natives by missing grazing areas and so keep shifting following pastures which is their priorities for their cattle and hence their lives. Thus, most pastoralists make their children fail to access formal education because they tend to move with the whole family...”*

It was found that children had little time to concentrate on their schooling or do their homework or play with their fellow children. As a result, because of the lifestyle in which they are born and up-brought, some of them found it fitting to go on with such lifestyle while others were discontented. I spent sometime reading and explaining to them a number of Articles in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child in particular Articles: 27 (section 1&2) on the development of the child, 28 (section 1a &1b) on the significance of education, and Article 32 (section 1&2) regarding protection of the child from exploitation and hazardous work. Having explained to them what it meant by ‘child right’ almost all the respondents (children) pleaded guilty and declared that they engaged in such activities which snatched their rights not because they wanted but because of the circumstances.

*“I am forced to engage in those WFL by the circumstances and environment and therefore I have to accept it whether I like or not...that is why despite engaging with a number of activities at home, I have also to work for money. When I miss a piecemeal work- in Swahili called ‘kibarua’ and in the area they use to name it ‘Mraba’, I cannot get my needs including school uniform and exercise books or I rely on mom but then she does not have a reliable source of income to cater for such needs...”*

The quotation above depicts an experience and attitude towards labour which is embedded within the socialization framework of the family institution. Thus, children grow up knowing that they have to work for survival. However, such involvement has a greater negative impact towards the rights of the children because it abrogates their rights including the right to education. A great number of children respondents reported to end up with poor grades at school. Majority failed to pass the standard Four National Examination in order to enter in standard five. For those who manage to enter standard five, majority end up failing in their Standard Seven National Examination, hence, they cannot join secondary schools. Such activities also contribute to the drop- out rates of the children who find no meaning with going on schooling hence; children rights are indiscriminately broken and abused.

Boys aged between 10- 12 grazing in the wilderness a day long without attending school. It was common for children from agro- pastoralists' families to miss classes in order to look after cattle which affect their progress and performance leading to drop out of school.



**Source:** Field data December 2006: Itigi Ward, Manyoni District- Singida  
(Photo: By G. J. M)

It also should be recognized that the factors of ignorance and illiteracy were common among informal family members whose majority were comprised of agro- pastoralists. The majority of the formal family members were employees in the formal sectors working as teachers, medical practitioners (doctors and nurses) just to name a few. Children from the former group reported to involve in a greater number of activities than it was the case with the latter group. As a result it was learnt that children in the latter group had positive experiences and attitudes towards the work they performed. Some of them said they sometimes felt sympathy with their fellow children as they saw them engaged in heavy duties like a child of the age between 7- 9 years carrying a bucket of twenty litres full of water on head. A respondent said,

*“I feel good doing the domestic chores though when I meet others carrying big luggage... I feel so bad because it is not fair...”*

This statement by a key interviewee in a way connotes that there are moments when children are overburdened. It demonstrates how children are engaged in WFCL despite the fact that out of it they meet some of their basic needs as they exclaimed. It was found that child labour, which is enclosed within the agro-pastoralist lifestyle, not only prevents children from attending schools but also affects negatively their performances. Children who engage in such activities like grazing which is backed

by family loyalty and enshrined within socialization, majority were found to be illiterate. It can be argued that child labour is there operating under the canopy of socialization and inculcation of community values and norms.

*“I am in standard six but I cannot read and write properly because I frequently miss classes in order to attend home chores including grazing...I also participate in piecemeal works for money...This makes me fail to concentrate in reading...”*

Generally, the act of the agro- pastoralists’ family institution to institutionalize works such as grazing and farming as part of their daily routine has a great implication on their children as far as their rights including right to access formal education is concerned. The activities prevent children from attending schools as it should be. Children spend a couple of hours and days with cattle in the wilderness where sometimes they reported to face with heavy rains with no place to hide. They also said that during summer it was common to bear with direct hot sunshine for the whole day while grazing. Such environments precipitate the possibility of the children to face regular headache and fever. In fact, the agro- pastoralist lifestyle has little to favour children rights including that of free time to play and access formal education. This leads to perpetuation of class differences between the parents and the children.

### **6.2.2 Welfare coping strategy**

The concept welfare coping strategy is hereby applied to encompass the whole domain of push factors out of which children were supposed to work and in turn impact their attitudes and experiences to the labour they provided. They include the family size, locality/ spatial and household economy.

#### **Family size**

According to the URT/ TDHS (2004- 2005) the Total Fertility Rate (TFR) in Tanzania was reported to be 5.7 children per woman. It was also reported that the TFR differed significantly between rural and urban. The TFR in the mainland rural areas was 6.5; while in the urban were 3.6. The situation becomes more horrible where it is added that in the rural settings there is high rate prevalence of poverty stricken than in the urban areas. This is apparently declared in the URT (2005: 4) National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty (NSGRP) that,

*The prevalence of income poverty is still high in Tanzania. According to the Household Budget Survey of 2000/2001 the proportion of the population below the National food poverty line is 18.7 percent and that below basic needs poverty line is 35.7 percent. ...Poverty remains overwhelmingly in rural areas where about 87 percent of the poor population lives. It is highest among households who depend on agriculture. As the population is growing, the absolute number of the poor raises concern. There is also a big disparity between urban and rural poverty for both food and basic needs poverty (URT – NSGRP 2005: 4).*

Such a TFR and poverty stricken situation has a major implication on the attitudes of the primary school children towards the labour they provide, both at home and in fields as well as on their rights. The situation leaves families and households with a heavy and almost unbearable burden to find out means through which to cope and manage to secure the ends or in simple terms to make life continue. Within such matrix, big families in terms of number of members who are not yet mature enough to lead life of their own, allow and sometimes force children to take part in economic activities. But then some of these activities are responsible for abusing their rights. It was found to be well known that families or parents had the obligation to take care of their children. Nonetheless, the failure to meet their daily needs, parents turned on children as their immediate means of subsidizing the family budget. Are the children willing to do so?

A number of children of both formal and informal sector were of the view that they get enough time to deal with schooling and improve their performance and also play. However, such a thing was rarely available for those children from informal when compared to those from formal families. One child said,

*[...]compared to others I feel bad when I see those attending schools regularly doing better in subjects while I miss school regularly and the chores gives me no time for studying hence low and poor performance in class.*

The statement above well demonstrates how some children do not enjoy nor do they have a positive outlook to the works they perform at home which signify that even in the fields where the working environment is even worse they would have the same feelings. On the other hand, children together with some parents from the formal sector had different opinion and attitudes regarding the activities



they performed. When asked regarding the way he felt to see children doing WFL one parent among the key informants commented that,

*In general, it is not good at all. Children miss the opportunity to study properly. My children work only for leisure but not obligatory. That is why I think they find it good for them to work when they have time especially during holidays.*

Most of the respondents were found to be between 6 - 13 people in a household which is a big number in terms of life amenities including food and clothing. In Africa and Tanzania as a case, families in the rural settings still depend on extended family rather than nuclear family as the case in the developed world. The situation is changing such that the bonds formerly attached with extended family, are falling asunder due to modernization and urbanization which is taking place. On top of that, family members including the father and mother who were supposed to be at the frontline in ensuring that the family basic needs are met, cannot play their part because of the abject poverty surrounding them. Then, what is chosen as the welfare coping strategy is for every able bodied person in the family irrespective of age or gender is involuntarily forced to work in order to eat and live. At this point, school children work not only on domestic chores but also field works with the expectation of meeting their personal and family needs including buying food and school facilities as it was reported by one of my informants,

*[...] apart from attending home chores I have also to train oxen for ploughing which is very dangerous. I also go for pasturing such that I have to miss some classes from time to time eventually lose the zeal for schooling. During farming season, apart from digging at home, I also look for piecemeal works for digging using oxen plough so as to get money for family expenditures and meet my own needs or receive food as payment in kind...*

In fact, a good number of children reported to engage in various types of activities including what they called “Mraba” meaning a piecemeal work- children and parents go to work on their neighbors’ farms for cash or pay in kind where they are given payments in form of food and clothes. Having worked for long hours still when they come back home, children are supposed to attend home chores including fetching water, cooking, collecting fuel woods etc. It was under such circumstances that the children build a negative attitude towards the work that they do. When asked why they went on working despite the fact that sometimes they were being exhausted, some of the responses were like,

*Life conditions are tough such that we need to work so as to raise the income...So, either you work and get money to buy food and some other necessary needs or you leave and have nothing to eat.*

## **Locality**

Within the domain of welfare coping strategy, locality is another concept which emerged during data analysis. Itigi Ward and Manyoni District or Singida Region at most is located in semi arid regions of Tanzania. It is also within the Eastern African Rift Valley such that most of the natives of the place (Itigi) are mainly agro- pastoralists. According to Grove (1977) as cited by Dr Schechambo and Dr Sosoveli (1999), semi-arid lands are those parts of the world where the rain is insufficient or barely sufficient for satisfactory crop growth in most years. Additionally, Hudson (1987) cited by the same above, informs that drought is part of natural order in semi-arid areas... It is, further, urged that the extent of the erosion problem and the pressures on the semi-arid ecosystems result from increasing human and livestock populations.

Apart from the above geographical characteristics of Itigi, Itigi is one of the fastest urbanizing areas in Singida region and Tanzania as a whole. The process of urbanization as it is anywhere has its impact on the natives. What is happening at Itigi is that the process has prompted an influx into the area of a big number of petty traders and passersby who are obtaining plots of lands; they are building settlements as business men. As explained in the methodology under “Area of study”, what is going on at Itigi is for majority of the natives to be displaced together with their herds of cattle. Even so, they are still forced to interact with the immigrants because they are the ones who serve as medical practitioners, teachers, police force, shop owners etc.

In that type of interaction, majority of the natives who are poor living below national poverty line of less than 1US\$ a day are forced to design some welfare coping strategy of which one of them is for household heads such as father, mother or any other elder person to allow children to go and find any kind of work at the center. Thus, it is common for children aged 7- 15 to find them involved in either of the worst forms of labour or another. One of the child among my key informants reported that due to insufficient food to support them to the next harvest and because of the urbanization process which is going on rapidly, parents forced children to work outside their homes. The child said that sometimes the parents used intimidation words to ensure children worked wherever they could and bring back home something to eat. This is evidenced by the statement that,

*Parents say that we cannot stay at home and eat only without producing...we must help them by working for payments and bring back some returns. They say the home economy is bad...They insist that if we cannot work then we should stay hungry...*

### **Household economy**

In relation to the preceding discussion on locality, household economy is a concept which seems to be closely related. It was also found that most of the families had a big number of dependants (up to 13) including children, old age and the impaired ones. This affected both formal and informal families such that respondents from both families lamented having low capacity to meet the family requirements. The situation was worse among the informal families because of their solely reliance on agriculture for subsistence meanwhile agriculture was unreliable. Even then, still the economy of Tanzania depends largely on agriculture as the leading sector. This is shown by URT- NSGRP (2005: 6) that, *Agriculture is the lead sector, accounting for 45 percent of GDP and about 60 percent of export earnings in the past three years. It is the source of food and raw materials for industries. It also provides livelihoods to 82 percent of the population.*

Nonetheless, people not only in the study area depend on natural weather conditions such as rains; and the farming is not agro-mechanized to the extent that majority of the farmers in the rural use hand hoe with no application of inputs like fertilizers etc. This implies that in any case of adverse in weather conditions, peasants are affected most and it means bottleneck in production.

The given situation above has forced parents from both categories that is from both formal and informal sector to designate a welfare coping strategy. One of them is of using their children not only for domestic chores, but also in economic generating activities. One teacher said that some of the staff members send their children to work on gypsum mining and in timber in the forest. He said that,

*“Majority of the people including some of my fellow teachers see all that is done by their children to be appreciable and developmental. They dare to send their children to work on gypsum mining and timber activities. Thereafter, some who manage to build a house with corrugated iron sheets “mabati” though with bricks made of natural soils (not mixed with cement) which cannot last long or buy bicycles for them is fine but do not worry about the health of their children. Most parents have been satisfied with the poor economic status. They live with poverty and have despaired. They do not know how other people in other places struggle with life...”*

Two young boys aged between 10- 14 found digging gypsum in the field. They use a pickaxe to excavate the soils as it is hard underground, and a shovel to move it out of the ditch for sifting and packing. A sack weighing 50-100 kg is sold at 300- 350 TSHs in the field, and the middlemen sell it to the industry at 3000- 5000 TSHs



**Source: Field data December 2006:  
Itigi Ward, Manyoni District- Singida  
(Photo: By G. J. M)**

What is devastating is that children toil a lot to end up with quite little earning. It was found for example that those who opt for gypsum mining, have to adhere to the condition that you dig a ditch of three meter squares and you are paid between 500- 1000,- TSHs Shillings. The work is extremely hard and exhaustive. The soils are so compact mixed with sedimentary rocks which need to be broken up, yet ending with either one or only two such piecemeal for those in good health conditions. In other words, in the attempt to raise the economy of the family, children lose their rights and cannot manage going to school regularly.

It can be deduced that the household economy has major impact on the feelings and thinking of the children towards the labour in which they participate whether willingly or being forced both by the poor situation of their families or parents as a welfare copying strategy. Most parents at Itigi reported to find it better for their children to bring back home some returns (money or food) out of such activities. Thus, they hardly bothered about the side effects of such labor to the health of their children. It is not easy to draw a line between the informal and formal families on the extent to which they use children as sources of income generation. The observations showed that the lower the household economy the greater the likelihood to involve children in the income generation of the household irrespective of age, time limit or environment for the work to be done. Such environment

has the possibilities of abusing the rights of the children who find it normal before they are informed of their rights.

Some of the activities children perform were found to be unbearable and pertinently good examples of child labour. It is hard to explain that a child like those in the pictures above and below work for many hours, yet end up getting not more than 500 Tanzania shillings equivalent to less than half a 1US\$.

Girls carrying timber from the forest to the roadsides to be transported to Singida town or to neighbouring regions like Dodoma and Arusha. One trip usually takes between 30 minutes – 1 hour depending on the terrain, and a child of 9-13 years can make 8-12 trips during week ends, earning between TShs 50-100/- per piece.



**Source: Field Data December 2006: Itigi ward, Manyoni District - Singida region.  
(Photo: By G. J. M)**

Most children especially from informal families said they had worked in some kinds of WFCL. They also informed that the works they did were tiresome and disastrous to their physical, mental and morality and hindered them from accessing formal education. This was also noted by Lemoyan (1989) in her study about child labour as cited by Kilonzo (1996: 28) in his Thesis that among the negative results produced by child labour is that of leaving damaging effect on the mental and physical development of the child.

## Children girls and boys all carry timber for a living



**Source:** Field Data, December 2006: Itigi Ward, Manyoni District- Singida  
**(Photo: By G. J. M)**

Basing on the standard conventions by ILO in which the WFCL consideration takes root with regard to the number of hours spent in economic activities and chores, the age of the person, the environment of work and the capacity to perform the work, a good number of the respondents can be accounted to perform worst forms of labour. A child said for example that he was supposed to attend domestic chores and yet, go to school and coming back from school he was supposed to go to supplant his grandfather for taking care of the cattle in the bush. All of these activities culminated into him being so tired that he could not concentrate on the subjects taught during the day. This caused him to report that he hardly enjoyed with the labour he provided. This implies also that his rights were being interrupted. He said,

*“We have a duty for ‘kuwesela’- local word, literary translated as the act of drawing water from a borehole and pouring into a shallow dam established for cattle to drink water after grazing. We do grazing at weekly bases. During school days, if it is our duty, sometimes my grandfather goes for grazing in the morning and I take over in the afternoon and vice versa depending on the school session whether I attend morning or afternoon session. During rainy season I miss school and when I go to school I face punishment. After schooling I have to go to farm, no time for study or resting...That is why my performance at school is very poor...”*

Looking critically at the above narration, one is likely to come up with a notion that some children have an extraneously superfluous experience. Children must be socialized because they are social

beings in order to fit into the society in which they are born. Nevertheless, it is good that the form of socialization take into account their rights. I support one respondent who stipulated that Itigi people are not poor to the magnitude that they claim to be. He was of the view that majority of them have the ability to design coping strategies which would raise the household economy without continuous torturing and excessive use of the children which culminate into abusing their rights. He commented that one of the problems with the people is the lack of initiatives and desperation among them. They have other alternatives through which they can lead a moderate if not standard living but they lack technical know how to go about. His view was that,

*[...in Tanzania there are no absolute poor people...because people do not expect their food from government daily but the problem is for having a poor economic vision. Parents at Itigi for example have been used to preparing local brews since their grand's grand parents to the present generation. There are no changes in the sources of income. Majority of parents from 1950s or 1940s has been confined at Itigi...”*

On the other hand, some interviewees said that they were happy with the manner they were assigned duties at their homes, still when asked to explain the way they felt especially while attending farm works or fetching water, they contradicted their first proposition. It should be noted that at Itigi the common source of water is from boreholes of which some of them are as deep as 100- 150metres deep. The water is pulled out using a gallon or container tied to a rope which can reach that depth. The point here is that, children spend a lot of energy and power in order to get water. Even then, before knowing what their rights as children were, some children had reported that they were in between- not happy and not dissatisfied with the fatigue of fetching water. One of them told me that it was important and obligatory to fetch water though it was tiresome. Probing on the experience and attitude she had toward that fatigue she aired out that,

*“It is an exhausting work especially when you are supposed to fill about twelve buckets but I must accomplish it because we need water for many reasons and the water I fetch I also use for bathing, cooking, drinking , washing clothes etc. If I do not fetch who else can draw for me?”*

The poverty experienced at the household level has shaped the people in the area in such a way that they sometimes lose command over their children. In this case, respondents (parents) argued that some children are left free to go wherever they want and do whatever they want. On return, their parents expected them to bring back something for the family to use or consume. In so doing, to me it

sounded like the children paid fees to remain members of their families. I think this is critical and if not watched out and dealt with, paves a way to the children to turn into street children beggars, thieves, bandits, gangsters and so on.

One of the key informants informed me that some parents, because of the poverty which make them not to be sure whether they will eat today or they will be healthier tomorrow, when asked by their children about some basic needs, dare to tell them that they are grown up enough to work and get such needs on their own. What is surprising is to find that some parents as depicted above are escaping their obligations, (Grounded in the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989 Article 18, Section 1) instead, are daring to provide full power to their children to decide on their fate. Children are left free to choose what to do, when, where and how. Remember, some of these children are young enough not to distinguish between what is potentially good and bad for them while making their decisions. Given such coping strategies children are likely to end up making bad options of saving WFL including prostitution for girls and many other of the kind as reported by a parent,

*“parent dares to tell her daughter that you are now grown ups enough not to keep depending on me to buy for you body jelly, underpants...shoes and nice dresses are outside go and search for yourself...Given such statements then we witness girls turning into prostitution, selling in hotels by receiving only daily food, selling alcohols, petty trading, selling firewood, picking charcoal on streets and selling, for boys, if not stealing they go for gypsum and carrying bricks and laying them for money...”*

### **6.2.3 Modernization and development**

This entails some phenomena which come as a product of change into the social and economic conditions of the people. It is cumulative processes which require people to adopt new ways of living and so, affects their total ways of life. According to this study, it can be used to examine the attitudes of the primary school children towards the labour they perform under the chosen subcategories of: Desire to have and participate, peers' influence, as well as the emerging urbanity demands.

#### **Desire to have and participate**

Like in any other place of the world, the processes of modernization and development which are taking place in Singida and Itigi in particular, have their salient effects on the population including the primary school children. A number of people seemed to experience the process with negative



attitudes of mind. I am not defending the modernization theories of development a hundred percent on their claim that for a poor nation to develop must detach from its traditional cultures and adopt modern economic institutions, technologies and the like. What I am trying to say is that the changes always put in demand the desire for people to have and participate. I mean, modernization opens the room for free market and competition which at the end of the day brings into place things which are new/ modern things, and people automatically are trapped with the desire to have.

What is happening in this area is that so many businesses are opening up especially shops for ready made consumer goods like clothes, shoes, radios, Television sets, cassettes, bicycles of every make up, domestic wares and soon. Before, there was not such an abundance of consumer goods. The outcome of this is that children and parents, young and old people all are competing to secure one or the other of these items. The arising puzzle do they have the capacity and fiscal capability to afford them? This is an issue for further analysis. My concern here is to say that many young people including the primary school children aged 7- 15 are opting to work rather than to go to school in order to get either money or pay in kind where they work for a certain period of time and then get what they want including small radio, clothes, shoes and some little amount of money.

The desire to have and participate in modern things including attending to music of which the participants must meet a certain prescribed amount of participation fee requires money. Most young people want to participate in the so called “Madebe” – Swahili terminology used by people to connote Discotheque music. In so doing, they find it mandatory to look for any possible means through which to obtain money for such expenditures. As a result the attitudes and mindset of these children no longer think of whether they subject themselves onto saving WFL. Their experience on the labour was not reported to be as negative as it was expected in one of my specific aims for this study that “Domestic child labour might have negative implication on the rights of the children”. This might be due to the fact that a number of the respondents found it better to achieve short term interest than long term like education.

Even so, such experiences were more common among children from informal families. I mean, when you compare the probability of working for payments between groups of children from formal and informal families, it is more likely to get lower chances for the former group than the latter. One of the reasons is that the former group has parents employed with the assurance of getting cash nexus at every end of the month, which is not the case to the other group. This probability makes the children

from parents in the formal sector able to stand a big chance of getting the entrance fee direct from their parents although it should not be taken for granted. Of course, even children from formal families were found to engage in economic activities for payment apart from home activities and when asked for the reason why they did it one of them said that they wanted to have extra money for personal use.

*“Some times children need higher things that parents cannot afford, hence leave their parents and engage in WFL so as go get what they need... Some children especially girls want to decorate themselves while their parents have no ability to meet the cost to buy them cosmetics; hence, left to do whatever they want to suffice their requirements something which prompt them to opt for prostitution and some other WFL”*

### **Peer influences**

Another subcategory under modernization and development was peer influences. It is hereby used to refer to the tendency of children to be working under the pull factor of their age- mates. That means some of the key respondents when asked why they were involved in worst forms of labour, they answered that it was due to influences from their peer group members.

For instance, one key respondent boy aged 15years when asked why he was engaged in gypsum mining and sometimes in working under piecemeal bases, he said because he wanted some money for which to meet his needs and some to his girlfriend whom he said was also a pupil in standard five while he was in standard six. Along the interview, when asked to explain why he had occupied himself with love affairs he said it was because he saw some of his friends having girlfriend with whom they played sexual intercourse. The boy said,

*In participating in WFL I feel bad because there is a lot of dust for example in gypsum mining which endangers health and the owners of the circles tell us to drink milk before starting the process of mining which include digging, moving out the soil stuffs that contain the gypsum, pounding and sifting it, and finally packing into sacks weighing between 50 and 100gm each, then after the process... Drilling wells is also not healthier. I feel bad doing it even engaging in building houses and carrying bricks is a tough work but I do them in order to get some money for my personal use...my girlfriend also needs money from me...I need sometimes to buy nice shoes, shirts and trousers like jeans...*

In simple terms, the above anecdote demonstrates that sometimes children work not because they are forced to work or not because of the poor nature of their families, but due to some pull factors which are connected to the processes of modernization and development which are at pace now in the area. Parents reported that during their time 20-30 years ago, it was shameful for a boy of such age to have a girl friend and even worse having sexed already. A respondent exclaimed that to such a boy, it would be difficult in future to find a lady with whom to marry. He said that such a person was regarded to break the traditional norms and values. On the side of the girls, respondents said that it would cause a severe punishment. They also reported that in case she was found to be pregnant before marriage, she could be condemned to death, while on other tribes like Taturu and Nyaturu she would either be exiled or forced to marry the man responsible for the pregnancy.

It was then uncovered that together with all what has been talked about regarding modernization and development, within the spheres of peer group influence some children found themselves forced by their parents to go and look for paid activities. This was raised by children respondents who noted that some children despite knowing that their parents do not have the ability to meet some of their demands still went on claiming. This led their parents to not only allow them, but sometimes force them, to go to work wherever they want so as to realize their needs. Bearing in mind that this study dealt with children of the age between 7- 15 or 16, it means they cannot be employed at normal bases of employment as ratified by the Tanzanian Employment and Labour Relations Act, 2004, Part II, Sub-Part A on Child Labour. What followed is for them to labour in any form and kind of work excluding not the WFCL in which they are also underpaid, maltreated, mistreated, and exploited and so on. That is why findings revealed that,

*Parents force children to work. They tell them saying that you are now grown- up, stop demanding each and everything from me...go to find works. Can you not see the children of...they are working to help themselves and their parents, why not you?*

A number of young boys and girls are striving to secure reputable dresses, nice shoes, go for a saloon to make their hairs etc. All these were said not to exist ten years ago and backward. But a respondent said that after the area- Itigi was supplied with electric power, like seven years ago, the place has experienced drastic changes in social and economic infrastructures. People, especially young boys and girls, are competing for achieving things which in most cases go beyond the ability of their parents. But they cannot admit such reality instead they follow influences from peer groups ending up

stealing, robbing, brigand, sometimes raping as for boys. All of these were reported to gain momentum with the ongoing process of modernization and development. Sometimes, it might look as if parents are in disagreement with the needs of their children, but what was found in this study is that because of a number of factors including poverty, parents have either low ability or no ability at all to meet most of the needs raised by their children.

One respondent- a primary school teacher, when asked to comment on the way modernization and development has impact on pupils said that it is hard to control children. She narrated that children of this generation have so many demands which sometimes parents cannot manage to provide. She said,

*Many parents give less or do not provide children with their needs. Why? When a child asks for an exercise book or soap, a parent responds saying 'I do not have...' So, a child is not given his rights. Some parents allow their children to play games of chance for money, in Swahili called 'Kamali'. In a way, children develop desires while their parents save money for local beer and coffee and for the men to add another wife- polygamy which is common for the natives of this area. That is why a mother can tell her daughter say of 10 years old or so who has began to experience menstruation that you want me to keep buying pads for you, we used to apply pieces of torn clothes, so if you want special ones 'go and search money' meaning go and get a boyfriend to meet the costs. This is something which encourages and leads girls to commercial sex which is also growing very fast in our area.*

At such point, children irrespective of their origin are forced to develop an experience and attitude which is against the standard conventions by the ILO on the rights of the children. The children being driven by the modernization and development forces as the case at Itigi, could not recognize their rights but they knew that they were losing their opportunities like schooling, and enjoying their childhood like others. Having discussed with them regarding their rights and the manner in which they looked at the labour they carried out, they revealed their sentiments saying that it was peer influence which made some of them to demand some expensive things hence, acceptance to work under any pressure and conditions.

It was also found that there existed a competition among primary school children that when it was discovered that some children say by working for payment to a neighbor or to a business man, had managed to buy chicken chips (pieces of Irish potatoes with a piece of chicken) to eat during lunch time, others would also opt to go for such activities expecting to gain return as it was for their fellow.

The burning issue is that, before these processes of modernization and development, there were no places where children even grown-ups people could go and buy some takeaways as it is the case at the moment.

Generally, modernization and urbanization processes are good. Good as it renders reliable social services as it was narrated at Itigi where a number of goods and services are flocking in daily. But the arising question is, who are those benefiting from those goods and services? More to ask, what is the position of the children particularly those aged 7- 15 or 16 who are supposed to be enrolled in primary school? Are the rights of a child not being abrogated by such advancements? Had it not been the speed of the processes, would it be possible to have peer influence of the kind? These and many other questions are left for further examination by future scholars and researcher who will dare to have interest in them or in some of them.

This study has found that peer influence, being connected with modernization process which is on pace at Itigi, is an important factor that contribute to the primary school children to engage in WFL. Children work at homes or outside home because they follow peer influences and are forced to accept any kind of work under any condition and payments. In most cases, such children are underpaid or sometimes not paid at. A girl by then in standard four who was driven by her peer group reported that she ended up getting pregnant such that at the time this study was done, she had just delivered a child. The girl lamented that she never knew whether she would end up having a baby. She claimed that she came into friendship with the boy not because she wanted it but, because of the influence from her friends who always cast words of deception and disdain telling her that she feared nothing from joining their company and securing a boyfriend. She told that they justified their claim by buying varieties of bites and female stuffs including make-ups for lips, toes etc. which over time made her change her mind and join them to fulfill their wishes.

What is important is that some of the children are doing WFCL due to factors as explained above. Such children, as far as experiences and attitude towards labour are concerned, posited to have a negative one. She said that she was regretting her deeds which now are irreversible. She lamented,

*“I am satisfied because all what I do is for my own benefit and my baby together with my parents. Firewood for cooking, I eat what I cook; I drink the water I fetch etc. But, I regret that I did not expect to have a child at this age and I do not know the fate of this child because his father has rejected me together with the baby... I think due to fear of being jailed because*

*he impregnated me last year when I was in standard five and would be in standard six this year (2006). I wish I would continue with my studies...*”

Such experience above demonstrates how peer group influences either are constructive or destructive. It is common for age-mates, classmates, school-mates or even workmates to persuade among them to conjoin in some occasions. Such persuasion requires special attention for otherwise can lead someone into deep sea of never forgotten effect like the anecdote given above. The lesson from such true life experience in connection to the study topic is that some children have positive attitudes towards the WFCL that they do, but the attitude changes suddenly after they have gained a new insight of experience like that of being pregnant, getting a baby, being rejected by father of the baby and so on.

In a nut shell, the true attitude comes later on after things have fallen apart with little chance of bringing them back to the right path. In that way, children create a vicious cycle of poverty, illiteracy and ignorance. The girl did not accomplish her primary school education and she is now busy trying to think on how to raise the child. She has no hope of getting enough support for herself, her baby and her old parents, who are also disabled,

*“You are forced to take it as it is and feel happy because even if you become ugly it helps nothing. We were born 13 in our household, I was the 9<sup>th</sup> in birth, at present we are only two who are left at home, my brother and me. I have to attend all the home activities because as you see our father is a lame after a car accident some years ago and our mother like three years past has been suffering from chest... My brother helps only by working for money and buying some food. He also deals with petty trade and piecemeal works.”*

### **Emerging urban values:**

The concepts look closely related to the foregoing subtopics especially the one regarding the desire to acquire things and participate, but has some unique contents which are going to be discussed. The concept is here used to represent the attitude of mind of the people to be affected very much by the processes of modernity and development.

It was uncovered that the processes of modernization which is manifested by the ever increasing urbanization and development going on in Singida and Itigi in particular, lead into mushrooming number of shops, cafes, groceries, hair dressing saloons, hotels, bars for local brews and official beers etc. Such processes in a way were reported to erode the traditional values and norms and morality of

the people creating new ones which they find to contradict with their cultural values. In this aspect, respondents said that the ongoing process has laid asunder the former family ties through which people used to assist each other. They said that people now are developing individualistic morality which is doing away with solidarity morality that used to glue them together and ensure them with safety and security in terms of basic needs of life. They dared to say that before the increase in the process, they used to help each other in a number of social activities including giving food for the needy. Now, this has diminished and seems to cease completely.

Respondents in the parents' group reported that despite having good impact for the society as a whole, modernization and development had some bad effects on their children. They said that the demands of the process were at large extent unbearable and could not be met at once. To the contrary, children wanted to have all they needed at the same time. They went on saying that urbanity demands are emerging every day such that the so-called fashion within the process has no end. The implication for the children is that they no longer respect their parents or guardian including teachers at school. The claim put forward for the disrespect is that they want to appear modern, locally called "Kwenda na wakati" translated as '*to be up to date*' at the same time the parents are seen as outdated fashion wise.

It is under such condition that children after they cannot pay attention to the advice by and ideas of their elders or parents end up doing awful activities including commercial sex which lead them into sexually transmitted diseases including the incurable one at the present, that is HIV/ AIDS. They work as domestic labourers in which they work for many hours, or they are overburdened with heavy works like that of drilling wells at their homes. You find a child aged 9 to 13 years being assigned to wash clothes for the whole family either as part of the so-called normal home chores or under agreement for certain payments in cash or in kind.

Moreover, the emerging urbanity demands are causing the former social ties of the families at Itigi to collapse. This is plain as parents said that they have no control over their children as it used to be before the emerging of the current situation. Remember that not all families have the capacity to manage buying a Television set or a radio cassette from which to see what is happening on the other part of the world and also listen to music. Yet, people especially children would like to enjoy life in spite of the inability of their families. All these are pointed out to come out as a result of modernization and development processes which are continuing with a jet speed at Itigi. Few years

ago, like seven years back, no family owned a TV set except for the Missionaries of the Society of Precious Blood who already are explained in the previous discussions.

So, despite the poverty of the family, children want to either go to look at movies in places which are established for such purpose. In order to have access into such places they have to pay a fee. The issue is where to get the cash for the fee. Children opt for anything that comes in front of them in as much as it can enable them to get into the music or cinema and either play or look at movies respectively. What is deemed here is the possibility of the children to endanger their lives but also dismantle the morality which formally used to harmonize them with their parents and elders in the society. On the same track of thought, such urbanity demands have such implications on these children as failure to catch up with schooling, poor performance at school, and absconding school. It also leads children into misunderstanding with parents which culminate into families falling apart and children to basing on their own decision as final.

Emerging urban values, on my opinion, cannot be condemned for what is happening at the family or the individual at the lowest level in Singida- Itigi, because as a new phenomenon people ought to admire and speculate on its effects. Nevertheless, this is not the only place which is engulfed by the process. What is important is to consider the way how people are ready or take precaution to face it. It is my view that one of the best weapon to confront the process of modernization and urbanization, together with all its emerging demands, is for people to have or establish reliable economic bases such that children become not at the core of income generating activities as it is the case at present. This could be the responsibility for the family to play its role as much as it can, and the government/ politicians to support them in their initiatives.

The point I want to make here is that, thinking about the rights of the children as well as their experiences and attitudes towards the labour they offer, one need not to concentrate on the domestic and field activities alone. There is a need also to consider some other factors which contribute and whether overtly or covertly impel the children to work, hence engage in WFCL. It was realized that because of the lack of initiatives by the parents to design small scale income generating activities, people continue to depend on one major source which is agriculture. Unfortunately, the agriculture practiced does not promise for green pastures just because of the unreliability of weather conditions.



Otherwise, the fact that the natives are used to preparing and selling local brew which utilizes food stuffs (maize, bulrush millet, and finger millet) contributes to the prevalence of hunger besides getting some money. Having spent and finished the grains on beer, they begin to suffer from hunger and find alternative ways to survive. It is at such point that children are forced either by parents or circumstances to go to work for either pay in kind or money which in turn is used to supplement to the economy and welfare of the family. In this manner, some children said they were not happy and never willed to be in WFCL but they had no way out through which they could survive.

When such state of affairs happened, parents were said to be like toothless lion such that they hardly could have a rigorous command upon their children. All such happenings are now being associated with the emerging urbanity demands which are embedded within the process of modernization and development whereby both parents and children, young and old, girls and boys, women and men all are striving to enjoy its fruits which manifests in luxury things that requires lump sums of money. One of the interviewee said that,

*There is the issue of parents to lack command over their children because of being poor, hence, children choose to do what they want. Some look at the process of modernization and development negatively hence, deny their children the right to enjoy all what is associated with it like watching television, having a mobile phones, using internet service, etc. but at the same time they (parents) want to enjoy the same things as their children would like to do... hence, children decide sometimes on their own to work in order to get money for meeting their needs...*

Something to note here is the way emerging urbanity demands are blamed for collapse in the family which is responsible for the caring and upbringing of the future generation. Children are faced with difficult moments with no easy solution. Primary school children are working without having a recognized time for resting, playing with their fellows or enjoying recreation. In fact, I dare to say that their mindset, outlook and the total ways of thinking is being distorted to the extent of having wrong impressions of the meaning of life as well as the rights of a child. This situation is likely to keep on reproducing and so make a vicious circle of such predisposition.

Children seemed to accumulate superficial attitude and experiences of the domestic and field works which they did. Whenever they were informed of what was supposed to be their right work or right place for them to work or their rights in general, they were bewildered without any proper direction.

It is true that children from formal or informal sector families have some roles to play. These include attending to some domestic chores and field activities. However, the extent to which these activities were done was found to differ significantly such that those from the informal sector families seemed to perform the heavier activities.

In short, modernization and development processes are two sides of the same coin which need to be handled with great care. Both parents and children must not be overwhelmed by the forces accompanying the processes, but need to be stable and stand by it.

So, children are not happy with the overwork they confront. They are not happy with all the WFCL they engage with and they said that taking the WFCL to be normal and acceptable was because they did not have any immediate means through which to reach the ends of coping with the processes of modernization and development. Also, the inability of their parents to meet their daily demands was another cause for them to perform WFCL.

In general, this study expected to unveil the attitudes and experiences towards domestic and field labour, which the primary school children performed. It also aimed at understanding the meanings that children attached to such labour which seemed to exceed their age and capacity hence, detrimental for their mental, physical and moral development.

The findings have actually supported my hypotheses to a great extent, however with some crucial discrepancies. Most of the key informants reported to have negative attitudes and experiences of the labour in which they were engaged. Of the sixteen respondents who were interviewed, none of them seemed to favor what was found to be a category of WFCL.

It should be noted however that, some parents seemed to favor what they called child work. Nonetheless, after some discussions and explanations on what is WFCL, they show an ability to rethink and regret to have involved their children in such situation. This made me realize that some children and parents were not well informed about children rights. The findings show that there is still a great dependence of parents on their children as one of the significant means of income generation. Parents chosen as key informants for this study confirmed that there was such attitude of parents to use children for economic purposes. They reported that because of the poverty which is facing the people particularly in the informal sector, parents find that one of the easiest solution to

reduce the impact of poverty is to use children in income generation. Therefore, in that respect, children are forced to engage in production irrespective of what type of work they do. Altogether, it was found that the traditional values of using children in various activities still exist alongside the modernization and development.

It was also uncovered that the area where the study took place- Itigi ward is being affected by rapid processes of modernization and urbanization. The process has resulted into the influx of traders and businessmen who in turn are said to cause chaos on the daily lives of the people. The process has brought in new cultural values and norms which seem not to fit in with the old ones, hence causing misunderstanding between the young and old generation in regard to expenditures. That is to say, while modernization requires people especially the young generation to own modern things like TV, radio cassette, mobile phones, etc, the old generation see it as impoverishing in one hand and have no ability to afford them on the other hand. The result of this conflict is that children resort to work for payments such that within that framework of working they end up in doing WFCL. I then came to know that not only children from poor families engaged in WFCL but also those from well- to- do families. The reason given for this was that of peer pressure and personal interests of the children.

Also, it was found that the poorer the family was, the more the likelihood for its members it was to do piecemeal labour which in most cases subjected children to being exploited. Majority of the children from informal families reported to work for piecemeal. They said to have worked for many hours with little payment or ending with pay in kind by receiving either clothes or food. Exciting here was to discover that children rights are abused yet, some children and parents are in favor of child labour using poverty as an excuse. Even so, children who engaged with WFL were found to fail to concentrate in schooling eventually dropped out while preferring money to education.

Moreover, it was found that under the umbrella of socialization, child rights were being abused to a great extent. Many informants (parents and children) who claimed to socialize their children or the children who claimed to learn how to work, both groups were found to overwork their children hence turn into hazardous works. This was vivid to children who for instance dug in farm for the whole day as counted in local hours (12 hours). Also, it was clear with children who went either alone or together with their parents to dig gypsum for money.

There is a big conflict between traditions customs of the people and the so-called standard convention by ILO which puts a demarcation between normal child work and child labour. The study found that

a number of parents together with their children do not know about such conventions. When it happened that they knew about it, still it was hard to adhere to it because of the need to cope with the on going process of modernization. Thus, poverty stricken families find one of the best ways to alleviate family income poverty is to use their children in any kind of activities available.

It was also found that some children are sufferers of WFL due to irresponsibility of their parents and the children themselves. Informants reported that some parents fail to initiate small income generating activities of which they could afford leading their families into beggars while their children seeking and performing WFCL either voluntarily or by force from their parents. All these compel children to have negative attitude towards schooling. They drop out of school to engage in petty business and laboring culminating into doing WFCL.

In fact, the findings are in agreement with Naonga (1984), Raftopoulos (1990) and Nchahaga (1995) as cited in Kilonzo (1996: 31, Thesis) whom together commented that *in rural areas, children who work for wages and earn income develop a tendency of valuing money more than school education. Therefore, they loose interest to attend school and continuing schooling. Their enrolment and attendance become an issue to deal with.*

It was found that children from both formal and informal families were not happy with some of the activities they performed. They complained that because of their involvement in labour they were missing school, performing poorly in their subjects and some of them dropping out of school. Even then, most of the children who had to work as part and parcel of family income generation had different opinions about it. Some supported it saying that they earned money to support their living while others said that they did it only because they did not have another alternative. In a nutshell, the struggle against WFCL can hardly succeed because both parents and children still do not detest performing such activities.

## CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSION

This study was undertaken in order to examine the experiences of Child Labour among Primary School Children as a case study of Itigi Ward in Manyoni District- Singida Region in Tanzania. The main aim of the study was to develop an understanding of school children's own attitudes towards child labour of the primary school children whose parents are in the formal and informal sectors. It also targeted to identify the various worst forms of works that children performed both at home and in the fields then explore the attitudes and perceptions that the children developed while doing them. The study also examined the implications of child labour on the rights of the child under the supposition that, the rights were being abrogated and abused through performing such WFCL and the belief that those children whose parents were in the formal and informal sectors had different attitudes and experiences of WFCL.

During the analytical process of the findings, three categories were chosen namely: Institutionalization, welfare coping strategies, and modernization and development. The categories were identified through the process of coding which involved open, axial and selective coding. Having classified and sported concepts in the open coding, the concepts were more and more revisited by differentiating and comparing different indicators and looking for similarities between them, the process which led to formation of the three major categories. The **Institutionalization** category embraces all the things that are related to Socialization and Inculcation, as well as the agro-pastoralist lifestyle. On the other hand, the **Welfare coping strategies** category entails the attitudes of the primary school children in relation to family size, locality and the economy of the household. Finally, the **Modernization and development** category embraces the consideration of the attitudes based on the desire to have and participate, peers influence, and the emerging urbanity demands.

Primary school children, disregarding the type of families where they come from, develop comparatively the same attitude towards domestic and field labour. It only depends on their age, length of time spent on doing the works, the place where the work is done and the conditions of the work itself. It was observed that the attitudes and perceptions of the children which lead into their experiences and knowledge regarding the WFL they engage with, was highly embedded within the institutions which are responsible for their socialization and inculcation. It is the product of not only the broad perspective of the agro- pastoralist life-style, but also the basis for the local economy, how

the economy is more diversified. Agro- pastoralist lifestyle is included within the observation because majority of the residents in the area belonged to that domain.

Moreover, it was unveiled that the hardships of life of the individual, families and community at large forced them to think of alternative ways for survival hence, welfare coping strategies. Such ways responded to the growing family size, locality and household economy. Families resorted to using children as an alternative means for solving the problems which they faced as a result affected and conflicted with the rights of the children. The resort to using children also went as far as to conflicting with the children's own interests as 'urbanized' consumers. It was found that many children were affected very much by the processes to the extent of losing their morality hence moral decadency at individual and community levels. Children being used as major means of income generation at household and family levels resulted into them having negative attitude towards formal education at the expense of working for wages.

In a nutshell, the major categories named above are hereby abstractly used to rationally capture and represent the uncovered attitudes and perceptions which children attach to the WFL that they do. It can therefore be said that they summarize the findings of this study. However, they are not treated as independent concepts but they supplement one another.

It is hard to speak of attitudes and perceptions of domestic and field labour of the children without touching the institutions in which they belong. It was realized that the attitudes and perceptions of the children were institutionalized in the sense that within the institution such as the family, is where children worked whether willingly or as obligations. Families in the developing world as shown in the theoretical frameworks chapter put forward work as part of socialization, secondly, as obligation to meet some basic needs. A good number of respondents both parents and children seemed to support the idea that children worked as part of upbringing and learning how to depend on their own as they grow- up. However, it was clearly observed that not always children had positive attitudes towards the kinds of activities they performed. Moreover, some of the parents who claim to socialize their children through working were reported not to be working together with them (children) in stead they were found busy in local bars drinking local brews or playing chess, locally called "Bao".

Nonetheless, basing on the United Nations conventional standards for what is right work and not right for children with respect to age, time and place of work, one would realize that the United

Nations Conventions on: Minimum Age No. 138 of 1973, Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 182 of 1999 and the Convention on the Rights of the Child of 1989 were being undermined and broken. Although it is taken to be normal for most of the children to attend some chores as part of socialization and enculturation, it also cannot be negated that some of the chores go beyond limits. It does not mean that I reject the idea that children should be socialized according to their social environment; however it is my viewpoint that, some of the activities children perform are unbearable and pertinently good examples of child labour.

Moreover, the agro- pastoralist life-style had some impact and implication on the attitudes of the primary school children regarding the work they did. Most of the respondents (children) in this category seemed to have negative attitudes as shown in the discussion of the findings. Rarely did they appreciate the works they did. Some primary school children complained of attending school irregularly because they had to attend field works which they reported to be exhaustive and taking many hours. Some went as far as to blame the use of oxen for ploughing saying that it was dangerous and hazardous for their mental and health. Some complained that they have been shifting from place to place and from time to time following their parents who shift settlements to look for pastures. They complained that under such circumstances they failed to concentrate on schooling and lost their morale for formal education. Such complaints lead to the supposition that the children have negative attitudes and perception of some of the works they do hence, foretelling the abuse and abrogation of the rights of the child.

In respect of welfare coping strategies, the family size, locality and household economy were coined as the key concepts during data analysis. Some families aired out that the presence of big number of household members was a factor for children to engage in labour. It was also discovered that despite the continuous existence of the so called extended family, this no longer functions when it comes a crucial need for help. It was found that people now care for only their biological relatives or people to whom they have close ties like father, mother and son as first priority. This is contrary to what extended family used to be when it incorporated every member in the household and outside as much as he or she wanted and deserved a kind of a help. Then, given that claim of the collapse of the family ability to care for its members, children are opted as one of the major sources of income generation. This is also supported by the geographical area of Itigi which is in arid and semi –arid region which supports unreliable agricultural activities leading to poor household economy hence, necessitate families to resort to the use of children in any form of activity for raising their income.

Furthermore, it was found that due to the processes of modernization and development taking place in the area, not only children but also parents developed desires to have things including money, TV and participate in social affairs like discotheque. The state of affairs prompted both children and parents but to a great extent the former into serving in some WFL. This is to say that because of the processes which are going on, children and even parents in some way reported that they automatically developed desires to possess things which came as the product of the processes. Such things were mentioned to include televisions, mobile phones and so on. But then all these things required money, hence engage in some works including WFCL in order to secure money to meet their requirements.

Then again, peer influence and the emerging urban values came up as subcategories under modernization and development. They envisaged that some of the children were forced to participate in WFL due to the company that they were in or with. It was narrated by some informants that by seeing their peers having say good things like nice dresses, trousers, shoes etc. some young girls and boys, opted to work for payments so as to buy such items. This came by when they had found to have no solution for their needs from their parents. They either by themselves or under the pressure of their parents decided to go to work something which they realized to have lead them into doing some harmful works including untimely and unsafe sex which prompt them into a big chance of getting pregnancy or even acquiring HIV/AIDS.

Otherwise, it was uncovered that not only are children, but also parents who are affected by the ongoing processes of modernization and development at Itigi. That is to say that the children are left alone to face the challenges brought in by the waves of modernization and urbanization, which reduce them to child labourers. It makes them to perform all forms of labour, utmost the WFL. The aftermath of this process is likelihood of them being infected by diseases or counteracting incurable diseases like HIV/AIDS. When they are infected who will have to care for them? Therefore, parents have to be involved whether they like it or not. Unfortunately, it was discovered in this study that most of the respondents (children and parents) were also not well informed about the rights of the child such for them it was not easy to know whether they abused them or not.

In short, in order to highlight the primary school children experiences, attitudes and perception towards child labour which they engage in at home or in fields, requires a consideration of several



socioeconomic and cultural factors as explicated in this study. This means that social workers, who want to address the problem of child labor at any level and in any form, must equip themselves with the knowledge of the attitudes and perception of the children themselves towards the works they do. This is important because it would enable them to stand a chance of knowing the true nature of the children involvement in the WFL, hence integrate social work theories into practical realities. This is well established by Healy (2005: 95) who commented that,

*[...] there are a number of reasons why we should develop our capacity to identify, use and develop formal social work theory in our practice... So service users and service managers expect social workers to be able to explain the assumptions underpinning their practice, and theory can assist us in this...can help to develop and explain the 'what', 'why', 'how', and 'where' of our practice...Theory allows us to critically examine common –sense ways of seeing and doing things...Thus theory can enable us to critically review assumptions and accepted ways of doing things that work to the disadvantage of service users.*

However, in respect of the theoretical framework introduced in chapter three, it can logically be argued from the above citation that modernization theory ought to fit to explain the life of the people at Itigi. One of the problems that it seems to have is that of putting emphasis on the adoption of cultural values which insists on savings and productive investment. Looking critically at such claim, one could infer that people must have something to save and invest. But then the theory do not suggest on how to get what to save and invest. Majority of the people at Itigi live under the National poverty line of spending less than one US\$ per day. How could they manage to save out of it and invest? But then, the processes of modernization are not static, but are at pace being pioneered by new comers in the area. It is under such pressure that the natives are forced to come up with new strategies for their survival of which one of them is to consistently use their children as source of income. In that manner, children rights are abused because children are obliged to work as much as they can to earn a living for their family and also meet their own needs. They have no choice of the work to do, nor can they negotiate over the payments or conditions of work, and hence, in all ways they are exploited, tortured, abused and stigmatized.

The situation of child labour, not only in the area of study but also elsewhere in Tanzania, requires an intervention by the Government and Non-Government Organizations and Institutions so as to rescue the children from WFL or control the magnitude of child labour in relation to the educational goals of

primary schools. In many ways WFCL seems to have many negative consequences on their rights as it has already been discussed in the above chapters.

This might be possible by regulating the institutions into which the children belong especially by enabling the families and households to manage their lives. For instance, by educating them on the merits and demerits of family planning and putting an emphasis on micro economic entrepreneurship skills. This would create awareness building and self support for individuals and families. Also, to establish fiscal policies that support poor farmers who need credit access and affordable agriculture inputs in order to improve production as the majority of Tanzania's people depend on it. It should go together with supporting these poor farmers by enhancing access to regional and global markets; as well as improving infrastructure and access to market information.

Otherwise, there is a need to have policy measures such that all ministries which deal with children including the Ministry of Labour and Youth Development, Ministry of Education, Culture and Vocational Training, must prepare a standard format and policy which ensure that children rights are fully protected. I would suggest that policy governing school institution be formed in ways that accommodate all children irrespective of their ability or inability to afford some of the school requirements like uniform. This would help the poor families which live below poverty line which is 1US\$ per day, to manage sending their children to school, hence realize their right of education. However, this is linked to political will of the government. The government must have a political will expressed not only on policies but also in actions.

All child protection agencies whether Governmental or Non- Governmental or Charity organizations should collaborate to make sure that children rights are not abused and that children get their rights including that of education as stated on the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, Article 28 Section (1a). There should be a dialogue among actors on the fight against WFCL such as local government leaders, religious leaders, teachers, business people, employers of children, parents, NGOs, Community Bases Organizations, media etc. Some ways should be sought out to make sure that children have free access to primary school education. Where possible counseling and punishment of parents and leaders who collaborate in keeping children away from school attendance be practiced.

There is also a need for practical measure to be undertaken and policy be designed to ensure that the working children and their relatives/ parents understand that strive against WFCL is a fight for their betterment and not against their survival.

By combining the explained efforts above, children from formal or informal families can be withdrawn from doing WFCL. It is until then that families, communities and the nation as a whole would also abandon traditional ways that favor the use of child labour and adopt modern ones as perpetuated by Modernization theory.

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# APPENDICES

## 1. Interview guide/ Check list.

### Singida region and Manyoni District

- What are the districts of region?
- What is the current population statistics for each district?
- What is the number of children aged 1-17 in the region? Males/ females and percentage?
- What is the number of children aged 7 - 15 years?
- How many are registered in primary schools? Males / females and percentage
- How many are attending primary schools? Males/ Females and percentage
- How many are not attending primary schools?
- What are the reasons for the above school dropouts?
- What are the dominant economic activities of the people?
- Which activity or activities preoccupy the largest part of the population?
- The condition of children in the passed five years (2001-2005)
- The forms of child activities that exists (The worst and accepted)
- Statistics of children involved in worst forms of child labour in the region for five years back (2001- 2005)
- The efforts by the regional administration to fight against the situation
- Number of divisions in the district (if possible get a map)
- Number of wards in the district

### Itigi ward

- What is the current population of the ward? Male/ females and percentage
- What is the number of children aged 1-17 in the ward? Boys/ girls and percentage
- What is the number of children aged 7-15 in the Ward? Boys/ girls and percentage
- The number of children who are registered in primary school, those who attend, and the dropouts by 2006 (Standard 1-7, Girls/ boys and their percentage).
- What is the number of schools in the ward?
- What is the average number of primary school dropouts for the past five years?

| NUMBER OF REGISTERED PUPILS |           |          |           |          |           |          |           |          |           | NUMBER OF DROPOUTS |           |          |           |          |           |          |           |          |           |
|-----------------------------|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|-----------|--------------------|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|-----------|
| 2001                        |           | 2002     |           | 2003     |           | 2004     |           | 2005     |           | 2001               |           | 2002     |           | 2003     |           | 2004     |           | 2005     |           |
| Boy<br>s                    | Girl<br>s | Boy<br>s | Girl<br>s | Boy<br>s | Girl<br>s | Boy<br>s | Girl<br>s | Boy<br>s | Girl<br>s | Boy<br>s           | Girl<br>s | Boy<br>s | Girl<br>s | Boy<br>s | Girl<br>s | Boy<br>s | Girl<br>s | Boy<br>s | Girl<br>s |
|                             |           |          |           |          |           |          |           |          |           |                    |           |          |           |          |           |          |           |          |           |
|                             |           |          |           |          |           |          |           |          |           |                    |           |          |           |          |           |          |           |          |           |
|                             |           |          |           |          |           |          |           |          |           |                    |           |          |           |          |           |          |           |          |           |
|                             |           |          |           |          |           |          |           |          |           |                    |           |          |           |          |           |          |           |          |           |

- What are the outstanding reasons for the school dropouts above?
- How could you explain the general lifestyle of the people in Itigi ward?
- What are the major income generating activities for the people of Itigi?
- What is the major occupation for the majority of the people in the ward
- What is the position of the children (7-15 years) in those activities in the ward?
- What have been the major changes in the occupation of the people for the past five years (2001- 2005)?
- How the role of the family in upbringing the children is affected by the changes in the occupations explained above?

- What can be said to be the changes in child labour that school children in the ward seem to do at home and in the field for the past five years?
- What are the legitimate child labour children perform at home and in the fields
- How do you experience the rate of child labour in the ward at the domestic level and in the field?
- What are the major explanations for the existence of child labour in the ward
- As parent and a leader, are you aware of these rights of your child/ children
- What is then your attitude towards domestic child labour?

### **Children check list**

1. Name
2. Age
3. Gender/ sex
4. From formal / informal family
5. Whom do you stay with?
6. How many are you in the home? Females/ males
7. Relatives in the household:

### **Activities**

- When start before going to school and finish working in the evening.....
- Kinds of activities performed and the working environment
- What are the experiences that you have from the works?
- What are the numbers of times which you work in a day? Or a week?
- What are the Problems that you encounter in your chores? (Overwork, lack of leisure time, no time for worship, insults, canning/ beaten)
- To what extent are you satisfied in performing them?
- If not satisfied, what to be done\ suggest.....
- By the government
- The general public
- Do your parents stand a chance of hiring a house-worker?
- Any effects on the home role performance (Informal\ formal sector).....
- Do you have time to do homework, study and rest?
- Are domestic works compelling? Why?
- Reasons for keeping doing the chores...Opinions why children work
- Do the activities cause health and mental development problems for you?
- What are the numbers of meals that you take per day?
- Whether already engaged in sexual intercourse. Reason.
- Regarding school expenses; who meets and how
- Whether parents help doing the most of the chores, when!
- Who is supposed to help doing them? Why not the other.....(Traditions)
- Understanding of child labour (WFCL)
- Determinants of children to engage in WFCL\ CL
- Suggestions and opinion to remove MFCL
- Do you enjoy performing them
- Feelings developed in doing the works compared to other children
- What are the normal activities that you engage with?
- What do you consider to be the abusive ones?
- Discussion on Children rights and whether they are abused r not..



## **Parents and teachers:**

### **A. Cultural and socialization explanations**

- ✓ ..Kinds of activities done
- ✓ ..Feelings while performing them
- ✓ ..Reaction from failure to do them
- ✓ ..Girl and boy... who go to school most? Why?
- ✓ ..Parents' awareness and school attendance...any relationship?
- ✓ ..Any knowledge on children rights ....whether abused
- ✓ ..Understanding of domestic child labour...What is the situation?
- ✓ ..Attitude toward children involvement in domestic chores.
- ✓ ..Parent attitude toward domestic child labour
- ✓ ..domestic chores and field activities school children do
- ✓ ..Parent awareness on children rights
- ✓ ..Family division of labour
- ✓ ..Determinants of children to engage in child labour\ MFCL
- ✓ ..on children rights awareness and existence and whether abused or not

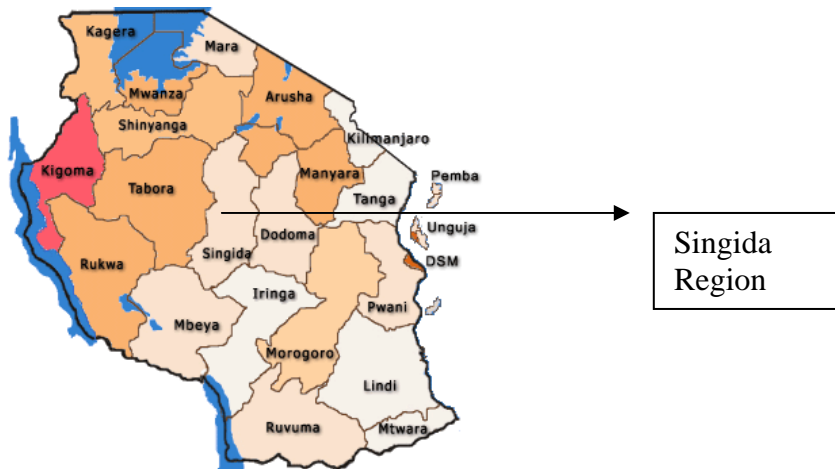
### **B. Economic explanations**

- ✓ ..Perception of the labour children provide at home and in the field
- ✓ ..Position of children in the home economy.
- ✓ ..The attitude of parents for children activeness in the income generation.
- ✓ ..Whose labour is important (girl\boy)...why? .....Gender
- ✓ ..Do you spend some of your income for your family...How you feel...
- ✓ .. Poverty and school attendance...any impact?
- ✓ ..Abusive activities for children...whether they exist and why exist?
- ✓ ..Activities thought heavy for children...

### **C. Modernization explanations**

- ✓ ..Role of the family on child care and the role of children on the family
- ✓ ..effects on family life and child care
- ✓ ..Father / mother strategies for coping with development and modernization
- ✓ ..the value of formal education to children + efforts made to attain
- ✓ ..Future vision for child\ children
- ✓ ..Efforts to eliminate child labor....what to be done to remove it...
- ✓ ..What modernization mean to them
- ✓ ..Explanations on the existence of WFCL at domestic or field levels
- ✓ ..As a parent the attitude toward WFCL at domestic or in the field

## 2. Map of Tanzania showing Singida Region with its bordering Regions



Source: Tanzania Population and Housing Census 2002

## 3. Map of Singida showing its districts



Source: Tanzania Population and Housing Census 2002

## 4. Map of Manyoni District showing Itigi ward

