

PERSPECTIVES ON CHILD LABOUR IN KENYA: CASE OF MALAKISI TOBACCO

FARMS, 2003- 2010

By

Oscar Meywa Otele

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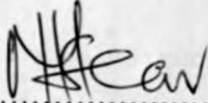
**A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
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**FACULTY OF ARTS
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DECLARATION

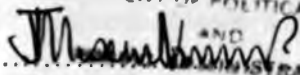
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Name: Oscar Meywa Otele

(C50/77442/2009)

This Dissertation has been submitted for examination with our approval as university supervisors

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
AND
ADMINISTRATION
Signature  Date 24-6-2011

Dr. Joshua Kivuva

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
AND
ADMINISTRATION
Signature  Date 24-6-2011

Dr. Penninah Ogada

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my parents, brother Kelvin and sister Yvonne.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ACRWC: African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child

AIDS: Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome

AU: African Union

BAT: British American Tobacco

CBS: Central Bureau of Statistics

CSR: Corporate Social Responsibility

DCLC: District Child Labour Committees

DLO: District Labour Officer

DO: District Officer

ECLT: Eliminating Child Labour in Tobacco Growing Areas Foundation

EFA: Education for All

FGDs: Focus Group Discussions

FKE: Federation of the Kenya Employers

FPE: Free Primary Education

IDS: Institute for Development Studies

IFRA: Institute of French and Research in Africa

ILO: International Labour Organization

ILFS: Integrated Labour Forces Survey

IOs: International Organizations

IPAR: Institute of Policy Research and Analysis

IPEC: International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour

JKML: Jomo Kenyatta Memorial Library

KDHS: Kenya Demographic and Health Survey

KIE: Kenya Institute of Education

KIHBS: Kenya Integrated Household Budget Survey

KIPPRA: Kenya Institute for Public Policy Research and Analysis

KPHC: Kenya Population and Housing Census

NLRC: National Law Reporting Council

KNBS: Kenya National Bureau of Statistics

LCLC: Local Child Labour Committee
MDGs: Millennium Development Goals
MLHRD: Ministry of Labour and Human Resource Development
MOE: Ministry of Education
NGOs: Non Governmental Organizations
NPCL: National Policy on Child Labour
PTR: Pupil-Teacher Ratio
SPSS: Statistical Package for Social Sciences
TPR: Textbook Pupil Ratio
UN: United Nations
UNCRC: United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child
UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF: United Nations Children's Fund
WFCL: Worst Forms of Child Labour
WHO: World Health Organization
YEF: Youth Enterprise Fund

ABSTRACT

This study seeks to understand the notion of child labour in African context- what it is, its manifestation and how the local community in Malakisi tobacco growing areas in Bungoma County perceive and understand it. This is a departure from most previous studies in Kenya that have largely conceptualized child labour from international standards.

The study applies grounded theory to thematize the perspectives collected from local community about their views on child labour. The study utilizes a sample size of 152 respondents in various categories of sampled units including individual children, household heads, institutions (schools, administrative units and NGOs) and FGDs. The study argues that there is a conflict between the ways local community defines a child versus the definitions provided by international conventions. While local community views a child as a young person who has not undergone the rites of passage and been inducted into adulthood, international conventions define a child in terms of calendar years. The differences in the definitions have become challenges to the efforts towards eradicating child labour.

The study found that majority of the respondents view child labour as a form of socialization, source of livelihood, source of social security and form of employment. While few of the respondents view child labour as economically exploitative and a situation that denies children privileges of childhood. The diversity in the definition of a “child” is influenced by socio economic factors at the household level and cultural expectation. The study recommends integration of local community’s values into public policy making processes.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

Child labour is a global multidimensional phenomenon. The phenomenon is manifested in form of domestic work at home and wage employment outside the household. The nature, extent and magnitude of child labour vary across nation states, as well as among sectors within countries. In 2009, it was estimated that about 120 to 250 million children were involved in wage employment around the world. Africa reported the highest incidents with approximately 32 million child labourers aged between 5 and 14 years. Out of this, Kenya represented 9.6 per cent of the working children (ILO, 2009).

In Kenya, the phenomenon is not only prevalent in commercial plantations but also in smallholder farms and households. Studies on child labour in Kenya conceive child work as work performed by children after normal school hours for the purpose of socialization and training for normal growth (ROK, 2001; ROK, 2007). Attempts at defining child labour have generally viewed the phenomenon as exploitative work done by children which restrains them from schooling and play (ROK, 2001; ROK, 2008; ILO, 2009).¹ Wage employment among the children has been caused by weak institutional frameworks, lack of political will and inefficient schools monitoring systems (ROK, 2008). Child labour in Kenya has been exacerbated by the

¹Also see United Nations Children's Fund- UNICEF (2003) "The State of the World's Children." <http://www.unicef.org/sowco3/> (Accessed on 20/7/2010 at 1015hr), UNICEF (2005) "Child Labour." http://www.unicef.org/protection/index_child_labour.html (Accessed on 20/7/2010 at 1200hr).

interplay between the invisible push and pull of forces within the national existing policy frameworks and social economic conditions of the households.

Elsewhere, some studies have reported the nature, extent and magnitude of child work and child labour in commercial plantation including tobacco farms. In Mexico, Southern Lebanon and Malawi there are patterns of families migrating with their children to work in tobacco farms during harvesting seasons. The outcome was the interrupted schooling and children exposed to health and safety risks.² While in Tanzania and Uganda children are reported to prefer to work in tobacco farms and attend school. In 2006, efforts to curb child labour in tobacco farms in Southern Brazil culminated an agreement between British American Tobacco (BAT) subsidiary and farmers' union aimed at keeping children under the age of 16 in schools. Similar interventions were reported in Kyrgyzstan, Philippines, Tanzania, Malawi, Zambia and Uganda.³ In Kenya, while efforts at curbing child labour have reported gains in commercial crops like tea, coffee, sugarcane and rice, there is little progress reported from tobacco industry. This study examines the local community's perspectives on child labour in Malakisi tobacco farms with a view to making recommendation for a policy prescription that is responsive to the social, economic and cultural morphology of the local people.

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

The 1989 United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC), the 1973 International Labour Organization (ILO) Convention on Minimum Age, (C138), the 1999 ILO

²Eliminating Child Labour in Tobacco Growing Areas Foundation (ECLT) the 2008 Annual Report. Available at <http://www.bat.com/> (Accessed on 3/8/2010 at 1709hr).

³Ibid.

Convention on the worst forms of child labour. (C182), the 1999 African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (ACRWC) and the 2000 Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) all provide frameworks for the interrogation and elimination of child employment in Kenya. Although the Kenyan government has ratified all these instruments child employment continues to flourish in both urban and rural parts of the country.

The trend in child employment not only points to inconsistency in monitoring children's rights at national level but also at household level. The main contention has revolved around understanding of what constitutes child labour. Generally an understanding of child employment in the Africa continent revolves around a cultural orientation. In Kenya, work done by children is perceived differently among the 42 ethnic groups. In some ethnic communities parents' and children's attitudes may influence what is considered as child labour.

Broadly, studies done on child labour have identified the causes and effects as being a result of the inconsistency between international standards and national policies on children's rights (Myer, 2005), socio economic conditions in households, intra-ethnic violence, an inefficient schooling system and cultural practices (ROK, 2001; ROK, 2008). On cultural practices, there is little on record to show how local community's attitudes define the scope of work done by children; this constitutes the knowledge gap that the study seeks to fill.

The study therefore seeks to examine local community's perspectives on child labour against international standards and national laws, social economic realities at household level in light of government's commitment to offering Free Primary Education (FPE) since 2003. Accordingly,

the following research questions provide guidance for data collection and organization of the study:

1. How does the household head level of awareness of national laws influence the scope of child labour?
2. How do learning conditions in schools influence children's preference for work in tobacco farms as opposed to attending school?

1.3 Definitions of the Terms

This section deals with the operationalization of key terms used in the study.

Adult Children: Persons found at the household between age bracket 15- 17 and dependent on their parents.

Attitude: Household heads' level of awareness and children's level of participation in tobacco farms.

Baraza: Meeting organized by chiefs and assistant chiefs to address specific issues affecting population within areas of jurisdiction.

Boda boda: Bicycle riders who transport people or goods at a fee.

Busaa: Fermented mixture of maize and yeast taken as local brew.

Child Labour: Work done outside household for payment.

Child Work: The routine work performed at household or communal level without payment by virtue of being a member.

Children: Persons found in the household, residing under parental care and guidance.

Learning Conditions: Facilities that cater for the needs of pupils in class e.g. desks, books, classroom status, teachers and number of pupils per class.

Local farmers: Household heads engaged in the subsistence farming mainly for food consumption by family members.

Household Heads: Potential employers of children who tend tobacco in their farms within Malakisi Location.

Mama: Female household heads.

Perspective: The attitudes of local linguistic groups living within tobacco growing areas. The groups include: Bukusu, Tesos and Sabaot that constitute the sub ethnic groups in Malakisi Location.

Shamba: Piece of land set aside for farming activities.

Work: Chores children perform in tobacco farms. These are sowing tobacco seedlings, weeding, plucking, carrying tobacco leaves from the farms, hanging them on poles in tobacco drying sheds as well as curling and tying tobacco leaves.

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The study seeks to examine local community perspectives on child labour in Malakisi tobacco farms. Specifically the study seeks:

- 1.4.1 To examine the household heads' level of awareness of national laws on child labour.
- 1.4.2 To examine whether learning conditions at school influence children's preference for working in tobacco farms as opposed to attending school.

1.5 Research Hypotheses

The following hypotheses guide the study

- 1.5.1 The household heads' level of awareness of national laws influences children's level of engagement in paid labour in tobacco farms.
- 1.5.2 There is a relationship between learning conditions in schools and children' preference for paid labour in tobacco farms.

1.6 Chapter Outline

The study is organized into five chapters.

Chapter 1 provides introduction, an overview and sets the context for the subsequent chapters.

Chapter 2 presents literature review, theoretical framework and justification of the study. Chapter

3 outlines the research methodology and strategies for data collection while Chapter 4 presents

the findings, data analysis and discussion. Chapter 5 gives a summary, conclusions and

recommendations

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, selected scholarly works on child labour in Kenya and globally are reviewed. The items are categorized into two themes; the first category focuses on international standards and national policy framework on children's rights beginning 2001 when the Children's Act was enacted in Kenya. Theme two focuses on child labour versus the access to educational opportunities. This section particularly examines some of the factors that affect quality education and the impact of such factors on children's school attendance. Our point of entry to the study was the domestication of relevant international treaties and conventions by the government of Kenya. A review of international standards and national policy framework is presented in the next sub section.

2.2 International Standards and National Policy Framework

Kenya is a signatory to several key international conventions, treaties and charters that seek to address children's rights and their protection, including their engagement in paid labour. The documents include: the 1989 United Nations (UN) Convention on the Rights of the Child, the 1973 International Labour Organization (ILO) Convention No. 138 on the Minimum Age for Admission to Employment, the 1999 International Labour Organization (ILO) Convention No. 182 on the Worst Forms of Child Labour and the 1999 African Union (AU) Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child. These instruments have become part of Kenya's national policy framework and are discussed subsequently in the sub sections that follow.

2.2.1 UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC)

The UNCRC establishes civil, political, economic, social and cultural pillars that define the freedoms, rights and responsibilities of children. The Convention defines a child as any person under the age of 18 years, unless an earlier age of maturity is recognized by a country's law.⁴ Article 32 provides for the protection of children against harmful and potentially exploitative practices with an emphasis on "customs and practices prejudicial to the health or life of the child and those customs and practices discriminatory to the child on the grounds of sex and other status."⁵ The provision puts in place rules against the abuse of children which are usually justified on the basis of cultural values and practices. Sovereign states have been called upon by International Labour Organization (ILO) to set 18 years as the minimum age for marriages and to make the registration of all marriages mandatory. This provision is necessary in controlling early marriages that exacerbate child labour. These provisions form the bases upon which this study examined how the local linguistic community in Malakisi tobacco areas understand the concept of child labour in relation to their local cultural beliefs.

2.2.2 ILO Convention No. 138

The Convention seeks to harmonize the minimum age at which children can be legally employed. The Convention seeks to achieve the total abolition of child labour world-wide. The Convention requires each sovereign state to "pursue a national policy designed to ensure the effective abolition of child labour and to progressively raise the minimum age for admission into employment or work to a level consistent with the fullest physical and mental development of

⁴Part I, Article 1, The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (Accessed on 30/12/2010 at 1528hr).

⁵Part I, Article 32, "Member states shall in particular provide for a minimum age or minimum ages, provide for admission to appropriate regulation of the hours and conditions of employment appropriate penalties or other sanctions to ensure the effective enforcement of the present article." The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (Accessed on 30/12/2010 at 1528hr).

young persons.”⁶ The Convention requires each member country to declare a minimum age for acceptable for employment for all occupations within its territory. It sets the minimum age not less than age of completion of compulsory schooling and in any case, shall not be less than 15 years.⁷ A member country whose economy and educational facilities are insufficiently developed may, however, initially specify a minimum age of 14 years after consultation with the concerned stakeholders in the country. This study sought to investigate whether the rule about minimum wage is understood and operates in the case of tobacco farms in Malakisi.

The ILO Convention No. 138 provides that the minimum age for admission to any type of work likely to jeopardize the health, safety or morals of young persons shall not be less than 18 years.⁸ However the Convention does not apply to the work done by children and young persons of school age, as part of their collective training to become members of their communities. The Convention also provides that national laws or regulations may permit the employment or work of persons of 13 to 15 years of age on light work which is not likely to be harmful to their development. To effect these provisions, the Convention requires each sovereign state to formulate national laws and regulations to protect children from exploitation. The question as to when a child should start working continues to elicit mixed reactions. This is underscored by the fact that children’s socialization mechanisms vary from one household to another. Our study sought to establish the average minimum age at which majority of children engage in paid work in the local tobacco farms.

⁶Article 1 P.88 attached as Appendix 2 in the 2008 Training Manual for the District and Local Child Labour Committee Members.

⁷Article 2.2, Article 2.2 P.88

⁸Article 4.4 P. 89.

2.2.3 ILO Convention No. 182

This Convention sets limits and recommends action for the elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour (WFCL). A sovereign state that ratifies this Convention commits itself to taking immediate action to prohibit and eliminate WFCL.⁹ According to the Convention the WFCL include all forms of hazardous work. Hazardous child labour refers to all forms of engagement, which by their nature or the circumstances are likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children. Sovereign states are required to formulate the national laws to prohibit children from being engaged in such work, no matter the circumstances. The Convention provides that the types of work be defined by national laws or by the competent authority in consultation with stakeholders taking into considerations relevant international standards.¹⁰

The ILO Convention No. 182 further recommends for programmes of action specifically targeting younger children, girl child and other groups of children with special needs. WFCL Recommendation No. 190 specifies types of hazards that should be included in a country- based definition.¹¹ Against the background of WFCL requirements this study sought to establish the evidence of children who work outside their households and, the extent of their engagement in terms of number of hours the children work in tobacco farms per day and the amount of money individuals are paid.

Both the ILO Conventions No.138 and the ILO Convention No.182 complement the provisions of Articles 32 of the UNCRC where the right to protect children from economic exploitation is

⁹ See Article 1 P. 95. Article 2 of the Convention defines a child as all persons under the age of 18 years. As attached, Appendix 3 in the 2008 Training Manual for the District and Local Child Labour Committee Members.

¹⁰ See Article 4 2 P.96. The competent authority, after consultation with the organizations of employers and workers concerned, shall identify where the type of work so determined exist.

¹¹ Article 4, Article 5 P.96.

guaranteed. The UNCRC has integrated its international legal status on protection code into cultural forces within nation states. According to Myers (2005) belief, traditions, attitudes, value orientations, knowledge, experience and exposure by populations in developing countries should be aligned to UNCRC provision that integrates legal status into cultural dynamics within the sovereign states. This study sought to examine the extent to which the local community's cultural practices inform the understanding by the household heads about child labour in tobacco farms.

2.2.4 African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (ACRWC)

The Charter defines a child as human being below the age of 18 years.¹² The Charter recognizes the child's unique and privileged place in the African society and thus the need to give protection and special care to the African child.¹³ The Charter acknowledges that children are entitled to the enjoyment of expression, association, peaceful assembly, thought, religion and conscience. The Charter provides for the protection of the private life of child and safeguards the child against all forms of economic exploitation. The Charter protects the African child against work that is hazardous, interferes with the child's education, or compromises his or her health or physical, social, mental, spiritual and moral development.¹⁴ The Charter calls for protection of the African child against abuse and bad treatment, negative social and cultural practices, and all forms of exploitation or sexual abuse, including commercial sexual exploitation and illegal drug use.

¹² Article 2 on the definition of child.

¹³ As cited in the preamble of the Charter.

¹⁴ Article 15 on Child Labour. "Nations States take all appropriate legislative and administrative measures to ensure the full implementation of this provision which covers both the formal and informal sectors of employment and shall provide through legislation, minimum wages for admission to every employment, appropriate regulation of hours and conditions of employment, penalties or other sanctions to ensure the effective enforcement and disseminate information on the hazards of child labour to all sectors of the community." (Accessed on 30/12/2010 at 1619hrs).

The African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child requires sovereign states to embrace the total banning of sale and trafficking of children. The Charter establishes African expert committee on the rights and well-being of the child whose mission is to promote and protect the rights established by the Charter and interpret the disposition of the Charter as required by nation states.¹⁵ Variables in the Charter such as exploitation, negative social and cultural practices were examined from the respondents' perspectives on children's labour in the local tobacco farms.

The UN, ILO and AU all provide the institutional arrangements for combating child labour. But since the International Organizations (IOs) under reference do not have the means and legal rights to impose the international conventions, treaties and charters upon sovereign states, it is always by choice that countries ratify the conventions and formulate national laws that integrate these international instruments into the national systems. Sovereign states are allowed to consider national priorities and preferences in order to increase the impact of the international standards. The provisions of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, ILO Convention 182 and the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child have been domesticated in the Kenyan Constitution. Article 2 (5) of the Kenyan Constitution states that the general rules of international law shall form part of the laws of Kenya, the provision is further strengthened at Article 2 (6) that provides any convention, treaties or charter ratified by Kenya shall form part of the law of Kenya¹⁶ under the Constitution (ROK, 2010). Further Chapter Four on the Bill of Rights, at Article 53 on the children's right provides for protection of a child from abuse, neglect, harmful cultural practices, all forms of violence, inhuman treatment and punishment,

¹⁵ Article 42 on the functions of the committee, shall be responsible for the implementation of the provisions of this charter. (Accessed on 30/12/2010 at 1619hrs).

¹⁶ Shall form part of the law of Kenya and not the Constitution of the Kenya. The emphasis is mine.

and hazardous or exploitative labour (Ibid).¹⁷ With the new constitutional dispensation in Kenya, our study sought to examine the level of awareness of the children's rights among respondents in Malakisi tobacco growing areas. It is the position of the study that the level of awareness informs adults' decision to keep children in school instead of targeting them for work in tobacco farms.

The government of Kenya is yet to legislate statute laws to enforce the provisions in the new Constitution, as such the government makes reference to the old statutes laws on children laws. According to National Law Reporting Council (NLRC), Kenya has about 65 statutes explicitly or implicitly related to child employment (NLRC, 2011). Some of these statutes include: The Employment Act, Chapter (Cap.226) of the Laws of Kenya; The Employment of Women, Young Persons Act (Cap.227); The Regulation of Wages and Conditions of Employment Act (Cap.229); The Industrial Training Act (Cap.237); The Trade Disputes Act (Cap. 234); The Workmen's Compensation Act (Cap. 236); The Education Act (Cap.211) and The Children's Act (Cap.586).¹⁸ Several of these legal instruments contain provisions that are contradictory. The Employment of Women, Young Persons Act, for instance provides for the enforcement officers to ensure the protection of children at place of work, the Regulation of Wages and Conditions of Employment Act provides for the minimum wage payable to children lower than those of adults while the Workmen's Compensation Act protects working children in case of injury during work. Against this background, the Kenya Government embarked on an exercise to integrate, harmonize and consolidate the national laws in the year 2002. The exercise involved all the Kenya's stakeholders including the trade unions and the Federation of Kenya Employers (FKE).

¹⁷This Article in the new constitution is consistent with the international conventions, treaties and charters on children's rights.

¹⁸According to the Deputy Child Labour Commissioner, the Ministry of Labour and Human Resource Development, intends to formulate National Policy on Child Labour (NPCL) and give legislative direction that will consolidate all the statutes laws on children's labour.

At the end of the exercise, the number of labour laws reduced to two laws namely; the Employment Act, 2007 (Revised) and the Children's Act, 2001 which are discussed in the next sub sections.

2.2.5 The Employment Act, 2007 (Revised)

The Kenyan Employment Act, 2007 was enacted in December 2007 and became operational on 12th June, 2008. The Employment Act domesticates ILO Convention 138 and ILO Convention 182. Part Seven of Act on Protection of Children provides the legal interpretation of child labour. Section 53 (1) on total prohibition of WFCL states “notwithstanding any provisions of any written law, no person shall employ a child in any activity which constitutes worst form of child labour”. Further the Act gives the Minister for Labour and Human Resource Development the power to define activities and contracts that would constitute WFCL. Section 56 (1) prohibits the employment of a child who has not attained the age of thirteen years. Section 56 (2) allows a child of between thirteen and sixteen years to be given light work and further grants the Minister for Labour and Human Resource Development to define such light work.¹⁹ In practice what may be defined by the minister as light work may vary from one community to another depending on the localized socio- cultural and economic realities.

The Employment Act, 2007 (Revised) stipulates that children between thirteen and sixteen years are allowed to work in an industrial setting only under apprenticeship. The Act also requires that all persons employing children keep a register containing among other things the age and date of birth, date of entry into and leaving the employment. While the Act enjoins the Minister for

¹⁹ www.kenyalaws.org (Accessed on 30/12/2010 at 1711hr).

Labour and Human Resource Development to define what constitutes light work, our study sought to establish what the local communities perceive as light duties for children and subsequently to use the findings from the study to inform the policy accordingly.

2.2.6 The Children's Act, 2001

The Act became law on 31st December, 2001 and became operational in March, 2002. The Children's Act domesticates the UNCRC and ACRWC and provides for the parental responsibility, fostering, adoption, custody, maintenance, guardianship, care and protection of children and provisions for the administration of children's institutions. The Act provides for protection of children from economic exploitation, hazardous work or work that interferes with education and from recruitment for use in armed conflicts.²⁰ The Act also provides that a child should be protected from physical and psychological abuse, neglect and other forms of exploitation. Similarly, children are protected from harmful cultural practices and rites (ROK, 2001). This is why the study sought to examine the influence of economic needs and cultural practices on local community attitudes towards work done by children in Malakisi tobacco farms.

In spite of the terms and conditions of the children's laws concerning child labour, the practice continues to flourish in Kenya. The inconsistencies between the two laws on children's rights have been blamed on the poor implementation of the Acts. The Employment Act, for instance does not define clearly who a child is. The Employment Act defines a child as an individual, male or female, who has not attained the age of 16 years; a juvenile as a child or young person;

²⁰ Part II Article 10 on protection from child labour and armed conflict. www.kenyalaws.org. (Accessed on 30/12/2010 at 16:36hrs)

and a young person as an individual between 16 and 17 years.²¹ In the Children's Act a child is any person under 18 years (ROK, 2001; ROK, 2007). The Employment Act prohibits the employment of a child, whether gainfully or otherwise, in any industrial undertaking. However the Act does not address employment of children in the family businesses or agricultural sector where child employment is prevalent given that agriculture is the mainstay of Kenya's economy. The inconsistencies in the definitions prompted this study to interrogate how child labour is viewed in tobacco sub sector. The inconsistencies between the Employment Act and Children's Act explain the divergent views held among household heads as to who a child is and what constitutes his or her involvement in wage employment. The divergent views are a further manifestation of the confusion over attitudes held among household heads about what is termed child labour.

2.3 Child Labour and Educational Opportunities

Children have a right to educational opportunities (UNICEF, 2000). The educational opportunities should provide them with safe, gender- sensitive environment as well as relevant curriculum and materials for acquisitions of basic skills (Ibid). When all these features are present the education system improves the productive capacity of societies and their socio-economic and political institutions (Lockheed et al., 1991). As a system of socio-economic organization education in a state provides means of redistributing wealth and the scarce resources through knowledge creation that enables participation in governance processes

²¹A Children Officer at Central Organization of Trade Union (COTU) confirmed to the researcher that baseline reports on child labour in Kenya have considered child labour as exploitative work done by children between age 4 -15 years and prevents children from schooling.

(Zartman, 1995). Children as part of the population in a sovereign state are thus entitled to basic primary education relevant to their present and future growth opportunities and needs.

At primary level, education seeks to produce literate and numerate populations with good communication and problem solving skills (Lockheed et al., 1991). Then the priority for primary education should be to increase pupil's learning capacity by improving learning environment and methodologies so as motivate children to stay in school. Educational psychologists observe that school curriculum, teachers' and pupils' characteristics, learning resources materials and the social, economic and cultural background of the pupil impact on the children's ability to learn and complete primary education cycle (Beeby, 1969). In the subsequent sub sections we review how factors pertinent to educational opportunities have contributed to children's labour around the world.

2.3.1 School Curriculum

Gannicott and Throsby (1996) have carried out an analysis that focused on the role of school curriculum in determining quality of education gained by children in primary schools in Washington D.C. The authors argue that the curriculum should be dynamic and relevant to the market driven job demand. To implement a developed curriculum in schools, teachers and pupils should interact inside classroom during the teaching- learning process and outside classroom during extra curriculum activities. Okumbe (1985) reinforces the debate on school curriculum when he notes that inappropriate curriculum may have the following effects on the quality of education offered in the education system in Kenya: A poor curriculum of primary education may compromise the entire systems of human capital development, an improperly designed

curriculum may produce students who are poorly prepared for secondary and tertiary level education and illiterate adults. More importantly it may produce inadequately educated parents, workers and managers who are unable to contribute adequately to national development. In addition Okumbe observes that although poor quality may exist at all levels, improvement must begin at primary school level where children develop their basic attitudes and discipline towards learning.

In Kenya twenty five years since the introduction of 8-4-4 educational system, the primary school curriculum has been reviewed three times. In 1990, the Kenya Institute of Education (KIE) assessed the status of the primary education whose findings informed the revision of the syllabus dispatched to schools in 1992. Other reviews were conducted in 1995 and 2002 which produced the syllabus currently in use (KIE, 2006). Therefore the concern with the educational opportunities led the study to ask the following question: “Is the present curriculum appropriate and relevant for retaining children in schools?” Our study sought answers to this question from the local public primary schools within Malakisi tobacco growing areas. The focus was not only on classroom conditions but also on sporting activities and facilities.

2.3.2 Learning Resource Materials

With regards the resources for teaching and learning, Gannicott and Throsby (1996) note that teaching materials comprise text books, student guides, maps, black boards, chalk and other materials needed by individual pupils like pens, pencils and paper. Despite their manifest importance, instructional materials are the most neglected input in the educational process in developing countries (Gannicott and Throsby, 1996). Particularly in Africa pupils lack adequate

textbooks altogether or are required to share textbooks with other pupils. Furthermore the quality of books available is poor in respect to both their physical and instructional characteristics (Ibid). This study sought to establish the status of teaching and learning resources and to examine whether they motivate learning among children in schools around tobacco farms environment.

2.3.3 Teachers' Characteristics

The teachers' profile and characteristics is another variable that affects educational opportunities. Stephen (2003) sees teachers' role as central to learning in classrooms. Teachers initiate learning in classrooms by asking questions to the whole class when introducing a lesson and moves on to direct questions to individual pupils and to demonstrations using appropriate instructional materials. These help learners to dispel fear and make them receptive during the lessons (Stephen, 2003).

In 2001 a study conducted by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in Africa faults pre- service teacher training for failing to imbue teachers with the realities about class size and ratio of teacher: pupil, poor quality teaching and inadequate supply of learning material on how to handle pupils with varied abilities in the same classrooms. The training programmes do not prepare teachers on how to handle differences in the capacities among learners (UNESCO, 2002). As policy prescriptions to this problem Clarke (2003) focuses his study on pre- service training aimed at improving the teachers' professional development by inculcating practical and theoretical skills and approaches. The author reiterates the argument that teacher's performance determines quality of learning and that teachers play a central role in the learning processes. With this in mind our study examined pupil- teacher ratio

in the local public primary schools within Malakisi tobacco growing areas and the teachers' preparation since introduction of free primary education (FPE) programme in Kenya in 2003.

In Latin America, Maria and Alarcon (2002) demonstrate how long distances children walk to school and the harshness of school teachers in Brazil prevented primary school girls from attending classes and, instead they opted to remain home and work in agricultural plantations. To remedy the situation the authors recommend education policies that focus on circumstances of schooling, such as an increase in pre-school services, more access to teaching materials and improved teaching techniques. The authors point out that despite these goals, in Brazil most children still do not go to school on regularly. The education system did not fulfill the demands and expectations of pupils and as a result parents developed negative attitude towards their children's education. The study concludes that working children had little time for education and were intimidated in the competitive labour market. Maria and Alarcon do not mention if there are any variations between the sexes. Instead it looks at all children in public primary schools within Malakisi Location as it explores whether learning conditions in schools influence children's preference for work in tobacco farms as opposed to attending school.

2.3.4 Pupils' Characteristics

Writing on the pupil characteristics, Steven et al (2000) work focuses on the interaction between teachers and pupils in classroom practices. Pupils come from different backgrounds and have diverse capabilities all of which affect their rate of learning. The authors argue that knowledge acquisition largely depend on the learners' state of mind. The pupil characteristics therefore will

range from family social economic background, early exposure to education at pre- primary schools and role models who provide motivation (Ibid).

Post (2001) uses national representative household surveys to conduct a comparative study of school children between the ages of 12 and 17 in Chile, Mexico and Peru. The author traces the changes that have occurred over in the lives of the particular children in the last 20 years to facilitate or impede children's schooling. Post examines the existing policy framework, family resources and the worsening poverty situation, gender differences and popular mobilization in determining the path that children follow into adulthood. The author avers that in many situations children combined work with schooling in order to support their families. Post is silent on working pattern of children with regards to class attendance. From international standards a child who works after normal schooling hours and uses the opportunity for socialization to work for pay instead would be considered as engaged in child work. A child who fails to attend to school and prefers to work would be considered as engaged in child labour. This study examined whether children prefer working in tobacco farms for pay after normal schooling hours, or in lieu of school attendance.

2.3.5 Socio-Economic Background of the Pupils

Socio economic background of the learners is another factor that affects children's access to educational opportunities. Studies have revealed that there is a variation among countries, regions and even among schools within the same regions. These variations galvanized sovereign states and international communities to adopt millennium declaration for development in 2000 by the United Nations members through eight explicit goals known collectively as the

Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Two of these goals pertain to education namely that by 2015, all children will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling and secondly eliminate gender disparity at all levels of education by 2015. The achievement of other MGDs would rely heavily on education. The other MDGs like lowering of child mortality, bettering maternal health, effectively controlling of infectious diseases and the improvement of management of the environment all depend heavily on achievement made in the education sector and particularly primary education.

Blunch and Verner (2001) observe that poverty and gender are the main causes of child labour in Ghana. Household poverty in particular enhances the chances that children from such household would engage in child labour.²² The study observes that children from poor households especially those in rural households in agricultural areas have a higher affinity to child labour. Simultaneously empirical evidence suggests that children from relatively well to do households equally engage in child labour. According to Nguyen and Quan (2003) in a comparative study done in Zambia and Peru the authors note that children in both poor and wealthy households engage in child labour. Although the study concludes that there is no positive correlation between poverty and child labour it left out cultural aspects closely linked to the division of labour in some communities that influence children to work. This study sought to examine how cultural practices influence the local community attitudes towards work done by children in Malakisi tobacco farms.

²² N. Blunch and Verner D (2001) Revisiting the Link between Poverty and Child Labour: The Ghanaian Experience, Centre for Labour Markets and Social Research, working Paper 01 -03. Available on the World Bank site: <http://www.worldbank.org>
†Accessed on 23/3/2010 at 1034hr).

Admassie (2006) examines the incidences of child labour in Africa with data from rural Ethiopia. Ethiopia is considered as one of the countries with a high incidence of child labour in Africa. Data shows that the incidence of child labour is high in Africa, where children's participation rate in economic activities is as high as 40 per cent. Empirical data from rural Ethiopia shows that children as young as five years old are made to participate in farms and household activities. The author observes that child labour can be mitigated by adopting effective poverty reduction and appropriate community awareness programmes in combination with enforceable legal measures. The author concludes that, more research on the invisible community based factors of child labour is needed if progress is to be made on efforts to curtail the phenomenon in Africa.²³ Our study responded to Admassie's research recommendations by focusing on the attitudes of local populace as one of the invisible factors and examined influence of household heads' attitude on children's labour.

Cockburn (2001) uses survey data from rural Ethiopia to draw the relationship between child labour and poverty. The author notes that low household income and availability of demand for commercial agricultural labour increases incidents of child labour. However Cockburn does not tell us if availability of agricultural land exposes children to work on it. Children's exposure to light work in agricultural activities gradually transforms into child labour. In the same manner, a child can be exposed to working in tobacco farms after normal school hours but later a child's daily engagements transcend into child labour. Our study sought to examine if the availability or scarcity of land under tobacco crop contributed to children's engagement in tobacco farms.

²³ Admassie Assefa. (2006) Incidence of Child Labour with empirical evidence from rural Ethiopia. ZEF- Discussion Paper on Development Policy No. 32, Center for Development Research (ZEF), Bonn, P.72, 2000. Available on the ZEF Web Site. http://www.zef.de/zef_englisch/f_public_dp.htm (Accessed on 17/5/2010 at 15:25hr).

In 2003, the Kenya Institute for Public Policy Research and Analysis (KIPPRA) reported that the main challenge in eliminating the child labour was inadequate financing of education for all children in the age group 6 – 14. Based on its computations the institute established that about Ksh. 196 billion would be required to eliminate child labour, of which Ksh. 83.23 billion would be required to provide FPE. However financing education would not be the only viable solution to child labour without a consideration for equitable distribution of resources. KIPPRA's study lumps the total funds needed to finance FPE without looking into how the funds would be distributed. Political considerations influence how funds are allocated resulting in some schools found in favoured regions to be better funded and with better overdeveloped facilities. Unfavourable classroom conditions may change children's attitude as to why they should continue learning in such environment. Our study sought to examine whether the conditions in Malakisi area encourage children to work for pay in tobacco farms.

Bhalotra's (2003) study verifies generally held belief that poverty compels children to work in rural Pakistan. The author estimates that labour supply by children averaged 10 years was 7 hours. Bhalotra concludes that the results were congruent with the view that household income level compelled children to work. Our study sought to examine whether household income in the community inform household heads perspective on children's work in Malakisi tobacco farms.

Grootaert and Kanbur (2005) carried out a study on the relationship between child labour and social and economic variables in the households in Kyrgyzstan. The study used the family's size, parents' education and fertility as the social variables. On the other hand investment opportunities available to the households, the structure of the labour market and the level of

technological development were used as the economic variables. For these reasons in order to combat child labour, the two authors suggest that there is need to implement poverty alleviation policies, including family planning interventions, the adoption of technology and improvement in employment opportunities for adults and children. The study concludes that long term objectives of eradicating child labour need to be approached through a well designed national package of economic and social incentives. While addressing the variables the study left out cultural aspects that equally influence how child labour is perceived among the local community. Our study sought to examine how “attitudes” as a component of culture affect household heads’ perspectives on children’s labour in Malakisi tobacco farms.

In summary the foregoing studies conceptualized child labour from a western perspective. There is little on record to show how child labour is perceived from African community perspective. This constitutes the knowledge gap that our study seeks to fill.

2.4 Theoretical Framework

From the selected literature review, various theoretical perspectives emerged. Theme one on the international standards and national policies views child labour from a legal perspective. The legal perspective helped the study to highlight weakness in the institutional frameworks on children’s rights. The second theme on the competition between the forces of labour market and educational opportunities views child labour from a human capital accumulation perspective. The human capital accumulation perspective view child labour as paid work which interferes with normal schooling, or limits the level of academic and social achievement. This theme is reinforced and supported by the interplay between social and economic variables at the household level.

Our study applied Glaser' and Strauss' grounded theory to come up with multiple perspectives collected from the field. Grounded theory assumes that the dynamics in society can be well understood by measuring the social behaviours of participants. Grounded theory argues that at the epicenter of any social change we have social interactions and social processes that inform the actors' viewpoints. These viewpoints are then systematically organized into data to generate themes for constructing theories (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

Glaser and Strauss add that grounded theory is based on a concept-indicators model, which directs the conceptual coding of a set of empirical indicators. Coding paradigm ensures conceptual development and relationship out of a multiplicity of categories and properties of variables (Ibid). The empirical indicators are the actual data observed or described in the words of interviewees and informants. In this model, behavioural actions are examined comparatively by the researchers who then code them.

2.5 Justification of the Study

Studies on child labour in Kenya have focused on causes and manifestation within commercial plantations. The selected case study of Malakisi offers an exposition on the local community perspectives on child labour in small scale, locally owned tobacco farms. The local community perspective was chosen because it reflects the diversity of local linguistic communities found within Malakisi tobacco farms. Most of the studies in developing countries on child labour have largely been conceptualized from the western perspective. There is knowledge gap on how African communities consider work done by children in various economic sectors. The findings of the study would inform formulation of implementable policies on child labour. The study

findings would inform policy makers on communities' cultural practices, including what they consider as the appropriate age and right scope of work for children in agricultural farms. Academics and development agencies are other consumers of the study's findings.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the study site, the study design, sampling procedures and the methods of data collection are presented. In addition, the chapter briefly describes the methods of data analysis and concludes by discussing the problems encountered during fieldwork as well as the solutions thereof.

3.2 Site Description

Malakisi Location is situated in Bungoma County²⁴ and has an area of about 41 square kilometers with 5 sub locations.²⁵ The local people own small pieces of land and carry out agricultural activities on small scale. Tobacco growing farms are scattered within Malakisi Location. The distribution of tobacco farms in each sub location is presented in **Table 3.1**.

Table 3.1: Distribution of Tobacco Farms in various villages

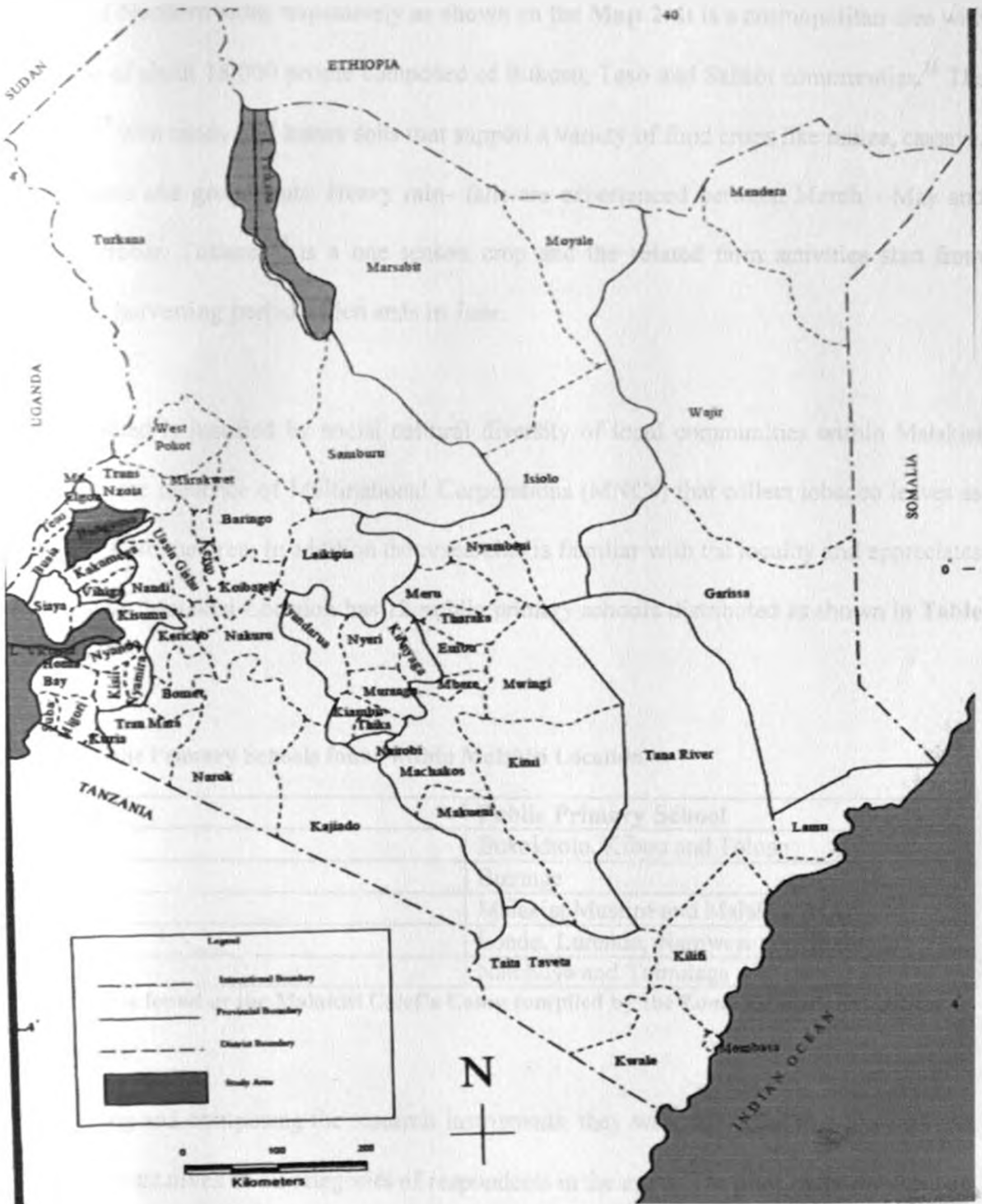
Sub Location	Villages
Bukokholo	Bukokholo, Kibeu, Toloso and Singichwa
Butonge	Matisi and Matunda
Murie	Okimaru, Nabukhwe and Malakisi Rural
Sitabicha	Londo, Sabakwa and Sitabicha
Tamulega	Mlimani, Nambale, Nambuya and Tamulega

Source: Interview with Area chief

²⁴Bungoma County is situated in the Western Region of Kenya as shown on **Map 1**

²⁵Data on site description was collected from Mr. Protus Kutore, the chief in charge of Malakisi Location during the interview with the researcher in his office at Bukokholo Chief Post on 29/7/2010 between 1400hrs- 1500hrs.

Map 1: Map of Kenya



Source: University of Nairobi Geography Laboratory (2011)

Malakisi Location is bordered by: Sirisia, Teso, Bumula and Lwandanyi on Eastern, Western, Southern and Northern sides respectively as shown on the **Map 2**. It is a cosmopolitan area with a population of about 18,000 people composed of Bukusu, Teso and Sabaot communities.²⁶ The area is hilly²⁷ with sandy and loamy soils that support a variety of food crops like maize, cassava, potatoes, beans and groundnuts. Heavy rain- falls are experienced between March - May and August - October. Tobacco²⁸ is a one season crop and the related farm activities start from November to harvesting period which ends in June.

The site selected is justified by social cultural diversity of local communities within Malakisi Location and the presence of Multinational Corporations (MNCs) that collect tobacco leaves as raw material from the area. In addition the researcher is familiar with the locality and appreciates the local emics. Malakisi Location has 12 public primary schools distributed as shown in **Table 3.2**.²⁹

Table 3.2: Public Primary Schools found within Malakisi Location

Sub Location	Public Primary School
Bukokholo	Bukokholo, Kibeu and Toloso
Butonge	Butonge
Murie	Malakisi Muslim and Malakisi ACK
Sitabicha	Londo, Lurende, Namwesi and Sitabicha
Tamulega	Nambuya and Tamulega

Source: Records found at the Malakisi Chief's Camp compiled by the Zonal Educational Officer

3.3 Pilot Study

After designing and composing the research instruments, they were subjected to a pre- test that involved representatives of all categories of respondents in the areas. The pilot study provided an

²⁶ Ibid.
²⁷ See the landscape in the attached **Picture 3**. Photograph taken on 27th March, 2010.

²⁸ See tobacco plant in season in attached **Picture 1**. Photograph taken on 27th March, 2010.

²⁹ See Tamulega Primary School one of the sampled primary school in the area in the attached **Picture 4**. Photograph taken on 2nd March, 2010.

Map 2: Malakisi Location and Administrative Borders



Source: University of Nairobi Geography Laboratory (2011)

opportunity to test the appropriateness of the research instruments and the refinement of the same. The pilot study took place on 29th July, 2010 and 30th July, 2010.

3.4 Research Design and Sampling Procedure

The study conducted a survey of the local community perspectives on children's labour in tobacco farms. The study applied non probability sampling techniques. Sixty four (64) household heads and 64 children were purposively sampled from the 64 households³⁰. The selection of households was based on the distribution of tobacco farms and presence of children in various homesteads. Three (3) public primary school head teachers were conveniently sampled because of their being custodians of school records on pupil attendance and the learning conditions. The selected households were selected on the basis of whether or not children were present as well as heads of household. The choice of public primary schools on other hand was based on the presence of both lower and upper primary classes.

3.5 Study Sample

The study used a total of 152 respondents for the sample population broken down in the following categories: 64 children, 64 household heads, 3 school head teachers, area Chief, 3 Assistant Chiefs, District Officer (DO), District Labour Officer (DLO), District Children's Officer (DCO) and 2 officials of Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs) with activities focusing on children in the area as well as two Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) comprising 6 participants each.

³⁰ See one of the sampled household in Nambuya village in the **Picture 2**. Photograph taken on 27th March, 2010

3.6 Classification of Respondents and Data Collection

3.6.1 Participant Observation

The researcher stayed with families for two weeks in Malakisi Location. This enabled the researcher to develop rapport with local people and to observe the nuanced perceptions of the locals concerning child labour in tobacco farms. For instance the researcher familiarized himself with the local communities' rites of passage and had exposure to home based work done in maize, cassava, beans and groundnuts farms during the period. In this way the researcher gained first hand information on the perspectives on child labour. The researcher also observed first hand problems children faced in their work circumstances on tobacco farms.

3.6.2 Structured Interviews

The study used integrated open-ended and closed interview schedules (Appendix I & II) to collect data from the household heads and the children at the household level. The researcher was assisted by 2 language translators and 1 local person well versed in English and local languages. During the interviews at the household the local persons translated English into Bukusu, Sabaot and Teso back and forth in the order they appear in the interview schedules.

3.6.3 Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)

For this study there were a total of 2 FGDs each with 6 participants. The FGDs comprised community elders and *adult children* found at Malakisi Township and Nambuya Market Centre. Focus group discussants comprised locals familiar with matters pertaining children's engagement in wage employment. Predetermined question guide (Appendix V) directed the FGDs.

3.6.4 Key Informant Interviews

The researcher interviewed 3 School Head Teachers, 3 Assistant Chiefs, the area Chief, District Officer (DO), District Labour Officer (DLO), District Children's Officer (DCO) and officials of Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs) with activities focusing on children in the area. A copy of questionnaire (Appendix III) was delivered to each head teacher while predetermined guide (Appendix V) was directed key interviews.

On the day the research team visited Malakisi tobacco growing areas, schools were preparing for school holidays. When we arrived at Bukokholo Primary School, we found the head mistress who welcomed us to her office. We explained our research objectives and later she accepted to receive a copy of questionnaire. The head teacher facilitated the remainder of research activities by calling head teachers of the neighbouring schools, explained the nature of our study so that when the research team arrived at the schools the rest of the process went on without hitches.

Three school head teachers accepted to process the copies of questionnaire and provided the required data. Copies of the questionnaire were collected after two weeks.

The information from these key informants was used to compliment participant observations, structured interviews and FGDs.

3.6.5 Documentary Sources of Information

The study used secondary sources of information particularly in its preparatory phase, to gain background information on the child labour both internationally and in the area of study. The sources of information included selected books, articles, newspaper reports, discussion papers, working papers, government publications, journals and internet sources. The reviewing of these

items was guided by the research questions for this study and the content was thematically analyzed.

3.7 Data Analysis, Interpretation and Presentation

The collected data was edited. Data from closed questions was entered into computer for analysis using Epidata Software.³¹ For all categories Epidata information was then converted to Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) for further analysis and to generate descriptive statistics for the study. Data from opened ended questions was analyzed using grounded theory and open coding to identify various themes. Five themes on local community perspective on child labour were identified.

3.8 Scope and Limitations

Our study examined perspectives on child work and child labour in the agricultural sector particularly in tobacco farms. The relationships between child labour and children's patterns of class attendance were examined. Data on classroom conditions and children's class attendance was collected from the local public primary schools within Malakisi tobacco growing areas. The study relied on the availability of school records. In a number of instances this posed a challenge as it implied "self-reporting" by the head-teachers because of irregular record keeping.

Additionally the study faced the following constrains: It was a times difficult to find the respondents at their homes because of the nature of their work in the *shambas* and found little

³¹ Epidata is computer software that allows one to enter numbers assigned to responses collected from the field. Epidata gives room for control check in the assigned numbers and subsequent quick transfer of data into SPSS.

time or motivation to respond to our questions. Such situations necessitated more than one visit to the particular site.

Secondly, some of the respondents were reluctant to give answers because they wanted to know how they were going to individually benefit from the study. Thirdly, there was the problem of creating rapport with the respondents before “trust” was established, and as a result they could not give detailed information. The research team reassured all respondents that the study was for academic pursuit and had no money to offer. Fourthly, the researcher experienced some language limitations but the two translators were able to address this during the discussion between the researcher and the local community.

Geographically, Malakisi area is rocky³² and hilly making some areas inaccessible by *boda boda* and motorcyclists. More importantly, the limited financial resources and the University provided time frame constrained the scope and duration of field work. To overcome the above mentioned challenges the researcher cooperated with the local people and pragmatically made adjustments to accomplish the work.

² See the landscape in attached Pictures 3 & 4. Photograph taken on 27th March 2010.

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS, DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings, data analysis and discussion of the data collected from the field. The chapter is divided into two parts. Part one provides findings from respondents at household level, key informant interviews and focus group discussions (FGDs). Part two presents discussion of the findings based on the relationship between respondents' attitudes and prevalence of child labour in Malakisi Location. Correlation of attitudes among household heads and prevalence of child labour was examined from the findings in relation to the objectives and hypotheses of the study. In the next sub-section we begin by presenting demographic characteristics of sampled population as well as households.

4.2 Demographic Characteristics of Sampled Population

There were 128 sampled individuals from households. Characteristics such as age, level of education, marital status, nature of occupation and patterns of school attendance are presented in Tables 4.1, 4.2, 4.3, 4.4, 4.5, 4.6 & 4.7 overleaf.

4.2.1 Profile of Household Heads in the Study Sample

The study sought to find out the age and gender of the household heads. **Table 4.1** presents the distribution of the heads of households by age and gender. Out of the 64 sampled household heads, 72 per cent were female while 28 per cent were male.

Table 4.1: Frequency Distribution of Household Heads by Gender and Age

Gender/Age	18- 29	30- 39	40- 49	50- 59	60- 69	Total
Male	5	4	3	4	2	18
Female	7	16	11	7	5	46
Total (N)	12	20	14	11	7	64

Source: Field Survey (2010)

Majority of the household heads in the study were in the age bracket of 18- 49 years. This finding depicts a young and productive population of household heads.

In terms of the level of education, **Table 4.2** indicates that half of the household heads in the study did not attain post primary education while 8 per cent said that they had not attended any school at all.

Table 4.2: Household Heads Level of Education in Percentages

Level of Education	Lower Primary	Upper Primary	Secondary	Tertiary	No formal Education	Total
Total (N)	13	39	34	6	8	100

Source: Field Survey (2010)

The findings indicate that only 40 per cent of household heads had post-secondary education. A local *farmer* with no formal education in Malakisi village reacting to a question about child labour said as follows:

“Child labour is a form of assistance to the parents. Money obtained by children is used to cater for their domestic needs and supplements household income. Child labour also reduces hunger at household level in

various ways. Instead of hiring casual labourers child labour is used as it increases family income from tobacco during harvesting period. It was difficult to remove children from tobacco farms when they had nothing to eat at home.”

Majority of the household heads with formal education were aware and disapproved of children working for wage payment. One such household head reported that:

“Child labour was exploitative in nature, long hours spent in tobacco farms. Prevented children from schooling and at the end of the term children ended up performing poorly or even dropping out of school.”

In some households the levels of education was an indicator of the nature of occupation and possibly the household income level from tobacco farming. According to **Table 4.3**, majority of the household heads practised various forms of farming.

Table 4.3: Household Heads Nature of Occupation in Percentage

Nature of Occupation	Self Employed	Business Vendors	Civil Servants	Local Farmers	Church Workers	Social/Community workers	Total
Total (N)	22	19	8	91	3	5	148

Source: Field Survey (2010)

It is noted that the nature of occupation of household heads was not mutually exclusive. It was a common finding in the study that even those in formal employment worked in family tobacco farms for additional income. In fact the number of household heads who solely engaged in tobacco farming was negligible (0.1 per cent). In overall the study established that at least 91 per cent of the sampled household heads spent time in the farms. One such *local farmer* responding to a question about child labour said as follows:

“There is unemployment in this area and the government seems to be doing nothing. Today we have many university graduates without jobs. Graduates in Malakisi are walking around village doing casual jobs equivalent to form four leavers and primary school drop outs. This is what makes me encourage my children to work in tobacco farms because of the uncertainties in the job market.”

Tobacco is a one season crop and upon harvesting *local farmers* have to engage in other alternative crops production and informal sector for their livelihood. Only 19 per cent of the sampled household heads were business vendors who spent time in the local markets selling farms produce obtained either from own farms or bought from other farms. Business vendors also included those who spent most of their time in retail shops at local market centres. One such business vendor based at Nambuya Trading Centre reacting to a question about child labour said as follows:

“Today Malakisi Location is unsafe. High rate of unemployment among the youth has increased crime in the area. I encourage my children whenever they are free to engage in meaningful work. Idle primary school drop outs are a threat to security in the area. Parents in this area have been advised to encourage children to engage in employment work whenever they are not attending school.”

Civil servants included nurses, teachers, social workers or community workers and secretaries and comprised 8 per cent of the sampled household heads. These household heads earned stable incomes and could afford to meet basic needs demanded by their children. A social worker at Matunda village in Butonge Sub-Location responding to a question about child labour said as follows:

“Child labour was exploitative in nature, long hours spent in tobacco farms prevented children from attending school and at the end of the term children ended up performing poorly sometime even dropping out of school.”

While a religious leader in the area when asked about child labour said as follows:

“Children were overworked in tobacco farms and this trend is an indication of total negligence by parents. In such households parents are not mindful of children’s need for education and play and therefore legal action should be taken against them.”

However a retired police officer reacted differently when asked a question about child labour. He opined as follows:

“Although I am not in full support of the idea of children working in tobacco farms, in cases where parents are old and cannot provide for themselves, children should come handy to support them. Today my children work in tobacco farms because I personally cannot support our needs. In addition I am old and don’t have energy to work. This is why I always encourage young persons to gradually learn how to work in tobacco farms.”

The study found that household heads with little or no education entirely relied on tobacco farming as the family’s sole source of income. In such households labour force from children not only reduced work load in the farm but also supplemented parent’s income.

4.2.2 Profile of Children in the Study Sample

Data collected from children demonstrates the extent of children’s engagement in tobacco farms and their levels of class attendance. **Table 4.4** presents the analysis of distribution of children by age and gender. Out of the 64 children, 30 were boys against 34 girls.

Table 4.4 Frequency Distribution of Children by Gender and Age

Gender/Age	5- 8	9- 11	12- 14	15- 18	Total
Male	3	5	7	15	30
Female	6	11	10	7	34
Total (N)	9	16	17	22	64

Source: Field Survey (2010)

One of the male working children aged 15 shared his experience saying that:

“I began to work when I was 10 years old, after my mother moved to Nairobi leaving me under the care of grandparents. I plucked tobacco leaves to support myself and my brothers. From the Ksh 400 I made every month. I bought food to share with my four brothers. I had very little time to play. Every morning I had to fetch water before going to school and after school it was my turn to herd cattle before sunset. This was routine. When it was time to plant tobacco seedlings my brothers and I missed school until my grandparent’s farm was all planted. How can I say working in tobacco farms was bad yet it was the source of our food, uniform and school fees?”

While one of the female working children aged 17 shared her experience saying that:

“When I was only four years old, the day started with morning duties for all the members of the household except the baby. I was always instructed not to leave the home unguarded for fear that thieves would steal our property. I had to guard chickens from wild birds and was expected to be helpful to visitors seeking information. For efficient discharge of such duties I was promised a present- a piece of fruit or a potato. I also performed the duties of taking care of my younger sister. When the baby slept I did what I had seen *mama* do without her having asked me to do so.”

Majority of children in the study were aged between 15- 18 years. The study did not have any person above 18 years still living under parental care while at the same time attending primary school. These combinations of findings could have different explanations. As the children grew

older the more time they devoted to paid work, thus there was a nexus between children's age and the magnitude of work as well as amount of time they spent during paid work.

Table 4.5 presents the frequency distribution of children by their school attendance. The table indicates that out of 64 children, 55 were enrolled in schools while 9 were not enrolled in school.

Table 4.5: Frequency Distribution of Children by Patterns of School Attendance

Nature of School Attendance/Age	5 – 8	9 – 11	12- 14	15 – 18	Total
Attending School	8	15	14	18	55
Not currently Attending School	1	1	3	4	9
Total (N)	9	16	17	22	64

Source: Field Survey (2010)

According to Table 4.6 out of the 55 enrolled, 39 attended classes regularly when schools were in sessions while 16 attended classes intermittently.

Table 4.6: Frequency Distribution of Children by Patterns of Class Attendance

Nature of Class Attendance/Age	5 – 8	9 – 11	12- 14	15 – 18	Total
Currently Attending Classes Regularly	7	11	11	10	39
Attending Classes Intermittently	1	4	3	8	16
Total (N)	8	15	14	18	55

Source: Field Survey (2010)

Distribution patterns by classes as indicated in Table 4.7 reveals that majority of children were in upper primary classes. Children who attended school enjoyed learning activities and peer

interactions during extra curricula activities such as: playing football, volleyball, drama festival, choir, classroom sweeping and admired their class teachers.

Table 4.7: Frequency Distribution of Children by Classes

Class/Age	5 – 8	9 – 11	12- 14	15 – 18	Total
In Lower Classes	8	7	1	0	16
In Upper Classes	0	8	13	18	39
Total (N)	8	15	14	18	55

Source: Field Survey (2010)

This study notes that in addition to the normal literacy activities, extra curricula activities are enjoyed by children and appear to enhance child’s social development. A pupil interviewed at Bukokholo Primary School said the following in affirmation:

“The free primary education is good for me and my parents. When my parents were paying sometimes back in 2002 I could stay at home for almost a month because of lack of school fees. I wish the same could be extended to secondary school. In the future, if I get someone to pay my secondary school fee I would be happy. If there is no well wisher I see myself working in tobacco farms so that I can assist my parents to buy food.”

However a child who combined chores at home and school work opined that:

“I work in tobacco farms because my friend who works in the farms shows us money he is paid. When my friend misses one day at school, he comes back with money obtained from tobacco farms. Sometimes he comes with sweets at school or buys for us roasted groundnuts, simsim, bananas, and sugarcane. He has many friends and sometimes he tells us that if want to be like him we go and work in tobacco farms.”

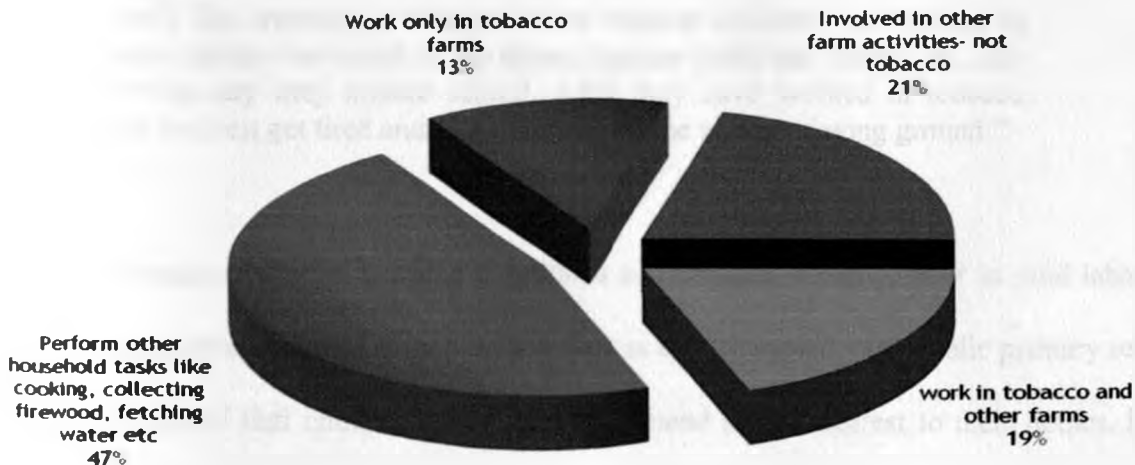
Another child who preferred working and schooling shared his experience saying that:

“I work in tobacco farms because my parents are assured of adequate income. I only pluck tobacco leaves, by so doing I increase the amount

harvested for payment from the farms. My parents are happy because they are assured of more income to feed as all at home.”

Children who attended classes intermittently attributed this failure to factors such as sickness and acting as a caretaker at home when their parents were away. Of those who did not attend classes only 13 per cent reported that they worked in tobacco farms during their absence from school, while 21 per cent got involved in tending other crops like maize, groundnuts and beans on family farms. Forty seven per cent of children who attended classes intermittently reported that they performed other household tasks such as cooking, collecting firewood, fetching water while 19 per cent of the children who attended classes intermittently worked in tobacco farms and other crops as indicated in **Figure 1**.

Figure 1: Work Done by Children at the Household



Source: Field Survey (2010)

Work in tobacco farms ranged from planting tobacco seedlings, weeding, plucking, carrying tobacco leaves from the farms. One child at Bukokholo village in Bukokholo Sub Location who absconded school to work in tobacco farms shared his experience as follows:

“At playing ground near chief’s camp I used to be excluded from playing football by my age mates because I had not contributed money to buy the ball. My colleagues who worked in tobacco farms had saved money and bought the playing ball. I used to watch as they played till I sneaked at home to work in tobacco farms far from our homestead. When I got Ksh 50 I paid to repair a puncture on the ball. That’s when I was allowed to start playing with the others.”

The study also noted that children’s school attendance varied from one household to another. All the 9 children who did not attend school came from *local farmer* households. All the civil servants in Malakisi location send their children to school. One child whose mother worked as a nurse reported that:

“I don’t like working in tobacco farms because children who worked in tobacco farms overstayed in the farms, became dusty and caught flu. The following day they missed school. After they have worked in tobacco farms children get tired and don’t show up at the village playing ground.”

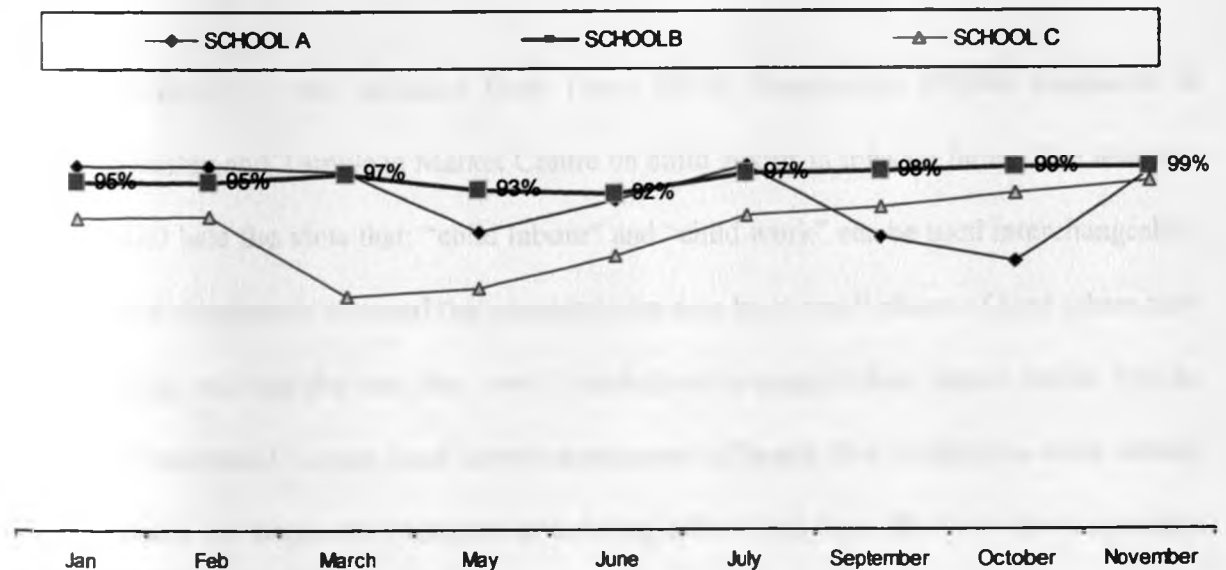
On the relationship between learning conditions and children’s engagement in paid labour the study examined data collected from head teachers in the 3 sampled local public primary schools. The study assumed that children would normally attend school nearest to their homes. In this regard their self- reported class attendances were cross checked with the school registers. The researcher noted that class attendance during tobacco growing months was low. Data obtained from schools indicated high rates of absenteeism during tobacco harvesting months namely; March, May and June as indicated in **Figure 2**. However poor school attendance in other months

was also noted and this may be due to the fact that children are not only engaged in tobacco fields but also in other agricultural activities as well as domestic work.

Some primary school heads expressed their worry about the quality of education as they noted that standard eight school leavers were not proceeding to secondary school. A teacher in the area opined that:

“Standard eight pupils complete primary school but their parents cannot afford secondary school fees. There was a case of a bright boy who was invited to a national school but didn’t join the school because his parents couldn’t raise required fee. The boy stayed at home and ended up working as a casual labourer for tobacco industries in the area. This is a demotivation to other children in this area.”

Figure 2: Overall Attendance in 3 Selected Schools



Source: Field Survey (2010)

Another teacher in the area opined that:

“Given the reality that majority of our class eight pupils complete and some qualify to join secondary schools but only few join or none at all serves to discourage candidates about working hard at school. Some are aware that they would continue working in tobacco farms after completing primary education. The situation is further complicated in cases where

- children have brothers, sisters as well as relatives whose only aspiration is to work in tobacco farms after finishing primary school. Children in school get discouraged and would prefer working in tobacco farms.”

The teachers’ sentiments were echoed by a working child at Butonge village who shared his experience as follows:

“I prefer working in tobacco farms and schooling so as to diversify my opportunities in life. If conditions at school become unbearable I remain in the farms, equally if the conditions in tobacco farms become tough I go to school. Although I would like to be in school sometimes I am discouraged by my brothers and sisters who have completed primary school but did not proceed to secondary school.”

This study argues that low rate of transition to secondary school exacerbated children’s attitude towards staying home. Children’s preference for work in tobacco farms is attributable to the influence from other children who work full time for wages without attending school.

Additional information was collected from Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) conducted at Malakisi Township and Tamulega Market Centre on child labour in tobacco farms. The Malakisi Township FGD held the view that: “child labour” and “child work” can be used interchangeably. Majority of the discussants reported that parents in the area have small pieces of land where they grow everything and that the land they own is inadequate to support their family needs. And so as to support household income *local farmers* sometimes influence their children to work outside their homesteads for wages on weekends and during school holidays. However the discussants were of the opinion that any work done in tobacco farms that interfere with the children’s education and playing should be considered child labour and be discouraged.

At Tamulega Market FGD which comprised elderly *local tobacco farmers*, the discussants expressed different views. The group was of the opinion that child labour was only beneficial compared to sitting idle at home. The discussants observed that children always demand basic

needs from parents. When children assist in the farm parents are assured of earning enough money from tobacco plucking to cater for family needs. When children are engaged in work this prevents them from engaging in mischief such as stealing people's property.

The study noted that whereas parents understood that children deserved rest after school some didn't create time for children to finish their homework. On weekends some children overstayed in the tobacco farms while others were not allowed to worship on Sundays. The study found that *local farmers* were keen on optimizing child labour whenever children are out of school. Information from FGDs also indicated that many parents accepted child labour as it assisted them to meet indirect expenses associated with schooling such as buying school uniforms, providing daily lunch to school going children and medical expenses. Lack of school items or delay in their acquisition is another factor that encouraged children to stay out of school. Most children workers were either orphans or those under the care of guardians. Orphans whose parents had died mostly of Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) were denied educational opportunities as the adults taking care of them preferred them working instead of schooling because they were assured of a meal whenever they worked in tobacco farms.

According to the local area chief, cases of child labour were rarely reported to his office thus weakening monitoring systems that would otherwise establish the actual number of working children in Malakisi Location. Given high levels of poverty in the area, the local chief considered child labour as necessary within the household after normal school hours and over weekends as well as during school holidays. The local chief opined that:

“During April holidays children can accompany parents to tobacco farms if work entails plucking tobacco leaves which is considered light work. He

said that this should be limited to family support level. But said that he has always encouraged parents to keep children in school.”

One assistant chief held the view that:

“There is nothing wrong with children working after normal school hours. Warning will be issued to parents and guardians who encourage children to stay out of school. Children are only encouraged to work during school holidays to help parents meet family needs.”

Further information from FGDs indicated that household heads with formal education were aware of the existence of laws on children rights although knowledge on the content of the laws remained limited and inaccurate. Household heads with no formal education had little knowledge of requirement about the Children’s Act, the Employment Act and the Education Act. The local area chief and his three assistants confirmed that as a result of free primary education programme government had intensified campaign against child labour while officials of NGOs with activities focusing on children in the area reported that they had increased advocacy on children rights. In addition the chief and his assistants reported that they had intensified capacity building programmes on child labour for the community in their various *barazas*. Other key informants like District Officer (DO) and District Labour Officer (DLO) reported that AIDS had affected most families to the extent that it increased number of orphans and cases of child exploitation in the tobacco farms. From both FGDs and key informant interviews, the study identified poverty and lack of awareness of children’s rights as the two factors most often cited for influencing children’s participation in work in tobacco farms.

4.3 Local Community Attitudes and Child Labour

This part presents discussion on how local community considers child labour in Malakisi tobacco farms. In accordance with research objectives this part interrogates the extent to which the level of awareness by household heads about national laws influences the scope of child labour and, secondly the extent to which learning conditions in schools influence children's preference for work in tobacco farms as opposed to attending school.

This study notes that there is a conflict between the ways local community defines a child versus the definitions provided by international conventions. While local community views a child as a young person who has not undergone the rites of passage and been inducted into adulthood, international conventions define a child in terms of calendar years.

With modernization processes, the western culture introduced a formal education system whose language has found place in the international conventions and regional charters on children's rights. In modern society reference to child development is manifested in terms of schooling patterns to the extent that one is regarded as a child so long as they attend school. Currently the three local communities in Malakisi Location which are also the study sites for this research are in transition from traditional to modern practices, and are responding to changes in society's lifestyles. These changes underlie the apparent paradigm shift from the traditional definition of a child to as-yet- evolving definition.

The diverse definitions have become challenges to the efforts towards eradicating child labour. In this connection, the next section of this discussion deals with the conceptualization of a child and the nature of work done by children in Malakisi Location. Based on information from

respondents about community attitudes and perception of a child, this section discusses themes of the perception of child labour.

4.3.1 Conceptualization of a Child in the Local Community

The Bukusu, Sabaot and Teso are the three main communities that inhabit Malakisi Location. Each of the communities has elaborate rites of passage for transition of one from childhood into adulthood. Right from the time of birth a child was trained at the household by the mother on whom it largely depended on both physically and materially. Other members of the extended family interacted with the child variously defined ways. The father was involved as complement to the mother and made role model. Play occupied an important place in the socialization of children in conformity with the awakening of intense mental and physical activities. Through play the child was taught the ways of the community, including the environment where they lived.

Whenever children accompanied parents in their work, young children spent almost the entire time playing with peer group while the older siblings and parents worked. Through observing how work was done on the farm the child got to differentiate between crops and weeds in the farms. Children were also socialized through telling stories and riddles and this helped to build and feed their imagination as well as giving them a solid base for clarifying ideas.

It is customary among the three communities that children became more and more closely associated with life of the community through peer group and role plays. At the same time each child was given a certain amount of independence in the family, along with increased responsibilities. In the Teso community, at the transition the child was trained on how to fight

enemies from the neighbouring communities. Whenever children graduated to a recognized social status that marked transition from childhood into adulthood. Among the Bukusu and Sabaot transition from childhood to adulthood was marked by boys' circumcision. The processes involved during circumcision were deliberately made emotionally and physically painful experience. Often the activities lasted several months, the impact of the details would be engraved for ever on the character and personality of the initiates. An uncircumcised boy among the Bukusu is not regarded as a full member of the ethnic group and has no property rights. The young adult among the three communities perfected his work skills, accumulated experience, assumed responsibilities as an adult in the society. Girls on other hand got married outside their clan. Once a girl got married she ceased being a child and assumed adult gender responsibilities. In all the three communities the rites of passage attracted intense interest from respective community members. The communities conducted feasts and festivals to establish the legitimacy of birth, marriage, war training and circumcision. The ceremonies together with customary practices and belief systems constituted a definition of the social, economic and political environment of a community for the growing child who affirmed his membership thereof through behaviour and every day pattern of activities.

4.3.2 Nature of Work Done By Children in the Local Community

During the fieldwork it was observed that throughout the three communities children engaged in various domestic activities within Malakisi Location. Children did work ranging from child care, cooking food, washing clothes, collecting firewood, fetching water and agriculture related work. Male children predominantly worked in agricultural farms for commercial purposes while majority of female children were engaged in domestic activities. The *adult children* in the age

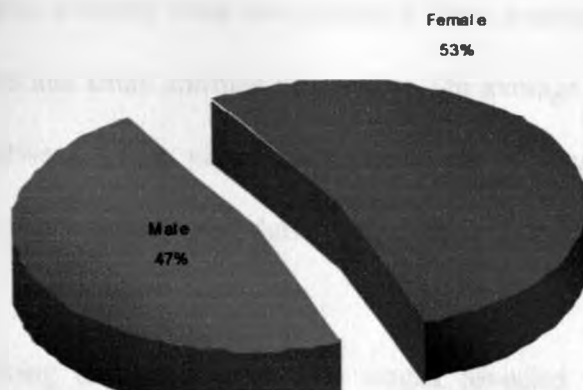
bracket 15- 18 were observed to do harder and more tedious work such as collecting firewood, fetching water, cultivating farms and herding cattle while the younger ones did less tedious jobs such as child care and plucking tobacco leaves. The scope of work tended to widen as the child grew older. This trend speaks to the refinement of motor skills in tandem with chronological maturity and greater personal confidence on the part of the child.

In the households headed by young parents in the age brackets 18- 39, children were not involved in domestic work because they were too young to work. As children became older, they were expected to undertake specific duties appropriate to their sex and age and future adult responsibilities. Boys performed work such as house building, looking after cattle, goats and sheep as well as cutting grass in the garden. Young girls swept the house, ground grain, drew water from the wells and rivers, gathered firewood, burnt certain weeds for making traditional salts and mud- smeared the walls of the houses.

The number of children who assisted in domestic work also varied from one household to another depending on the size of the family. A pattern emerged showing that households with more than four children reported high instances of children at work as compared to those with fewer children. In circumstances where only one child worked this was an indication that either the other children were too young or were grown up and had left home. Majority of the civil servants hired adult workers and therefore children under their care only participated in domestic work such as fetching firewood and collecting water not for pay but as their contribution to the running of the household.

The study noted that majority of the households were headed by married women as indicated in **Figure 3**.

Figure 3: Households by Gender



Source: Field Survey (2010)

Under normal circumstances in rural areas majority of male have migrated to urban towns in search for employment leaving females who take care of the children. Female household heads appeared to prefer doing domestic work assisted by younger children while the *adult children* worked alone in the farms. Some of the children who engaged in paid work in agricultural farms never attended school while the rest frequently missed classes. Those who attended classes intermittently as shown in **Table 4. 6 (P. 43)** were found to come from the households headed by females. This trend affirms that in Malakisi tobacco growing area as the children grew to maturity women household heads seemed to lose control over what they did. The absence of a father in the households in the study seemingly forced boys to mature faster to fill the void. The older children were put into more challenging situations of responsibility compared to younger

children because community and social expectations exerted pressure on the older children to ease the responsibilities from the parents.

Participant observations of the activities on the farms revealed that majority of children did engage in work in tobacco farms. Observations of the physical environment under which children worked revealed that children were not protected from poor conditions making them vulnerable to harmful insects and small animals like snakes. On average the children who never attended school worked between six to eight hours while the children who attended school worked ten to eleven hours over weekends and during school holidays.

Findings on how the working children spend their wages revealed that majority of them contributed to households expenses as presented in **Table 4.8**. This was followed by children who spend wages to buy clothes and other personal needs. Children also bought for themselves food as well as saving a proportion of the wages in their local merry go rounds. The study noted that a large proportion of the wages earned by the working children was used to help themselves and their families. However there were few reported cases where children engaged in smoking and drinking using wages earned in tobacco farms.

Table 4.8: Distribution of how Children Spent Wages from Tobacco Farms in Percentage

Expenditure	Percentage
Contributed their wages to household expenses	56
Spent money on clothes and personal needs	23
Spent money on school supplies	20
Spent money on smoking and drinking <i>busaa</i>	1
Total	100

Source: Field Survey (2010)

There are challenges to children working in tobacco farms as the study found out. As provided in Table 4.9 38 eight per cent of the working children experienced fatigue due to long hours of work. For instance the weeding and plucking tobacco leaves involve buckling which may be tiresome to young persons with undeveloped backbone. Thirty per cent complained of harassment and mistreatment by the employers.

Table 4.9: Problems Encountered by Children in Tobacco Farms in Percentage

Problem	Percentage
Fatigue and Boredom	38
Harassment and Mistreatment by the Employers	30
Swellings on the Hands and Legs	20
Caught Flue and Sneezing	9
Bitten by Small Insects	3
Total	100

Source: Field Survey (2010)

When asked whether they enjoyed working in tobacco farms, all the 9 children who worked full time (read **Figure 1** on **P. 45**) responded in the affirmative. They said that work enabled them to meet friends and since most of them worked outside their homesteads there was a sense of freedom attached to working in tobacco farms. However when asked whether learning conditions at schools influenced them to engage in paid labour in tobacco farms or not, none attributed their preferences for salaried work to learning conditions at school. The study notes that this response, however seems not to support one of the study hypotheses.

4.4 Themes on Child Labour

The study applied grounded theory as the analytical framework to design themes from the interviewed household heads and children. The theory assumes that social changes in societies are accompanied by social processes and interactions that inform the participants' viewpoints. The viewpoints collected from the field were systematically organized into themes to reflect children's and household heads' perspectives on child labour. The views were coded and analyzed into following five themes summarized in **Table 4.10**. These themes present perspectives on child labour in Malakisi tobacco farms.

Table 4.10: Categories of Responses in Percentages

Category of Response	Percentage
Child Labour as a Form of Socialization	50
Child Labour as a Form of Livelihood	30
Child Labour as a Form of Social Security	9
Child Labour as Form of Employment	9
Child Labour as Form of Exploitation	12
Total	100

Source: Field Survey (2010)

4.4.1 Child Labour as a Form of Socialization

Socialization was achieved through training and play. Traditionally it was believed that work enabled children to acquire the right type of masculine or feminine roles. Children learned useful skills by doing and working side by side with adults. Practical learning from adult prepared children through a number of stages to be capable future husbands and wives. What was required was one's ability to perform the various farm and domestic tasks. Every mother wanted her daughter to gain thorough mastery of child care skills before marriage. Similarly a father wanted his son to become a reliable family head by training him on home management roles and skills. All participants in the study recognize the importance of training children to successfully assume their future roles in the society. This is a responsibility the local community assigns to the children.

In 2003 when the government of Kenya introduced free primary education programme it was meant to offer learning opportunities to children so as to give them skills, abilities and knowledge as well as nurturing their talents to meet the demands of the job market. However studies (Beeby, 1969; Gannicott & Throsby, 1996; Okumbe, 1985) have shown that modern school curricula were not designed to effectively help young persons cope with the realities of life or inculcate practical skills to make them fully productive adults. Learning methodologies are tailored to make pupils pass examination as such children are unable to learn their environment. Moreover infrastructure in some schools does not support learning conditions.

Data collected from the 3 sampled public primary schools revealed that the classes in these schools were crowded more than the recommended average number of pupils per class/per teacher. In addition there was a shortage of teachers and support staff in the said schools. It also emerged that there was a high Pupil Teacher Ratio (PTR) among the public primary schools. According to available school records the PTR was higher by 5 and 10 compared to provincial and national indices standing at 42.9 and 52.6 respectively.³³ Furthermore records in the three public primary schools revealed inadequate furniture and stationery for teachers and pupils. Observations made around the schools revealed lack of feeding program during lunch hours and inadequate playing grounds. These are some of the circumstances under which free primary education programme is implemented in some parts of the country. Insufficient facilities for socialization at school make children not to appreciate the free primary education.

Additionally, limited educational opportunities for transition to secondary school influences children's preference for work in tobacco farms as an alternative venue for socialization into

³³ Ministry of Education (2009). Education Statistical Booklet, 2003- 2007. Nairobi.

different roles. To the working children tobacco farms offer opportunities where their skills and experiences are nurtured and later utilized by the agribusiness in the area whereas the rest attend school.

At the moment national laws on children's rights and provisions on right to education have created a situation whereby schooling patterns prolong an individual's childhood. Arguably as long as one is attending school, they are concerned about homework and school related matters while depending on their parents for basic needs. The reverse of this argument is true about children who do not attend school. With no school or homework to worry about children seem to mature faster and engage in adult behaviour faster as well. This may in part be the reason that when children are not going to school, they marry earlier and raise families or engage in activities that put them in positions of responsibility and adulthood earlier, a condition that forces them to work in order to meet their basic needs.

4.4.2 Child Labour as a Form of Livelihood

Malakisi Location is an agricultural area where majority of the household heads combine farming and other economic activities. Majority of the children who took work as form of family responsibility belonged to households headed by *local farmers*. This category of children believed work was part and parcel of life and their labour supply was essential as it increased the quantity of tobacco harvested which in turn improved household income. The study noted that in the low income household children's labour supplemented parents' income. Negligence on the part of parents introduced children to work from as early as 9 years old. There were instances where parents left children with grandmothers and moved to Nairobi, Mombasa and Kisumu

cities or nearby towns such as Eldoret and Nakuru in search of employment. These economic circumstances contributed to cases of child labour in the area.

Inadequate food supply was reported as another reason why children worked. Children from *local farmer* households liked working because they were guaranteed of a meal at home, still those *local farmers* with small pieces of tobacco farms sent children to look for work outside homestead in order to increase household income. In some instances work in tobacco farms was exchanged in kind with food supplies such as maize flour, beans, cassava and sorghum. Children whose parents or guardians entirely relied on farming or had temporary jobs, or no jobs at all worked for financial reasons such as lack of money to cater for school supplies. *Local farmers* with children in wage employment away from home received cash remittances and used those remittances to boost household income or to purchase food. In such situations household heads encouraged children to look for work in tobacco farms so as to sustain daily needs. The study found that household heads that relied on agricultural production considered work as essential ingredient for livelihood.

The study also found that agricultural practices in tobacco farms were influenced by the amount and type of farm inputs used by the household heads. Observations in the field revealed that many women employed traditional methods of farming and relied on seasonal rain-fall. The most common types of farming implements were hoes, pangas and ox- drawn ploughs because farmers could not afford modern implements such as tractors. Women in tobacco farming rarely hired adult casual labourers because they could not afford to pay adult workers. The type of implements used and prevailing farm conditions reduced agricultural production among farmers

in the area. The study also found that although the agribusinesses in the area supplied farm inputs and seedlings to the *local farmers* costs of these farm inputs was eventually deducted from the expected gross returns, this reduced their net incomes. *Local farmers* with small pieces of land felt that there was no need of hiring workers since they are at home throughout and could do the work with the assistance of children. *Local farmers* utilized child labour to achieve economic goals at the household level.

The researcher observed that household heads with low educational qualifications had many children. Direct observations revealed that some household heads with primary education had as many as ten children or more. In these households children were not seen as a burden but a source of labour who can provide for themselves as they grow up. In the households with many children, the *older children* worked as younger ones attended school. Widespread poverty in the area seems to influence *local farmers* to prepare children for the uncertain future lives. Thus majority of parents practicing tobacco farming had no alternative but to use children to supplement household incomes and food supplies to sustain livelihoods.

4.4.3 Child Labour as a Form of Social Security

In the traditional communities children were expected to protect ageing parents by supplying food and psychological comfort. In Malakisi tobacco farms the uncertainties about the future made children prefer working in tobacco farms. As indicated in **Table 4.11** out of the 9 per cent represented by the theme under discussion, only 1 per cent of the working children considered their labour in tobacco farms as a safeguard for future life. This finding was true among children whose parents were involved in informal employment such as tobacco farmers and business

vendors. Five per cent of the total viewpoints came from retired civil servants who concurred with the views held by children on social security. Further 3 per cent were expressed by *local farmers* who believed that children need to know society's values through working so as to provide social security to parents at old age.

Table 4.11: Distribution of Viewpoints under Social Security in Percentage

Category of Respondents	Percentage
Working Children	1
Retired Civil Servant	5
<i>Local farmers</i> and Business Vendors	3
Total	9

Source: Field Survey (2010)

Retired civil servants and farmers with no stable income felt satisfied when children worked in agricultural farms. Thus by cooperating and being responsive to work in tobacco farms children assured parents that they would take care of them in future.

4.4.4 Child Labour as a Form of Employment

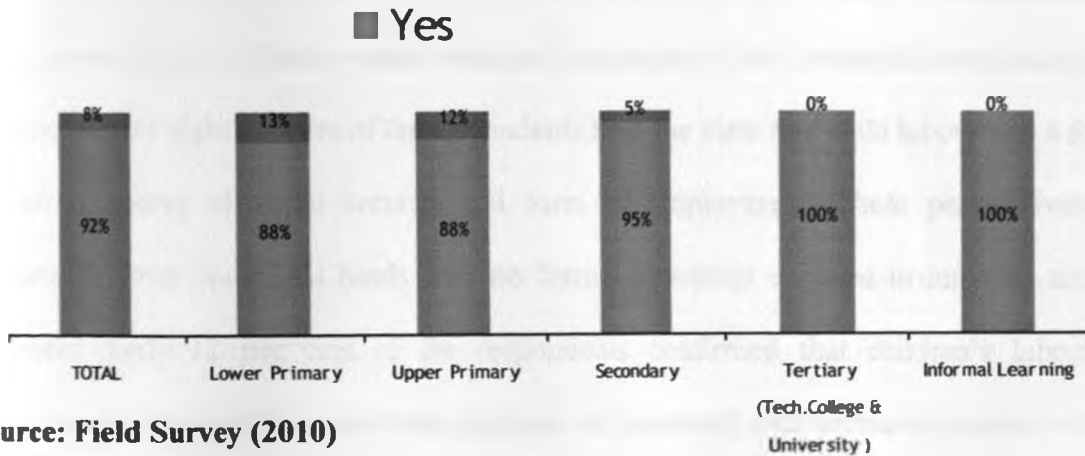
Household heads in informal employment considered child labour as a form of employment for *adult children*. Farmers and business vendors believed that experience in working in tobacco farms qualified children to be employed by agribusinesses in the area. The study noted that lack of prospects for future employment prompted household heads to introduce children to work in the tobacco farms as it was the main source of income in the area.

Since independence in 1963 the government has tried to expand education programmes. In spite of this unemployment remains a challenge to national development. Educational opportunities provide skills and abilities required for human resources development for nation building. Where future job opportunities are not guaranteed education may be perceived not to be beneficial to learners and the country at large. In Malakisi Location unemployment and idleness among the youth have increased insecurity and many household heads expressed concerns about the security in the area. Agribusinesses in the area offer job opportunities to many school leavers, therefore poor household heads find it advisable to introduce their children to working in tobacco farms to harness skills for future employment as labourers in the local tobacco industry.

4.4.5 Child Labour as a Form of Exploitation

Majority of the children from households headed by parents with formal employment worked in their homes for non- financial reasons including the enjoyment of the work. Such children considered child labour in tobacco as exploitative because children worked for long hours at little cost. Civil servants in the local community encouraged children to play and attend school regularly as compared to *local farmers* with no formal education. Household heads with formal education in formal employment disliked child labour in tobacco farms as they considered it harmful. From the study, it seems that civil servants in the locality appreciated need to keep children at school. Heads of households in formal employment preferred to spend part of monthly income to hire casual labourers on the farms than have their children miss school to perform such chores.

Figure 4: Knowledge on the Children's Rights



Source: Field Survey (2010)

When asked about the laws and regulations governing children's rights the civil servants with formal education confirmed that they were aware of the children' rights. Although 88 per cent of the *local farmers* with primary level of education accepted that they were aware of the children rights, their knowledge on the content was little. Households headed by local farmers involved children in tobacco farms more than civil servants. The study notes that this response seems to be in agreement with one of the study hypotheses.

4.5 Conclusion

The foregoing presentation has provided data findings, a conceptualization of the child, nature of work done by children in Malakisi Location and 5 themes on local community perspectives on work done in tobacco farms. The correlation of variables was done to determine the research objectives and subsequently research hypotheses tested. The study found that children engaged both in domestic and commercial work in Malakisi Location. The study identified cases of child labour among children not attending school and those who attended classes intermittently while those who attended school reportedly overworked over weekends and during school holidays.

The socio-economic reality at the household level and cultural expectation influenced children to work in tobacco farms. Perspectives on child labour in the local community varied depending on the age, gender, level of education and nature of occupation of the household heads and cultural orientation. Eighty eight per cent of the respondents held the view that child labour was a form of socialization, source of social security and form of employment. These perspectives were predominantly from household heads with no formal education engaged in informal sector of employment. Only 12 per cent of the respondents confirmed that children's labour was exploitative. This perspective came from the head of household with formal education in formal employment who were aware of the national laws on children's rights.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

Traditionally, children in the African community were oriented into division of labour from an early age. While boys were socialized to take up roles performed by fathers, girls took roles performed by mothers but had limited access to educational opportunities. Societies in transition to modernity are confronted with challenges of adapting to the newly evolving social systems and processes. The transition process is important to children who are part and parcel of the social change. This is why the study sought local community perspectives on child labour.

Based on definitions offered by international conventions on child work, the study established that children contribute significant amount of time to domestic work after school hours, over weekends and during school holidays. Relating work done by children and learning conditions, although data collected from the 3 local public primary schools exposed the problem of inadequate physical infrastructure none of the children interviewed admitted that these conditions affected their school attendance. The study noted that the fight against child employment has been hampered by insufficient information available on the phenomenon.

Multiple perspectives collected on child labour in the study assist us in understanding the dynamics of child employment in Kenya. Household heads with no formal education were unaware of the children's rights while those who purported to be aware of children's rights had limited knowledge on the content of legal instruments such as Children's Act, Employment's Act

and Education's Act. Based on the local community perspectives, 88 per cent of the respondents considered child labour as a form of socialization, source of livelihood, source of social security and source of employment. Only 12 per cent of the respondents considered child labour as exploitative. Child labour in tobacco farms was manifested when children worked in the company of parents or guardians. Children were indirectly employed by parents because of the cheap and readily available labour they provided. The study noted that field monitors employed by agribusinesses in the area did not intervene whenever adult workers were accompanied by children for activities such plucking and tying tobacco leaves into bundles claiming that such activities are light work.

Interviews with key informants on the interventions revealed intensified capacity building activities on child labour. The District Officer (DO) reported that increased government campaigns against child labour were curtailed by unwillingness by some community members to attend chief's *baraza* as well as entrenched cultural beliefs concerning children's role in the society. Officials of Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs) with activities focusing on children in the area reported that inadequate funding from the government and donor support affected capacity building initiatives at the local level.

Perspectives on child labour varied from one household to another depending on the socio-economic status of the family and cultural expectation. To this end the study notes that the fight against child labour is a fight against poverty, hunger and ignorance. To achieve this goal requires a bottom up approach that would address the identified factors which necessitate child labour. The bottom up participatory approach should help to answer the question: How can

orphans for instance be assured of at least one decent meal a day? And how can the very poor in society be assisted to reduce impacts of chronic poverty? Participation by the local community in the intervention strategies should assist in forging a common agenda against child labour. Based on this study, it is recommended as follows:

5.2 Recommendations to the Household Heads

The study found that whereas parents understood that children deserved rest after school some didn't create time for children to finish their homework. On weekends some children overstayed in the tobacco farms during work for pay. The study found that *local farmers* were keen on optimizing child labour whenever children are out of school. Such action by households may create tension between pupils and teachers over incomplete assignments. Parents and guardians should collaborate with teachers, social workers and community workers on the amount and type of labour appropriate for children and how to balance practical learning of skills such as how to record farm input or the number of bags of tobacco leaves harvested and how much they expect to earn in a given a season. In this way, children's work for wages and education skills can be complementary.

The study established that all the 9 children who did not attend school all came from *local farmer* households. Civil servants send their children to school although their knowledge on the content of legal instruments on children's rights was scanty. For this reason the study recommends that parents and guardians should always be mobilized to take capacity building activities more seriously. With increased advocacy, participation, empowerment and training

parents and guardians would be more cognizant of cultural constraints to the implementation of national laws on children's rights.

5.3 Recommendations to the School Head Teachers/Teachers: "Strengthening school community linkage for the benefit of children."

The study found that children who attended school enjoyed learning activities and peer interactions during extra curricula activities such as football and volleyball games, yet the local public primary schools have inadequate playing field to cater for increased enrolment. To address this concern the school management board should work together with the local community to examine ways of acquiring unutilized community land for playing field to enhance extra curricula activities for children.

Teachers reported that standard eight pupils are discouraged from working hard because of the uncertainties of joining secondary school. More awareness should be created among teachers on how to motivate pupils to stay at school. Head teachers can be instrumental in devising methods for income-generating activities that may assist pupils to earn income that could be used for purchasing needed school supplies or going towards future education.

5.4 Recommendations to the Agribusinesses

Agribusinesses in Kenya should come up with policy on child labour. Agribusinesses such British America Tobacco (BAT) recognize child labour under corporate social responsibility (CSR) which entails so many activities that sometimes child labour is ignored. As key stakeholders agribusinesses should partner with tobacco farmers to come up with appropriate

strategies to curb child labour. The firm's field monitors need to be trained on how to identify and report cases of child labour to senior management staff.

5.5 Recommendations to the Government

The government through the lead Ministry of Labour and Human Resource Development (MLHRD) should expediate the formulation of a National Policy on Child Labour (NPCL) as required by the ILO Convention No.183 to set the minimum age. The role played by cultural norms and traditional practices should be considered and integrated into such a policy. From this study it is evident that factors that lead to child labour stem from some cultural belief systems and practices. It is essential that when formulating national policy on child labour, the government take cognizance of cultural issues including the definition of "child" as well as the definition of "light work" when children are involved. For example the study found that local community considered plucking tobacco leaves as light work. The NPCL should integrate ideas from different communities so that implementation process is fully realized and uniformly applied nationally.

The District Child Labour Committee (DCLC) and Local Child Labour Committee (LCLC) are important stakeholders for institutionalized coordination of intervention strategies. The committees should coordinate interventions within the district in order to ensure efficiency and cost effectiveness. The study recommends partnership and collaboration among the DCLC, LCLC and NGOs with activities focusing on children in the area so to avoid duplication of the efforts.

To the Ministry of Education (MOE), the study recommends the revision of primary school syllabus to allow for integration between classroom lessons and labour sector activities. This would increase practical application of the activities undertaken by children at various stages of their growth and development. The study found out that high rates of absenteeism are witnessed during harvesting of not only tobacco but also food crops like maize and beans. This study advises MOE to consider adjusting the school calendars in agricultural rich areas such as Malakisi Location so as to accommodate parent demand for children to assist in farms during harvesting. This would ensure that the activities of harvesting season do not clash with school activities.

The study found that parents and guardians with no formal education accepted child labour as it assisted them to meet indirect expenses associated with schooling such as buying school uniforms, providing daily lunch to school going children and medical expenses. Lack of school items or delay in their acquisition also encouraged children to stay out of school. In effort to enhance the implementation of free primary education programme, this study recommends that government increases the amount of funds allocated per pupil so as to cater for indirect school expenses such as school uniform and pens to reduce excuses presented by parents. In addition the government should consider introducing school feeding programmes as a mechanism for attracting pupils to attend classes.

The study noted that children workers were either orphans or those under the care of guardians. Orphans whose parents had died mostly of Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) were denied educational opportunities as the adults taking care of them preferred them working

instead of schooling because they were assured of a meal whenever they worked in tobacco farms. To cushion this problem this study advises the government to consider instituting social protection mechanisms and poverty reduction strategies as well as setting aside a special fund to cater for vulnerable groups such as the old grandparents, widowers and widows left with disadvantaged children.

Above all more attention should be focused on sustainability of programmes addressing elimination of child labour in line with the new constitution. The 2010 Constitution of Kenya embraces the idea of greater people's access and participation in governance processes. Through greater involvement, vigilance and transparent use of resources the local community can initiate income generating activities to fight hunger and poverty as stipulated in the Kenya Vision 2030 and Millenium Development Goals (MDGs). Internationally, bodies like United Nation Eduactional, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) should look into ways of penetrating to the grassroot level. There exist leadership capacity among the rural poor, such capacity should be used in formulating programs aimed at curbing poverty. Utilization of these channels and funding the rural poor straight away could bear greater benefits instead of using governments that are bedeviled with corruption.

5.6 Suggestions for Future Research

This study has brought into focus local community perspectives on child labour. The results of the study suggest a variety of future research implications. Notably, domestic work emerged as one activity where there exists invisible child labour in varying degrees. This is an important finding because the study recommends further empirical research to the extent of "abusive"

domestic work in some households. The study recommends replication of the study in various cash crop industries especially in tobacco growing areas such as Migori, Kirinyaga and Kuria for comparison. This would enhance development of various theoretical perspectives and better understanding of child labour in Kenya. Finally the study recommends further research on politics of family labour. For instance, how does formal allocation of duties differ from informal allocation of duties and does this affect the rights and duties of family members? How do family members view this division with reference to other family needs and problems?

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APPENDICES

Appendix I

Serial Number: 001A

Interview Schedule for Household Heads in Malakisi Tobacco Farms

Part A: General Information

Date of Interview	
Sub Location	
Household Code	

Part B: Demographic Information

No	Questions							
1	<table border="1"> <tr> <td>What is your gender? (Tick (✓) once appropriately)</td> <td>(i) Male <input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>(ii) Female <input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> </table>	What is your gender? (Tick (✓) once appropriately)	(i) Male <input type="checkbox"/>	(ii) Female <input type="checkbox"/>				
What is your gender? (Tick (✓) once appropriately)	(i) Male <input type="checkbox"/>	(ii) Female <input type="checkbox"/>						
2	<table border="1"> <tr> <td rowspan="2">How old are you? (Tick (✓) once appropriately)</td> <td>(i) 18-29 yrs <input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>(ii) 30-39 yrs <input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>(iii) 40-49 yrs <input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> <tr> <td>(iv) 50-59 yrs <input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>(v) 60-69 yrs <input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>(vi) over 70 yrs <input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> </table>	How old are you? (Tick (✓) once appropriately)	(i) 18-29 yrs <input type="checkbox"/>	(ii) 30-39 yrs <input type="checkbox"/>	(iii) 40-49 yrs <input type="checkbox"/>	(iv) 50-59 yrs <input type="checkbox"/>	(v) 60-69 yrs <input type="checkbox"/>	(vi) over 70 yrs <input type="checkbox"/>
	How old are you? (Tick (✓) once appropriately)		(i) 18-29 yrs <input type="checkbox"/>	(ii) 30-39 yrs <input type="checkbox"/>	(iii) 40-49 yrs <input type="checkbox"/>			
(iv) 50-59 yrs <input type="checkbox"/>		(v) 60-69 yrs <input type="checkbox"/>	(vi) over 70 yrs <input type="checkbox"/>					
3	<table border="1"> <tr> <td rowspan="2">What is the highest level of education you have attained? (Tick (✓) once appropriately)</td> <td>(i) Lower Primary <input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>(ii) Upper Primary <input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>(iii) Secondary <input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> <tr> <td>(iv) Tertiary (Tech.College & University) <input type="checkbox"/></td> <td colspan="2">(v) Informal Learning <input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> </table>	What is the highest level of education you have attained? (Tick (✓) once appropriately)	(i) Lower Primary <input type="checkbox"/>	(ii) Upper Primary <input type="checkbox"/>	(iii) Secondary <input type="checkbox"/>	(iv) Tertiary (Tech.College & University) <input type="checkbox"/>	(v) Informal Learning <input type="checkbox"/>	
	What is the highest level of education you have attained? (Tick (✓) once appropriately)		(i) Lower Primary <input type="checkbox"/>	(ii) Upper Primary <input type="checkbox"/>	(iii) Secondary <input type="checkbox"/>			
(iv) Tertiary (Tech.College & University) <input type="checkbox"/>		(v) Informal Learning <input type="checkbox"/>						
4	<table border="1"> <tr> <td rowspan="2">What do you engage in for a living? (You may tick (✓) more than once appropriately)</td> <td>(i) Self Employed <input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>(ii) Business Vendors <input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>(iii) Civil Servant <input type="checkbox"/></td> </tr> <tr> <td>(iv) Farmer <input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>(v) Church Worker <input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>(vi) Others (Please Specify) _____</td> </tr> </table>	What do you engage in for a living? (You may tick (✓) more than once appropriately)	(i) Self Employed <input type="checkbox"/>	(ii) Business Vendors <input type="checkbox"/>	(iii) Civil Servant <input type="checkbox"/>	(iv) Farmer <input type="checkbox"/>	(v) Church Worker <input type="checkbox"/>	(vi) Others (Please Specify) _____
	What do you engage in for a living? (You may tick (✓) more than once appropriately)		(i) Self Employed <input type="checkbox"/>	(ii) Business Vendors <input type="checkbox"/>	(iii) Civil Servant <input type="checkbox"/>			
(iv) Farmer <input type="checkbox"/>		(v) Church Worker <input type="checkbox"/>	(vi) Others (Please Specify) _____					

Part C: Attitude on the Work Done by Children

5	How would you define a child? (You may tick (✓) more than once appropriately)	(i) A person below the age of 18 years <input type="checkbox"/> (ii) A person below the age of 15 years <input type="checkbox"/> (iii) Person sharing same household with parents <input type="checkbox"/> (iv) Person still in primary school <input type="checkbox"/> (v) Person dependent on his/her parent <input type="checkbox"/> (vi) Other (Specify)	
6	(a) What do you understand by child being involved in child labour? (You may tick (✓) more than once appropriately)	(i) Employing children below the age of 18 years for pay <input type="checkbox"/> (ii) Giving children work not meant for their age <input type="checkbox"/> (iii) Work done outside household for payment <input type="checkbox"/> (iv) Denying children their rights especially education <input type="checkbox"/> (v) Children doing farm related work <input type="checkbox"/> (vi) Domestic work for children <input type="checkbox"/> (vii) Other (Specify)	
	(c) What do you understand by child being involved in child work? (You may tick (✓) more than once appropriately)	(i) Routine work performed at household without pay <input type="checkbox"/> (ii) Work equivalent to a child's age <input type="checkbox"/> (iii) Assistance to community without pay <input type="checkbox"/> (iv) Child's work in form of assistance to parents <input type="checkbox"/> (v) Other (Specify)	
7	How do you consider work done by children in tobacco farms? (Fill in the space provided the response)	<hr/> <hr/> <hr/>	
8	Are you aware of any law on children's rights? (Tick (✓) once appropriately)	(i) Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	(ii) No <input type="checkbox"/>
9	(a) Are you aware of any cultural beliefs that encourage children to work for pay? (Tick (✓) once appropriately)	(i) Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	(ii) No <input type="checkbox"/>
	(b) If Yes, please explain (Fill in the space provided the response)	<hr/> <hr/> <hr/>	

Appendix II

Serial Number: 001B

Interview Schedule for Children found in Households within Malakisi Tobacco Farms

Part A: General Information

Date of Interview

Sub Location

Household Code

Part B: Demographic Information

No	Questions		
1	What is your gender? (Tick (✓) once appropriately)	(i) Male <input type="checkbox"/>	(ii) Female <input type="checkbox"/>
2	How old are you? (Tick (✓) once appropriately)	(i) 5 - 8 yrs <input type="checkbox"/>	(ii) 9 -11 yrs <input type="checkbox"/>
		(iii) 12 – 14yrs <input type="checkbox"/>	(iv) 15 – 18 yrs <input type="checkbox"/>
		(v) over 18 yrs (Please Specify)	
3	(a) Are you currently attending school? (Tick (✓) once appropriately)	(i) Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	(ii) No <input type="checkbox"/>
	(b) If Yes (Tick (✓) once as specified)	(i) Std 1- 3 <input type="checkbox"/>	(ii) Std 4- 8 <input type="checkbox"/>
4	(a) Do you attend classes everyday when schools are in sessions? (Tick (✓) once appropriately)	(i) Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	(ii) No <input type="checkbox"/>
		(iii) N/A <input type="checkbox"/>	
	(b) If Yes, to Q 4 (a) what do you like best about attending school? (The researcher to fill in space provided response from the child)	_____	
	(c) If No, to Q 4 (a), what makes you miss classes on some day? (The researcher to fill in space provided response from the child)	_____	

Part C: Attitude on the Work Done by Children

<p>5 (a) If No to 4 (a), do you get involved in any child labour or child work? (Tick (✓) once appropriately)</p>	<p>(i) Yes <input type="checkbox"/></p>	<p>(ii) No <input type="checkbox"/></p>
<p>(b) If Yes to 5 (a) what kind of child labour or child work do you get involved in? (You may tick (✓) more than once appropriately)</p>	<p>(i) I work in household tasks like cooking, collecting firewood, fetching water etc <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>(ii) I work in tobacco farms <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>(iii) I get involved in other farm activities except in tobacco farms <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>(iv) I both work in tobacco farms on and other farms <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>(v) Others (Please Specify)</p> <p>(vi) N/A <input type="checkbox"/></p>	
<p>(c) If the answer in 5 (b) is working in tobacco farms, which activities do you engage in? (You may tick (✓) more than once appropriately)</p>	<p>(i) Sowing tobacco seedlings <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>(ii) Weeding tobacco <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>(iii) Plucking (harvesting) tobacco <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>(iv) Carrying tobacco from the farms <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>(v) Tying tobacco in bundles <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>(vi) Smoking tobacco <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>(vii) Other (Please Specify)</p> <p>(viii) N/A <input type="checkbox"/></p>	
<p>(d) What do you consider work done by a child in tobacco farms? Do you like/dislike it? (The researcher to fill in space provided response from the child)</p>	<p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p>	
<p>6 (a) Do you prefer working in tobacco farms to schooling or both? (You may tick (✓) more than once appropriately)</p>	<p>(i) I prefer working in tobacco farms <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>(ii) I prefer schooling <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>(iii) I prefer working in tobacco farms and schooling <input type="checkbox"/></p>	

<p>(b) If you prefer working in tobacco farms, do classroom conditions influence your preference (Tick (✓) once appropriately)</p>	<p>(i) Yes <input type="checkbox"/></p>	<p>(ii) No <input type="checkbox"/></p>
<p>(c) If Yes to Q 6 (b), among the listed classroom conditions, which one (s) affect (s) your daily attendance at school? (You may tick (✓) more than once appropriately)</p>	<p>(i) Inadequate desks <input type="checkbox"/> (ii) Inadequate books <input type="checkbox"/> (iii) Inadequate teachers <input type="checkbox"/> (iv) Overcrowded classroom <input type="checkbox"/> (v) Other (Please Specify) (vi) N/A <input type="checkbox"/></p>	
<p>(d) What about the following listed conditions at school, which one(s) affect(s) your class daily attendance? (You may tick (✓) more than once appropriately)</p>	<p>(i) Lack of feeding programs <input type="checkbox"/> (ii) Lack of sports facilities <input type="checkbox"/> (iii) Other (Please Specify) (iv) N/A <input type="checkbox"/></p>	
<p>(e) If you prefer working in tobacco farms and schooling give us the reasons (The researcher to fill in space provided response from the child)</p>	<hr/> <hr/> <hr/>	

Appendix III

Serial No: 001C

Questionnaire for the selected Primary School Head Teacher within sub location

Instruction: Please do not write the name of school anywhere on this form. Fill in the space provided appropriately.

1. What is the current level of enrolment in the school? _____
2. What is the average number of pupil per class? _____
3. What is the recommended number of pupils per class? _____
4. What is the current number of teachers in the school? _____
5. What is the teacher to pupil ratio? _____
6. What is the current number of support staff in the school? _____
7. What is the status of listed physical infrastructures in your school?

(Please tick (✓) once appropriately)

Status	(i) Inadequate	(ii) Adequate	(iii) Excess
(a) Teachers' chairs	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(b) Teachers' tables	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(c) Teachers' textbook	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(d) Chalks/dusters	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(e) Classrooms	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(f) Pupils' desks	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(g) Pupils' exercise books	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(h) Pupils' textbooks	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

8. What was the school attendance rate during the months indicated below? (In any previous year (not below 2003) according to availability of your records) Year _____ (Fill in the year)

January		February		March		May		June		July		September		October		November	
P	A	P	A	P	A	P	A	P	A	P	A	P	A	P	A	P	A

Note: P = Present, A = Absent

Appendix IV

Guideline for Focus-Group Discussions

1. What is your understanding on who a child is?
2. Can children be employed? When, where, how and why?
3. Knowledge on the differences between child labour and child work. Where is the cut line?
4. What are the causes of child labour in the area?
5. What are myths and cultural beliefs contributing to child labour?
6. How do you consider child labour and child work?
7. Why non attendance of schools and yet the government is committed to offering free primary education?

Appendix V

Guideline for Key Informant Interviews

1. What is your understanding on the differences between child labour and child work?
Where is the cut line?
2. What are the causes of child labour in the area?
3. What are the myths and cultural beliefs contributing to child labour?
4. How do you consider child labour?
5. Why school non attendance and yet the government is committed to offering free primary education?
6. What are the Non Governmental Organizations doing to fight child labour?
7. What intervention strategies have been put in place to fight child labour?
8. What priority areas have been targeted for monitoring and evaluation?
9. What are some of the communications channels for advocacy and civic education?

INTRODUCTION LETTER



University of Nairobi

COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

Department of Political Science & Public Administration

Telegrams "Varsity", Nairobi
Telephone 318262 ext 28171
Telex 22095 Varsity
Email: dept-pspa@uonbi.ac.ke

P O Box 30197
Nairobi, Kenya

3rd December, 2010

REF: TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

The bearer of this letter: **OTELE MEYWA OSCAR**, Registration No: **C50/77442/2009** is a Master of Arts in Political Science and Public Administration student of the University of Nairobi. He is required to submit as part of his coursework assessment a research project report title "**Perspectives on Child Labour in Kenya: Case of Malakisi Tobacco Farms, 2003-2010**."

We would, therefore, appreciate if you assist him by allowing him collect data in your institution for the research. The results of the report will be used solely for academic purposes and a copy of the same will be availed to the interviewed institution on your request

Yours Sincerely

Prof. Peter Wanyande

Chairman

Department of Political Science and Public Administration.

FIELD BUDGET

ACTIVITY BUDGET

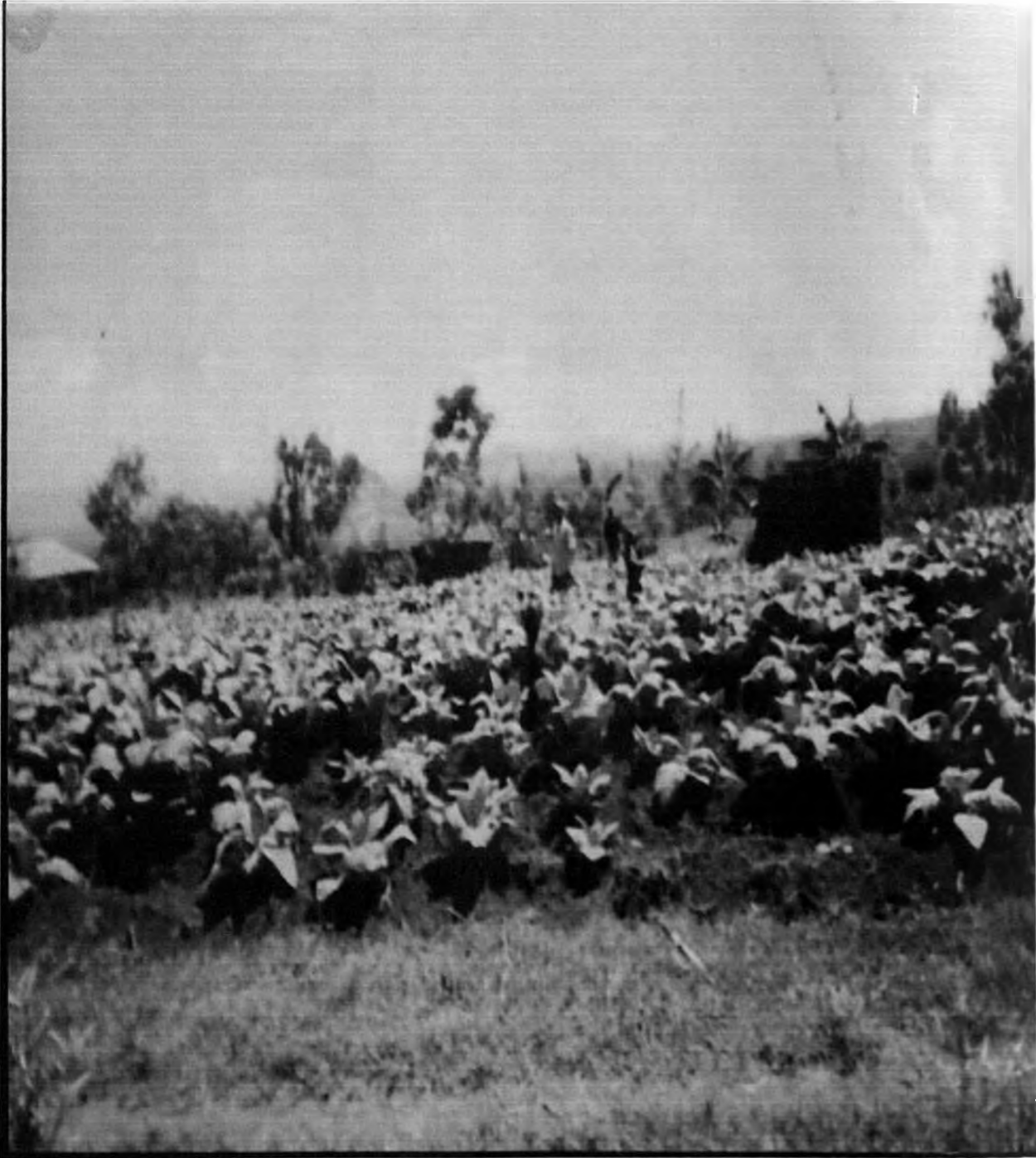
CORE ACTIVITIES	NARRATION	COST @KSH	COST (KSH)
Research Instruments	Printing and Photocopying of research instrument	80 sets of interview schedules, 20 questionnaires @5	500
Transport	From Nairobi to Malaba and back	2000	7000
	Malaba to Malakisi and back	500	
	Motorbike/ Boda boda hire for 5 days during fieldwork	900*5= 4500	
Accommodation	At Malakisi township for 5 days	600	3000
Data collection, processing and analysis and Consolidation of the Project Report	During the interview Local language translator(s) & Independent Person Data analyst	1500 1000 5000	7500
TOTAL			18,000

Picture 1: Tobacco Plant



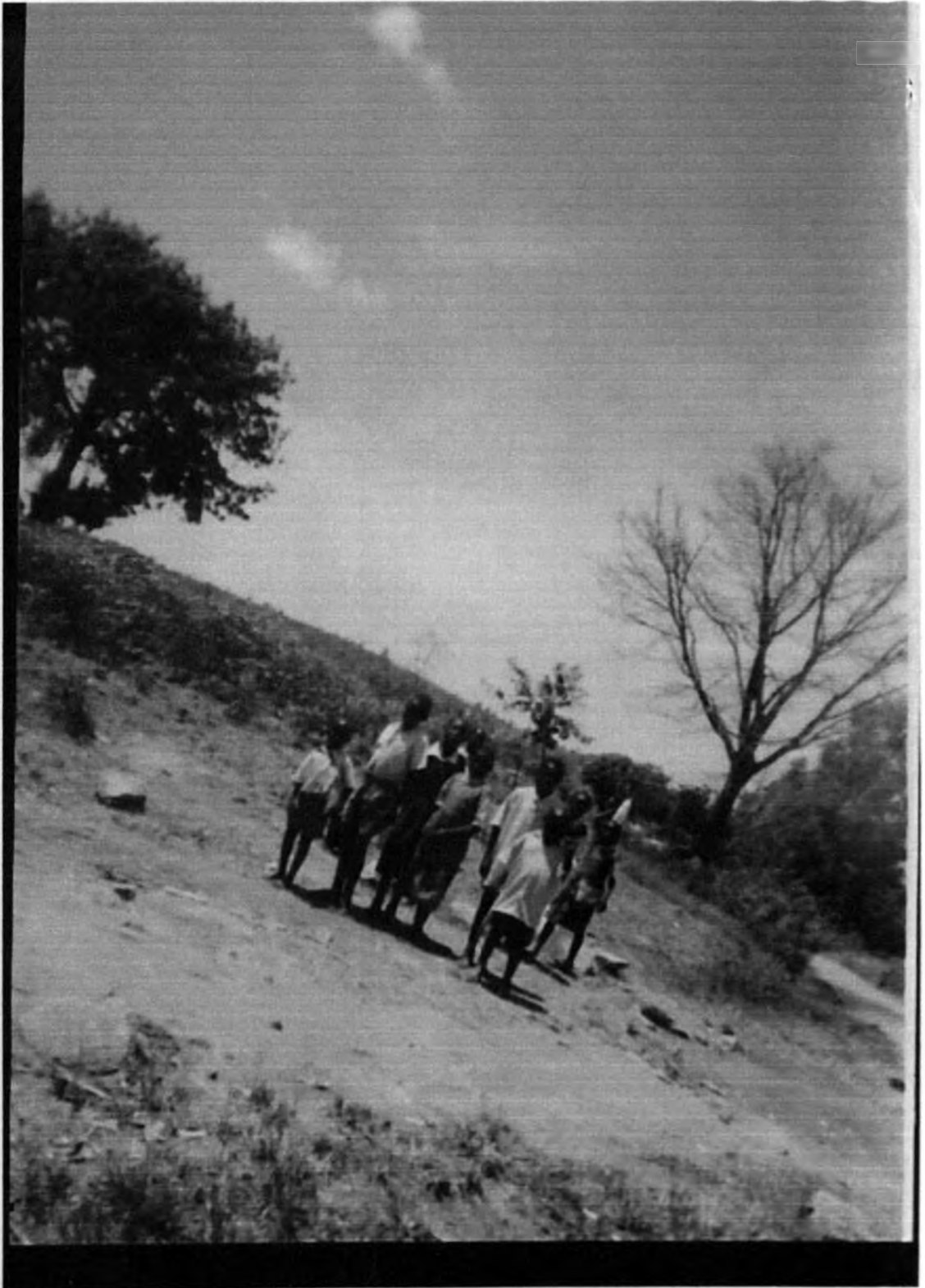
Source: Researcher's Photograph

Picture 2: One of the sampled households



Source: Researcher's Photograph

Picture 3: Pupils at a Playing Ground Outside School



Source: Researcher's Photograph

Picture 4: One of the Sampled Local Public Primary Schools



Source: Researcher's Photograph