Child Labour and its Impact

on Children's Access to and Participation in Primary Education

a case study from Tanzania

by H.A Dachi and R.M Garrett

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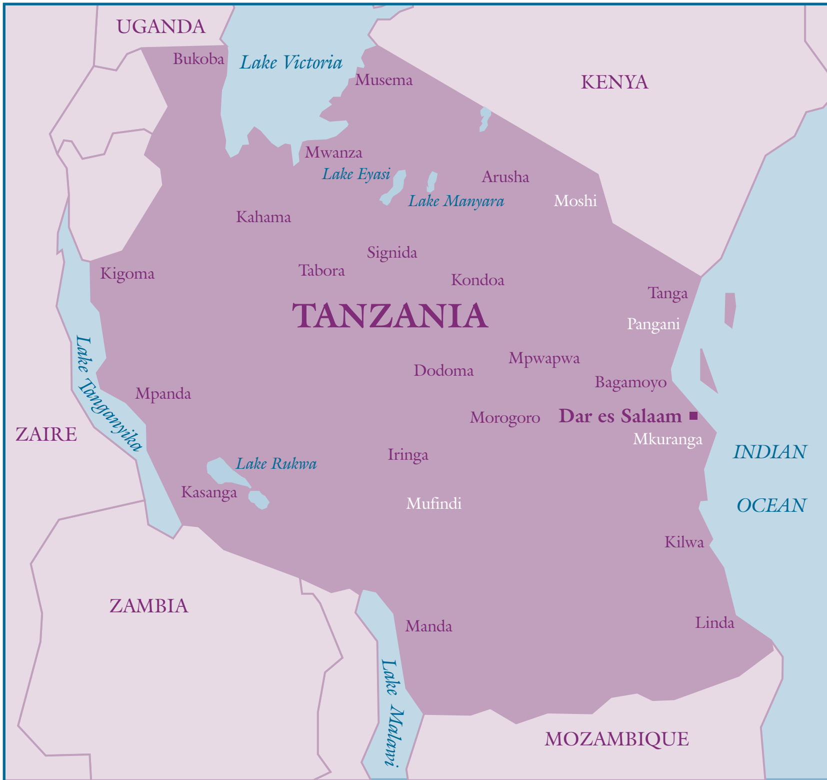
Abbreviations

Abbreviation	Meaning
BERE	*Bureau of Educational Research*
COBET	*Complementary Basic Education and Training*
COSTECH	*Commission of Science and Technology*
DFID	*Department for International Development*
EdD	*Doctor of Education Degree*
ESDP	*Education Sector Development Programme*
GoT	*The Government of Tanzania*
ILO	*International Labour Organisation*
IPEC	*International Programme for Elimination of Child Labour*
LGRP	*Local Government Reform Programme*
MoU	*Memorandum of Understanding*
NGO	*Non-governmental Organisation*
PEDP	*Primary Education Development Plan*
SAP	*Structural Adjustment Policy*
SPSS	*Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (Version X)*
UDSM	*University of Dar es Salaam*
UNO	*United Nations Organisation*
UPE	*Universal Primary Education*
URT	*United Republic of Tanzania*

Preface

This study into child labour, or the working child, as we would prefer to call them, is a preliminary investigation of those children who work hard both at their education and who make an invaluable contribution to the economy of their homes and the locality in which they live. They are the great majority of Tanzanian children and have been sometimes labelled the 'lost' children. We hope we have started to tell their story and that subsequent investigations can be carried out with the aim of illuminating further their position. This publication, therefore, we hope, is but the first of a series of studies that will help in our understanding of the lives of working children and assist in the formulation of realistic policies that will respect and accommodate their, and their families', needs

Map of Tanzania



1 Executive Summary

Child labour and its impact on children's access to, and participation in, primary education: a case study from Tanzania

1. The project was developed as a collaborative partnership, carried out by a team of colleagues from the University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, and the Graduate School of Education, University of Bristol, UK. The first, central goal, of the investigation was to provide a preliminary, empirical database upon which to consider the impact of work on the access, and participation, of children in formal primary education and to consider the consequences of this in terms of policy suggestions and further research.

A second, process goal. was to strengthen collaboration between the two institutions and broaden their respective research experience and capacities.

2. Specific aims of the project were:

- To gain an understanding of the extent to which household demand for child labour determines children's access to, and participation in, primary schooling.
- To determine how the household division of labour, based on the structure of the family kin system, affects girls' and boys' access to, and participation in, primary schooling.
- To identify the nature and extent of child labour in a number of representative geographical areas under the different categories of: a) household chores; b) indirect contributions to household earnings through unpaid assistance to household members; c) directly through waged employment or petty trading; and d) other compulsory labour of the worst form (Article 3 of Convention 182, International Labour Organization 1999).
- To identify the relative importance of such variables as household location (urban/rural) and household background characteristics (education, health, hygiene/sanitation, material conditions and other economic characteristics) in explaining household demand for, and children's involvement in, labour.
- To determine the relative importance of community, household and school inputs, as well as the role of contextual factors (political will/environment, local and national government policies), cultural conditions (macro, meso and micro economic conditions) in determining girls' and boys' access to, and participation in, primary schooling.

3. Specific research questions were:

Q1 What are the child labour practices in terms of type, quantity and quality?
Q2 What is the impact of child labour on the local economy?
Q3 Why are children involved in labour?
Q4 What is the relevant importance of parental education, income, health, socio-economic status and attitude towards education in explaining household demand for child labour?
Q5 How do demands for child labour affect children's access and participation in schooling?
Q6 What are the conflicting values between traditional socialisation systems in relation to the household division of labour and the modern, formal education system and the consequences of these for boys and girls?

1 Executive Summary

Q7 How is the school climate and management sensitive to the conflicting demands for child labour and a need for education?

Q8 What is the importance of supporting inputs in determining children's access and participation?

Q9 How do other contextual factors influence access and participation?

4. The work was carried out between February 2001 and July 2002, in four phases. *Phase one:* preliminary phase - consisting of the preparation and piloting of the instruments, identification and training field researchers, and the consultation of local professionals in a launch seminar. *Phase two:* data gathering - consisting primarily of the field work and documentary consultations. *Phase three:* analysis. *Phase four:* reporting – the sharing of preliminary findings with colleagues for critical appraisal and the final writing-up of the report.

5. Four districts, Mufindi, Mkuranga, Moshi and Pangani, were selected such that they represented urban, peri-urban and rural communities, with differing economic and socio-cultural environments. They were also selected to provide a range of educational contexts of contrasting enrolment, absenteeism, repetition and completion rates.

6. The young children selected for the study were between the ages of 7-14.

7. Data were gathered by two field researchers, each working in two districts, spending two, two-week periods in each district. They were also assisted by the principle Tanzania researcher. Information was gathered through a number of research techniques and instruments. Comparative and contextual information was gleaned through documentary analysis. Empirical data was obtained through:

- Interviews with household heads
- Interviews with headteachers
- Interviews with children in schools
- Interviews with children in their homes
- Diaries written by children over an extended period of time
- Focus group discussions with teachers and other adults
- Focus group discussions with children
- Interviews with 'street' children
- Workshop consultations

8. The complexity of the term child labour is fully recognised and a distinction is drawn between the worst forms of child labour, which substantially denies children their right to education and seriously affects their health, both physical and mental, and child work. The study is concerned with the working child, rather than the labouring child. The former has not received as much attention as the latter and yet it is possible that considerable abuse and denial of rights may be occurring and may well have a considerable impact on children's access and participation in education.

1 Executive Summary

9. Previous work has indicated links between traditional education and the socialisation system that influences the division of labour within the household and the degree to which this falls upon the younger members. Equally, the need for children to work is linked to the pervasive poverty within the majority of homes. This immediate and urgent requirement to work is often such that the long-term benefits accrued from basic education are perceived to be so meagre and distant as to cause families and children to put work first and for there to be considerable drop-out, absenteeism and repetition. For many families, the need for the working child is so urgent that they cannot afford to enroll them in the education system at all.

10. Chapter four provides an analysis of the data. A profile of each of the districts from the point of view of its administration, population, climate, economy, education, health and water resources is provided as contextual background to the field data. These latter are presented according to the different sources of information, viz the headteachers, household heads, children's diaries, children in the home, school and street, and teachers, other adults and pupils in focus groups.

11. A clear need for children to work emerges and sets the tone for the discussion in chapter five. This necessity for children to work, therefore, requires that the education system must recognise and accommodate the working child as a phenomenon that will not be reduced until poverty is eliminated.

12. Children in most of the districts studied generally work hard on a limited range of domestic tasks and a substantial number are involved in waged and unwaged work outside the home. Girls and boys spend almost equal amounts of time working, but the boys tend to perform a more supportive role to girls. Girls also tend to perform time-bound activities and to be involved in the more intellectually demanding tasks such as cooking and caring. The most commonly acceptable time for children to work is two to three hours a day.

13. Child work is of importance to the household economy and the local, informal economy. Any attempt to reduce child work has to be done in a way that is sensitive to the local context.

14. Children are involved in work primarily for economic reasons, but they are also working for socio-cultural and educational reasons which would persist irrespective of any economic imperative to work.

15. Parents are generally supportive of their children in school, although there is some evidence that unskilled parents, and those with low expectations, are less likely to provide direct help with academic work. The number of adults in the home is a crucial factor in determining the support provided for children.

1 Executive Summary

16. Child work, and the need for earnings, is almost certainly a key factor in children not accessing school. It is also a prime cause for absenteeism, repetition and, most particularly, drop-out rates. The impact of work on participation, however, is complex and affects children in different ways in the various districts. There are differences between boys and girls.

17. Little evidence has been found between the demands for modern schooling and traditional values.

18. While some teachers are sensitive to the demands made on children, there is little evidence that the system permits them, or trains them, to accommodate their pupils' needs.

19. A series of recommendations are premised on the assumption that the working child will remain a feature of the Tanzanian education system for the foreseeable future, indeed, is possibly a requirement of the development process. Thus, the working child has to be accommodated through a supportive system while, at the same time, setting criteria for acceptable levels of work.

Flexibility is also seen as a necessary feature of the system to meet the varying demands of local circumstances. This flexibility, it is proposed, should be offered through such means as the development of more efficient home learning, distance education and self-instructional materials tailored for the needs and abilities of young children. This, in turn, will require the redevelopment of the curriculum that is both locally relevant and relevant to the working child. Further training for teachers and headteachers will also be required.

20. Further research is also identified. These are:

- More detailed observation of children throughout their day.
- Classroom observation of the school work provided – particularly remedial work.
- Identification of the help parents might provide for children.
- A detailed investigation into the links between health, work and education.
- A detailed investigation into links between work, disability and education.
- Identification and dissemination of good practice.

2 Introduction

2.1 Background to the research

The study was conceived during the spring of 2000 as a follow-up to the successful work that had been undertaken by one member of the team and which had resulted in the successful completion of an EdD thesis into the private costs of public primary education borne by households, in Tanzania, while sending children to public primary schools (Dachi 2000). Household costs were found to be complex and while the broad areas of fees, other mandatory and voluntary contributions are burdensome expenses on the household, they do not constitute the principal costs on the parental budget. Ancillary costs surrounding schooling, such as uniform, meals and transport, are variable according to district and environment, and constitute the largest burden on household finances. A major factor in the non-participation of children in schooling was found to be the need to prioritise educational investment in a few children, with the subsequent earnings of those not enrolled in school contributing to the household finances. But even for those children enrolled in school, their frequent failure to complete primary education was due to an inability of the children successfully to combine income generation, partly to finance their education, with that of school attendance. The present study was, therefore, conceived of as an attempt to provide a more detailed, although preliminary, investigation into the effects of working and its impact on children's participation in formal education.

The two researchers on this project had previously worked together as student and supervisor and there was a strong interest in developing the working relationship further into one of equal status. In building upon this association and the experience gained during the previous research, it was hoped that it would be possible to forge stronger academic links between the University of Bristol's Graduate School of Education and the Department of Educational Planning & Administration, Faculty of Education, at the University of Dar es Salaam. The position adopted was one of mutual collaboration and partnership between the two principal researchers, with a view to strengthening Tanzanian research capacity and confidence to bid independently for future research funding. Full details of the research team are provided in Appendix 1.

2.2 The working child

The lack of a common terminology has been noted by Baker *et al* (2001) as one problem when trying to assess and synthesize studies of working children with such terms as 'work' and even 'child' not being agreed upon. From the outset, it was clear that the present study would not be concerned with the worst forms of child labour such as sexual exploitation, prostitution, bonded labour and slavery. These areas have, quite rightly, dominated the concerns of governments, donors and other agencies and have been very much the focus of other studies. One such inquiry, however (Baker *et al* 2001), has noted a gap in our knowledge of the working child, and what they have called the 'invisible' children who have not been studied. So it was that the present investigation has attempted to look at the more 'normal' child and the household he or she comes from, and to explore the extent to which the work that they do affects their access to schooling and to try and investigate the boarder-line between what might be described as legitimate

2 Introduction

work on the one hand and child labour, on the other.

The division between work and labour however is difficult to draw. Working and its impact on access to schooling is also complex. There is the positive side that the working child provides funds that go directly towards his or her schooling costs. Waged work can also be positive in that earnings go into the family budget to enable a sibling to access education according to a family's prioritising of resources, although this is not necessarily positive for the individual concerned and may well have a built in gender bias. The negative side to the working child and access to education may be that the work done is of such a heavy load or at times that clash with the school timetable that they may not be able to take full advantage of the schooling offered, by being frequently absent, missing parts of the day or being too tired to participate fully in classes and other work.

For the purpose of this study, the distinction between acceptable work and unacceptable labour is that the latter is inappropriate work undertaken by a child that exposes them to physical and/or mental situations hazardous to their health both physical and mental, and to their moral well-being. Work of such a duration that it denies the child their rights to relaxation, play, access to friends and education was also considered to be unacceptable labour.

Also, for the purpose of the present study, a definition of 'child' had to be agreed. This emerged from discussions at the launch workshop. While the ILO has taken 15 as the defining age, it was agreed that 14 would be more appropriate for Tanzania as this is the age employed in the Marriage Act and the age of legal responsibility. As we were also concerned with the impact on education, a lower limit of seven years was also used to limit the age range from which to draw the sample of children.

These issues are explored in greater detail in section 3.

2.3 The research approach

Partnership

As has been noted previously, the intention was to involve researchers from the universities of Dar es Salaam (UDSM) and Bristol on an equal basis of mutual collaboration. This was achieved by giving colleagues at UDSM the opportunity of organizing workshops and the carrying out of fieldwork, including the responsibility for the management of a significant proportion of the overall project budget. Data analysis and final report writing was undertaken equally by both main researchers. To ensure this close collaboration, it was essential that each researcher could spend time in both countries to ensure familiarisation with the research environment and facilitate access to resources.

The involvement of the wider Department at UDSM also enriched the whole research environment and has stimulated the research process generally.

Context sensitivity

A major reason for conducting a collaborative investigation was to ensure that the approaches adopted were sensitive to the local context and that the researchers employed were totally familiar with the languages and customs of

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the locations chosen for investigation. Such sensitivity is a particular concern for this project, which relies heavily on the cooperation of children, teachers and members of households to provide considerable quantities of data, some of it over an extended period of time. The nature of the methods and the types of questions to be asked were therefore designed carefully to ensure this maximum cooperation.

Aims and objectives

The overall aim of the research, as stated in the proposal, was to provide further understanding of the determinants of household demand for child labour and its impact on children's access to, and participation in, primary education.

- To gain an understanding of the extent to which household demand for child labour determines children's access to, and participation in, primary schooling.
- To determine how the household division of labour, based on the structure of the family kin system, affects girls' and boys' access to, and participation in, primary schooling.
- To identify the nature and extent of child labour in a number of representative geographical areas under the different categories of: a) household chores; b) indirect contributions to household earnings through unpaid assistance to household members; c) directly through waged employment or petty trading; and d) other compulsory labour of the worst form (Article 3 of Convention 182, International Labour Organization 1999).
- To identify the relative importance of such variables as household location (urban/rural) and household background characteristics (education, health, hygiene/sanitation, material conditions and other economic characteristics) in explaining household demand for, and children's involvement in, labour.
- To determine the relative importance of community, household and school inputs, as well as the role of contextual factors (political will/environment, local and national government policies), cultural conditions (macro, meso and micro economic conditions) in determining girls' and boys' access to, and participation in, primary schooling.

The key research hypotheses adopted were:

- That household demands for child labour impact equally on the girls' and boys' access to, and participation in, primary schooling.
- That children's access to, and participation in, primary education is independent of household, community and school inputs, and such contextual factors as political, environmental, and economic conditions, cultural traditions and government policies.
- That specific household, local and national policy intervention strategies which take into consideration demands for child labour from households and the local economy and other reasons for children being involved in work, can enhance efforts to expand access to, and participation in, primary education.

Phases of the study

Four phases of the study were planned and are outlined here. Specific details of methods are provided in later sections.

The first phase was concerned with necessary preparatory work. Five main tasks were carried out during this preliminary stage. Contact was made with the various target groups

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such as Ministry officials, NGOs and donors to ensure that they supported the project and that their interests were represented where possible in the data to be gathered. Research assistants were identified and trained in the objectives and methods of the project. Research instruments were produced and trialed. A launch seminar was conducted to inform representatives of the target groups and interested academic colleagues as to the form of the investigation and to allow for debate as to its final conceptualization and conduct. The final, and ongoing, activity of this period was the gathering of documentary sources of data.

The second phase was devoted to the gathering of empirical data in the field. Approximately 150 working days were devoted to the conducting of individual interviews with children, focus group meetings with both children and relevant adults, household interviews and the gathering of diary data from a group of volunteer children.

Phase three consisted of detailed data analysis and the final phase was that of report writing and dissemination through a final workshop of the findings of the project.

2.4 Research methodology

The approach

Both quantitative and qualitative research techniques were adopted for this investigation However, it was quickly acknowledged that not all the data gathered at the quantitative level, while of considerable value, was at sufficiently high levels of reliability and validity to warrant any very sophisticated statistical analysis. It does nevertheless provide a substantial supporting core of descriptive evidence for the qualitative information gathered.

Sampling

Four basic units of analysis were adopted for the investigation: the school-aged child, the household, the school and the local community and as such they strongly influenced the sampling procedures. Given the time and financial restrictions of the project four districts were selected to represent rural/urban differences, the relative social/economic differences to be found in the country and to reflect different sorts of commercial activities. Thus the districts were not randomly selected and were rather more of a purposive sample. Moreover, consideration of the ease of access, and the willingness of district authorities to cooperate with the programme were also factors that influenced the final areas worked in (see research clearance and logistics below). Detailed descriptions of the district characteristics is provided in section 4. below.

Summary of districts where data were gathered

District	Characteristics
Mufindi	Peri Urban - agriculture, forestry: high drop-out, poor health provision
Mkuranga	Rural - small scale farming: low enrolment, poor health and water provision
Moshi	Urban - commerce, industry, tourism: good acces to education, health and water
Pangani	Rural - small commercial agriculture, subsistence farming: poor access to school, health and water

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The sampling of the children in the project was carried out in such a way as to represent an equal gender distribution, as well as an attempt to include both regular school attendees together with those children not attending school, drop-outs and the socially excluded/marginalised, eg street children/ orphans. The households, schools and communities were selected in such a way as to represent both the pupil and district characteristics as closely as possible, however, the sampling of these groups had to be approved of by local bureaucracies and there is no certainty that a degree of bias has not been entered. Street children were interviewed as opportunity samples.

Data gathering

In addition to the principal Tanzanian researcher, and in line with the principle of strengthening research capacity at UDSM, two field researchers were recruited from the Department of Educational Policy and Administration and the Bureau of Educational Research (BERE). Selection was based on several criteria including: interest in the project; availability and willingness to spend extended periods of time in the field; expectations of their involvement in future departmental research projects. Training and orientation in the use of the various instruments was provided by the principal researchers.

Each of the two field researchers was allocated two districts and spent two separate periods of two weeks in the field. During this time they identified schools and families to work with and contacted groups of adults and children with which to conduct focus group meetings and 'street' interviews (see below for details of research clearance and other logistical issues).

The principal Tanzanian researcher also visited all districts to provide a quality check on the data being gathered, to supplement the database and to gather raw data to start preliminary analysis.

The total number of researcher days in the field for each of the two field researchers was 56, broken down as 14 days, times two field trips to the district, times two districts.

Research techniques

The specific research techniques employed consisted of: 1) document analysis; 2) semi structured interviews; 3) focus group discussions; 4) time-logged diaries; and 5) workshop consultations. The data derived from these techniques were related to the literature consulted and the experience of the researchers. Details of these techniques are as follows:

1. *Document analysis*

   An extensive range of policy documents and statistical data were gathered and are listed in full in the references. Documents studied included: The Education Act, No 25, of 1978 (amended 1995); The Education and Training Policy (ETP) (1995); Child Development Policy (URT 1996); The Tanzania Development Vision 2025 (URT 1999). The Local Government Reform Programme; The Education Sector Reform and Development Programme (1999), and subsequent documents. The Basic Education Strategy (2001); The Primary Education Development Plan (PEDP 2002 – 2006) (URT 2001)

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2. *Semi-structured interviews*

   The semi structured interviews were conducted with household heads, headteachers, children in schools, teachers and other adults. The full numbers in each category are provided in Section 4 – Field Data Analysis. All interviews were held at a place of the respondent's choosing, in as relaxed a manner as possible. The 'street' interviews as already noted were conducted with opportunity samples of children and were either in groups or individually conducted according to the willingness of the children to talk and the time they could make available. Many of the interviews were conduced on the street or at a café.

3. *Focus group discussions*

   The focus group discussions were conduced with teachers, community leaders, pupils and household heads in schools or the home environment. They were conduced in Kiswahili and in as relaxed a manner as possible.

4. *Time logged diaries*

   Two boys and two girls, regularly attending school, were identified in each district to write detailed diaries.

5. *Workshop consultations*

   Two workshops were held. The first to launch the project during which participants were invited to explore the project and offer advice regarding the methods and techniques to be used. The second workshop provided participants with preliminary findings and they were invited to comment and discuss these in the light of their specific professional experiences.

   Full details of the workshops are provided in Appendix 2.

6. *Shadowing*

   Shadowing of individual children for whole days was contemplated but later abanddoned.

Research instruments employed

A total of eight instruments were developed by the two principle researchers they were:

- Children's diaries
- Individual interviews with children in households
- Individual interviews with children in schools
- Individual and group interviews with children in streets
- Focus group discussions with children
- Focus group discussions with adults
- Individual interviews with household heads
- Individual interviews with headteachers

They were devised to facilitate the gathering of comparable information across districts and respondents, however, flexibility was also incorporated to allow the researcher to capture local detail and specific information.

All the instruments were piloted using respondents representing as closely as possible the final samples. After piloting, the technique of shadowing individual pupils proved to be too difficult to pursue when combined with the other tasks required of the field researchers and consequently was omitted from the battery of data gathering methods.

Examples of all instruments are provided in Appendix 3.

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Data analysis

Raw data from the interviews and questionnaires were coded and assigned frequency values. These were then subjected to statistical analysis using the SPSSX statistical package. This analysis was usually frequency distributions and, where the data were sufficiently robust, correlations, cross-tabulations and chi squares between variables were performed. Data from the focus group discussions and pupils' diaries were analysed through the qualitative processes of transcription, immersion and the identification of themes. The data are presented separately according to the various instruments employed. The subsequent discussion of the composite picture they present is organised according to the nine research questions that were posed in the proposal (see section 5).

Research clearance and logistics

For all research instruments, research clearance was formally sought from the University of Dar es Salaam, which enabled the researchers to apply for research clearance from COSTECH and Regional Administrative Secretaries (RAS) and District Administrative Secretaries (DAS).

An organising committee was formed at the University of Dar es Salaam, within the Department of Educational Planning and Administration, in the Faculty of Education. This committee assisted in the formal arrangements for field work, monitoring and checking of the budget and in the organisation of, and participation in, the two workshops. In addition, it provided ad hoc support and advice for the two principle researchers.

Research audiences

Consistent with the original proposals, the findings are presented such that they will inform a range of interested groups and individuals. Thus, it is hoped that teachers, headteachers, local authorities and national policy makers will find the data and proposals of direct relevance to their professional interests. While household heads and parents, in general, are not directly addressed, a number of proposals are made that could assist them in the support they try to provide for their children.

Conclusions and recommendations are also made that should be of relevance to aid agencies and NGOs working in both the areas of education and employment. Finally, it is hoped that the data, and subsequent discussion of these, will contribute towards theoretical and practical discussion relating to child labour being conducted between the international development community, both bi- and multi-lateral, and the local Tanzanian and international academic communities. Further dissemination of the findings will be facilitated through the preparation of academic papers for publication in the international journals.

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3.1 Different Interpretations of Child Labour

It is widely acknowledged that the term Child Labour encompasses numerous complexities which call for elaboration and clarification for better understanding of the concept. Although it is often confused with 'child work', it should not be taken for granted that the two concepts are synonymous. To understand the two concepts more clearly one ought to critically examine the underlying demarcations. According to Tungesvik (2000), child labour is simply used when referring to the phenomenon as such, while child work is used when describing the activities that children actually undertake (p10), but this is not very satisfactory.

Amma *et al* (2000) have tried specifically to look at child work in a more detailed way. To them child work covers tasks and activities that are undertaken by children to assist their parents. In particular, such jobs as cooking, washing dishes, weeding, planting, harvesting crops, fetching water and firewood, herding cattle, and baby sitting. In this case child work simply aims at tasks and activities which are geared towards the socialisation process. Child work is therefore taken and viewed as part of the upbringing process.

However, the meaning of child labour would appear to deviate from that of child work. According to ILO Convention, child labour is as stipulated hereunder:

> Children prematurely leading adult lives, normally working long hours for low wages under conditions damaging to their health and to their physical and mental development, sometimes separated from their families, frequently deprived of meaningful educational training opportunities that could open up for them a better future.

ILO/IPEC (2001), in a study entitled 'Focussing on the Worst Forms of Child Labour' in the Tanzanian context clearly differentiates child labour from child work. On the one hand, *child labour* refers to 'work carried out to the detriment and endangerment of the child, mentally, physically, socially and morally'. To this effect, child labour is characterised by denial of the right of children to education and other opportunities; children's separation from their families; and poor working conditions that include among others long working hours, poor working environment, heavy work regardless of age and sex; and so on.

On the other hand, *child work* means 'children's participation in various types of light work such as helping parents care for the home and the family or working for a few hours after school or during holidays'. In this context, the activities carried out by children do not necessarily deny them their basic rights. More specifically, child work has something to do with making children confident, and contribute to their own wellbeing and that of their families in their respective households. What is difficult to determine is the border line between these two concepts and where acceptable work becomes unacceptable labour. This is often blurred and indistinct.

From the afore conceptualisation of child labour it is evident that Asia, Africa and Latin America have large number of children whose wellbeing is jeopardized due to hazardous working conditions. This can be evidenced

by Tungesvik (2000) whose findings indicate that about 61% of the children who labour are found in Asia, while 32% live in Africa and 7% in Latin-America.

3.2 A child in the Tanzanian milieu

Who is a child in the Tanzanian context? It is possible to argue that violation of child rights in Tanzania have been due to the lack of a common understanding as to who is a child. For instance, according to the constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania a child refers to a human being below eighteen years of age (SUWATA 1994). Conversely, Tanzania is also a signatory of the ILO Convention, no 38, of 1998 which sets 15 years as the minimum age for a person to be employed. In addition, the Marriage Act of 1971 allows a girl to get married at the age of 15. The employment of women and young person's ordinance (enacted in 1940) made it illegal for children to work in factories. Nevertheless, the interpretation of who are young persons under this ordinance is that people between ages 16-18 are not considered to be children. There are many answers and interpretations to the question 'who is a child in Tanzania?' and are determined by a number of factors including among others the legal interpretations, traditions and customs and the context in which the young person is to be found.

3.3 Micro-economic determinants of the household demand for child labour

There are circumstances where the micro-economic environments of some households lead to demand for child labour. In this situation children engage in work because the social economic status of those households dictates so. For example the study by (Amma *et al* 2000) clearly indicates that in Chunya District (Tanzania) especially among the pastoralists' communities, the nature of households' economy is an explanation for why some children need to work. The pastoralists involve their children in looking after their animals instead of enrolling them in schools. And for those children who do happen to get enrolled most have to drop out of primary schooling so as to accompany their parents in search of pastures for their animals.

Children also suffer from the effects of child labour as a result of internal division of work within the households (Tungesvik 2000: 8). Some children are engaged in work outside the home together with their parents, whereas others carry out duties within the households in order to enable adults or other siblings attend work outside the home.

3.4 Micro-economic determinants of the household supply of child labour

There are a number of explanations regarding the determinants of the supply of child labour at household level. The Survey by ILO/ IPEC Tanzania (2001: 12) revealed that:

> Declining household income that has made it difficult for parents to meet the basic needs of their children including school requirements. Due to economic hardships people are prompted to take care of the nuclear family only, a departure from traditional norms and values which bound the extended family and clan members together. Abandoned and neglected children ultimately run away from their homes and end up in different work-sites as labourers.

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Findings by ILO/IPEC Tanzania find support from the study by Masudi, Ishumi and Sambo (2001). The study found economic hardships at household level as the possible explanation underlying child labour in different parts of the country. This implies that, had families wherever they are been able to provide their children with all basic needs and beyond, none of the children who suffer from the consequences of child labour today would have jeopardised their physical, moral, mental health and future in general. In search for survival many children find their way into labour markets, which are actually detrimental and dangerous to their wellbeing. To this end, child labour has been continuously depriving children their rights to a number of opportunities including social services such as basic education.

Similarly, Amma, *et al* (2000), found that the micro-economic factors, which contribute to child labour, and that force households to be suppliers of child labourers include family related factors and household needs. This is very common, for example, in households where parents have died of HIV/AIDS related diseases and where children live with a single parent or guardian who depend on the products of working children. Consequently, this situation forces children to work for money for the survival of the family. In this context, therefore, a child frequently is a breadwinner for the all family. This finds support from the findings by Amma *et al* (2000) which indicate that working children contribute about 40% of the household income that is geared to basic food items. Eldring *et al* (2000) found, for example, that in Kenya children were regarded as a source of livelihood for poor families.

According to Eldring *et al* (2000: 5): '…inability of households to meet the basic needs of children (education, food, shelter, and clothes) in most cases forces children to engage in employment in their endeavour to improve their conditions and livelihood'. From this, it is rational to argue that there is a significant relationship between child - labour and poverty in most places especially rural areas. Children work because they want, and need, to fill social and economic gaps that exist in their households.

Likewise, Tungesvik (2000) also notes that sending children to work can be a survival strategy employed by either parents or guardians in the course of trying to reduce risk of interruption of the income stream within the households. This is very common when households that are normally relatively prosperous, are exposed to diseases, natural disaster and outbreak of wars.

The role of the traditional socialisation system in relation to household division of labour

As discussed elsewhere in the literature review, Tungesvik (2000) views internal divisions of work within the household as one of the contributory factors for child labour. There are two ways of looking at this. On the one hand, children have to work hand in hand with their parents as part of traditional socialization of children. This is because children will be future adults who are expected to handle families. On the other hand, children ought to undertake household duties in order to enable their parents work outside the home. In this case children often assume the role of father and mother in the absence of their parents.

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Actually, since the conception of society children have had opportunities to participate in different activities as part of the socialisation process. Work was considered as a legal obligation to any physically fit person and a possible means for survival. According to Lawuo (1978) in pre-colonial society division of labour was aimed at orienting children as future adults into different activities within the society according to age and sex. For instance, boys joined the fathers while the girls joined the mothers. As per definition of the concept of socialisation, work had something to do with the way children could fit into various roles of the society.

According to Chama Cha Mapinduzi (1987), children have certain responsibilities in their respective households and societies. Amongst these duties are included economic and social activities to which a child should be exposed, such as how to work hard and diligently. In order to accomplish this end, therefore, both parents and guardians are obliged to be good examples for children. In this context children are thus expected to copy from what and how their parents work. As childhood is a time when learning is fast, it is a period when parents and guardians get their children involved in their respective economic activities. Working is taken as part of the life of any human being and, therefore, something to be learned as quickly and efficiently as any other set of crucial life skills.

The link between non-enrolment, dropout, absenteeism, health status of children and their involvement in labour

Equity and equality in education, especially basic education is a global concern. In Tanzania there have been efforts to ensure that all school age children get access to education and concerns to ensure equity and equality date back to the 1960s, involving both the government and Non-Government Organizations. Amongst the initiatives taken can be included, formulation of educational policies which advocate democratization of basic education in Tanzania (URT, 1995 and Hammarberg, 1995). In particular, the examples of primary education policies which advocate education for all include Education for Self-Reliance, Universal Primary Education and the Integrated Education Policy.

Despite efforts by the Government and NGOs to address primary education there are problems which still persist, and consequently deny some children their basic right to education in some areas in Tanzania. URT (2000), reveals that 22.2% of children liable to go to school have not been enrolled, and 34% of the enrolled drop out before completing primary schooling.

Likewise, findings by the World Bank (2001) indicate that although entry rates in primary schools are relatively high, survival rates at the end of the cycle are low. Drop-out is one of the underlying problems that face primary schools. Children also take an average of 9.4 years to finish primary education instead of seven years. Failure to complete primary education is attributed to dropouts and repetition, especially at standard four and only 50% manage to complete grade 7. The reasons for such a poor record of completion are, of course, complex.

Some indications as to what these might be come from other parts of the world, thus according to Carron and Chau (1996), there

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were two specific factors, which make school attendance irregular in China, Guinea, and Mexico. The factors included children having to help with work inside and away from the house and health problems among pupils, all of which are attributable to poor living conditions within the households. Similarly, Okojie *et al* (1996), report that in Nigeria school children get engaged in independent work in order to earn money. Although not clearly indicated it could be argued that the money is for personal use and the household survival.

It is evident then that there is a link between children involvement in labour and non-enrolment, dropout, absenteeism and health. In Tanzania too such factors have been noted at the highest level, as *The African* (2001: 1), quoting president Mkapa, puts it:

> …The figure had been established by preliminary data from the first round of the 2000-2001 Child Labour surveys, which suggested that 4.1 million out of 10.2 children of that age were not attending school. Instead, the president said, the children were engaged in economic activities or in housekeeping, a clear indication of rampant child labour in the country.

3.5 Contextual factors

The macro economic environment

Tanzania like many developing countries has been confronted by economic problems, which have affected economic, political, as well as social areas. Behind all this is poverty, and poor decision making strategies. Various attempts have been made to improve the situation. To this end, according to the URT (1999: 18), the Tanzania macro-economic policy context is characterized by deliberate government efforts to:

- improve the visibility and increase the role of private sector, which widens the range of participants in national economic and social activities;
- redefine the government's role so as to position itself more strategically, concentrating on policy matters, quality assurance interventions, poverty reduction, good governance, regulatory services, and guaranteeing equity and fair-play, while guiding the economy more indirectly through fiscal policies;
- concentrate its investment in infrastructure and essential social development services such as health and education;
- develop dynamic priority areas for allocation of its resources;
- reduce non-essential subsidies and introduce cost sharing, fees, and cost recovery measures; and
- create an enabling environment for a more diverse array of participants in the provision of services and other investment inputs.

However, instead of being effective, some of the policies have been causing hardships for the targeted population. For example, according to ILO/IPEC Tanzania (2001) and *The African* (2001), macro–economic and structural adjustment policies which were introduced in the 1980's have been a reason for the downsizing of the public sector and the divesture of state–owned enterprises. This has led to the retrenchment of thousands of employees, and severe reduction of the social services sector budget. Unemployment means the decrease of household's purchasing power, the end result of which is an inability to care for the members in the household

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satisfactorily. As a result many of the retrenched people reach a point where they become failures in ensuring that their children are provided with basic needs like education and health services.

Although not well covered, macro-economic and structural factors feature as plausible reasons underlying child labour in many parts where this problem is particularly rampant. Tungesvik (2000:8) argues that:

> The basic inequality that is built into international economic systems as well as the effects of structural adjustment programmmes certainly affect children's and families' situations and thus their choices concerning education and work.

Writing from the Nigerian context on 'Gender -gap in Access to Education in Nigeria' Okojie *et al* (1996:9) state that 'it was generally acknowledged with regret and self-pity that SAP has brought about untold hardship. It has occasioned increase in the costs of living particularly the cost of educating children'.

Similarly, URT (2000:94) clearly indicates the negative side of what was expected to be proposals for the development of people in their respective societies:

> The government initiatives in poverty eradication through adoption of various structural adjustment programmes have not benefited the intended population in some areas and sectors, thus leading to deterioration of standard of living each day.

Despite the failure of some of these policies, the government has been concerned with social services for its people. For instance, in order to make sure that social services are available to its citizens the government has been making remarkable reforms in primary education. The changes include among other things abolishing of UPE fees and increasing the primary school retention rate from 69% to 85% between grade 1 to 7 (URT 2001a). The review of expenditure performance also shows that the total education budget share going to basic education has increased from TShs 49,174 million (62.1%) in 1995 to TShs 78,000 million (66.6%) in 1999/2000 (URT, 2001b:1).

The legal and policy frameworks

For many years now the government has had a number of policies, which are in favour of social services especially education for all, regardless of sex, colour, ethnicity, creed or economic status. It is and has been the obligation and responsibility of the government to guarantee elementary, primary, and adult education to its entire people as a basic right (URT 1995a and URT 1999).

In order to make sure that children regardless of their cultural background, social economic status, colour, and race are equally developed, the government of Tanzania formulated among others, a policy popularly known as 'the Child Development Policy'. In this policy the government clearly indicates that it is the responsibility of the Ministry of Community Development in collaboration with the Ministry of Education and Culture to strengthen and supervise and improve school environment. And that guidance and counselling services should be established and strengthened so as to reduce the problems which cause children to drop out or to be taken out of school (URT 1996: 28).

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From this policy point of view, it is obvious that all people responsible for children dropping out of school are subject to legal action. Actually all policies as discussed elsewhere in this study discourage children dropping out from school before they finish their schooling cycle irrespective of their situation.

In an attempt to tackle the problem of child labour, which to some extent influences some of the school children to drop out, the government has been in the forefront in defending the rights of children through a number of initiatives and policies, amongst which include:

- Formation of the Ministry responsible for Women and Children Affairs in 1990. The Ministry developed a National Policy on child development which, among other things, is responsible for implementing the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child.
- National Summit on Child Survival, Protection and Development in June 1991, the resolution of which provided the current policy framework for the National Programme of Action for Tanzanian children in the 1990s.
- Signing of a MOU between ILO and the GoT in March 1994 to implement a National Programme of Action on Child Labour under IPEC.
- National Employment Policy, 1997 sets standards to prohibit the practice of child labour.
- Formulation of a draft National Child Labour Policy which when completed, will guide the various actors in designing and implementing child labour interventions and provide a framework for coordinated efforts (ILO/IPEC Tanzania 2001: 13).

These policies are in response to 'the Convention on the Rights of the Child' as adopted by the General Assembly of United Nations in ensuring that rights of children are respected in all its member countries as captured in Article 32, which declares that:

> States parties recognise the right of the child to be protected from economic exploitation and from performing any work that is likely to be hazardous or to interfere with the child's education, or to be harmful to the child's health or physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development (UNO, 1989:11)

As is evident from this quotation, and other views discussed elsewhere in this study, the war against child labour is not a concern of one family or just a nation. It is rather an issue, which calls for joint international efforts and interventions. Nevertheless, there has to be in place the appropriate state provisions and legislation. In particular, there must be proper provisions for children to undertake their education and for this to be meaningful to their needs and accessible financially, physically and intellectually.

The Education Act of 1978 (amended in 1995)

According to Education Act No10,1995 (URT, 1995b), primary education 'means full time formal education given for seven years after completion of pre-primary education in accordance with the syllabus approved by the commissioner'. This implies that all children who go through pre-primary and those, who due to one reason or another, do not have access to pre-primary education, provided they are seven years of age are compelled to be enrolled in primary schools any where in the country. Thus, enrolment and attendance of pupils at school is compulsory.

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This is clearly stated in the amended Section 35 of the Education Act No 25, 1978, which categorically stipulates that:

> Every pupil enrolled at any school shall regularly attend the school at which he is enrolled until he completes the period of instruction specified in respect of the level of education for the attainment of which he is enrolled in that school.

If these regulations are to be taken seriously and vigorously pursued, then any sort of contravention such as absenteeism, non-enrolment, and drop-out deliberately or not, calls for stern measures. Parents or guardians for that matter are obliged to ensure that all school going age children under their care go to school at the right age and finish the required primary education schooling cycle at the right time.

> The parent or parents of every child compulsorily enrolled for primary education shall ensure that the child regularly attends the primary school at which he is enrolled until he completes primary education (Education Act No.10, 1995b, p 66).

Going against this would mean punishment of the concerned parties as stipulated in The Education Act No.25, 1978:

> The minister shall make rules, which shall be published in the Gazette, for the better carrying out of the purposes of this section and may in those such, prescribe acts or things which shall be done by any person and penalties for the contravention of these rules (p.266).

Local Government Reform Programme

The Local Government Reform Programme (LGRP) is an integral part of the wider public reforms (URT, 2001a). It is a vehicle for the decentralisation and devolution of power to local levels. One of the strategic objectives of the reform is to ensure that local authorities are increasingly becoming independent in the aspects of establishment, management and financing of social services. It implies that the central government functions of ownership, management and financing of public primary schools have to be devolved gradually and progressively to the local authorities in such a way that the strategic objectives of the PEDP (2002-2006) related to enrolment expansion, quality improvement, capacity building, internal efficiency and operational efficiency improvement are efficiently and effectively implemented. For that to take place, local authorities and communities within, have to be capacitated in a manner which ensures sustainable primary education development.

What the LGRP does not appear to lead to is the local governments and communities having an influence over the primary education curriculum, examination system, inspection and time tabling. The LGRP has no in-built mechanisms of flexibility for the local governments and communities to introduce any variations in the curriculum and implementation of the PEDP. Yet, differentials in the access to, and participation in primary education are large across regions and districts and across urban and rural areas (URT, 2001c). Not only are such local variations happening on the ground, they may well be necessary to a much greater extent if appropriate provision of education is to be provided and the working child's life is to be accommodated by the education system (see recommendations)

4 Data from the study

4.1 The study districts: socio-economic profiles

The following information is provided as contextual background to the field data. Only that information regarded as important in understanding or assisting in the interpretation of the data has been included. All information has been taken from the School mapping process carried out by the Government of Tanzania.

Mufindi District

Location and administration

Mufindi District, in Iringa, is a region in the Southern Highlands. Administratively, the District is divided into five divisions, 28 wards, and 130 villages.

Population

The major ethnic group is the Wahehe who constitute about 85% of the population. The remaining 15% is made of emigrants, viz Wabena and Wakinga from Njombe and Makete districts, respectively. According to the 1998 population census, Mufindi District is ranked third in the region in terms of population size with about 229,259. Population density per sq km was 39, whereas growth rate per district is 2.8%.

Climate

The climate of the district varies with altitude, which can be distinguished as highlands and lowlands ranging from 1,700 to 2,200 metres above sea level. The mean annual temperature is between 16.3°C and 18.3°C. On the other hand, rainfall ranges between 1,200 – 1,600mm per annum.

Economy

Agriculture is the main economic activity in the district as it employs more than 90% of the population. 95% of the district is arable land composed of fertile red clays with good organic top soil, but only 19.6% is under cultivation and approximately 0.5% given over to forest reserves with associated agricultural and industrial activities. Two types of crops are cultivated: food crops, including maize, beans, round potatoes, wheat, sweet potatoes, groundnuts, peas, cassava and sorghum, and cash crops: including tobacco, tea, sunflower, pyrethrum and coffee.

Livestock rearing (cattle, goats, sheep, pigs and poultry) is generally part of the farming system and plays a significant economic role.

The district GDP and per capita income is estimated to be 4,390 Tsh and 158,100 Tsh per annum, respectively.

Education

- *Pre-Primary school education*
  Mufindi District has 11 pre-primary education schools, with about 1,258 pupils, of which 634 are girls. There is an average of 114 pupils per school.

- *Primary school education*
  By the end of 1996 there were 138 primary schools in the district.
  The major problem facing primary education in the district is closely related to school drop-outs. The data show that while in 1989, 6,985 pupils were enrolled in primary one, only 3,158 pupils managed to complete standard seven in 1995. Consequently, 55% of the primary

schooling age group drop-out of school. Several explanations for the problem of drop-out in primary schools in Mufindi have been offered, including death, truancy, and pregnancy (in case of girls).

- *Secondary education.*
  By 1996 Mufindi District had the largest number of secondary schools (13) in the region. All, but one, are in private hands, most of them being owned by Mufindi Education Trust (MET).

- *Adult education*
  Adult education, which was meant to reduce adult illiteracy, is not performing well in the district. The problem is attributable to the limitation of resources to run it.

Health
There are three hospitals, five public rural health centres, 45 dispensaries and a health post in every village. However, they receive little regular maintenance especially those owned by the government. Most of them seem to be dilapidated and without medicines, drugs, and the basic working equipment required by doctors and nurses.

The common diseases responsible for many deaths in the district include malaria, URTI, diarrhoea, pneumonia, skin infections, intestinal worms, eye infections, STD and protein energy malnutrition.

The maternal mortality rate is still high in Mufindi. Statistics show that in 1992, 363 women out of 100,000 died of pregnancy-related problems. This number had dropped to 254 women by 1996.

Severe malnutrition has been reduced from 1.6% in 1991, to only 1.3% in 1996.

Water
The National Water Policy states that by 2002 every person should get clean water within a distance not exceeding 400 metres. By the end of 1996, only 45.3% of the population was served.

Critical problems facing rural water supply in Mufindi District:

- Lack of funds for the village water committees to operate and maintain the schemes.
- Most schemes are motorised schemes which use diesel and, therefore, are too expensive to operate. There is need to adopt low cost technology, like water pumps or gravity-fed schemes.
- Water sources are not well preserved and kept clean, consequently, water contamination is very high, with attendant water borne diseases causing many deaths.

Mkuranga District

Location and administration
Mkuranga is in the coastal region of eastern Tanzania. Administratively, it is divided into four divisions, 10 wards, and 89 villages.

Population
According to the 1998 population census statistics, the District is estimated to have a population of 150,000, of whom 48% (72,000) are male, while 52% (78,000) are female. The population density is 55 people per sq km, and the growth rate is 2.1% The population is typically very young with over 50% below the age of 20.

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Climate

The coast region has an average temperature of 32°C. There are two rainy seasons per year. The first season includes rains between October to January, while the second begins in March and ends in June. The average rainfall ranges from 80mm to 12,000mm per annum.

Economy

The mainstay of the economy is small scale farming and some fishing. Two types of crops are cultivated: food crops including maize, rice, cassava, sorghum, cow peas, pigeon peas, groundnuts, oranges, mangoes, passion fruits, oil palm trees, pineapples and other tropical fruits. Cash crops: including cashew nuts, coconuts and hardwood trees.

Education

In September 2000, the district had seven pre-primary schools only; 79 primary schools; seven secondary schools; and one college of education.

Problems

There is a low rate of enrolment at primary level. While the Ministry of Education & Culture had set a target of enrolling 85% of all school age children by 2001, the average net enrolment rate was 22%. Possible explanations include among others parents are unable to pay school fees, while others are not very aware of the value of education, broken marriages that are common in Mkuranga District leaving many children under the care of step-parents who do not bother about education, and the fact that many parents and guardians don't know at what age a child must be enrolled in school. It is interesting to note, however, that the data from the present study do not confirm these explanations. In the sample employed, there were no significantly higher rates of single or divorced household heads in this region.

Distance to school is a serious problem in Mkuranga District. On average, children travel more than three kilometers to school on foot which is confirmed in this study by data obtained from both the headteachers and heads of households.

The drop-out rate for the District is almost the same for boys and girls and the average is 18.3%. The reasons underlying this problem are attributable to distance to school and child labour. This is, to some extent, confirmed by the present study's data.

The teaching and learning environment is impoverished, with severe shortages of all resources; human, material and infrastructure.

Health

The district has no hospital, but does have two health centres; and 17 dispensaries owned by government, NGOs, and private individuals serving about 150,000 people.

Water

The water supply is a problem in Mkuranga District, with the only possible source for many people being dug wells.

Moshi Municipality

Location and administration

Moshi Municipality is located on the Southern slopes of Kilimanjaro. Its history dates back to 1892, following German establishment. It grew during British rule and was selected as the headquarters of the Northern Province.

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Moshi Municipality district is divided into two divisions which are further divided into 15 wards and 62 streets.

Population

Moshi Municipality has grown from a small urban area of 8,048 residents in 1948, to 96,838 people in 1988. According to the 1998 census, the municipal population was 8.7% of the regional population (1,108,699). Indigenous people are the Chagga, though there are other tribes from other parts of Tanzania.

Climate

The mean annual temperature is 25°C. It has two rainy seasons: short rains from October to December and long rains from March to May, with an annual rainfall of 550mm.

Economy

Along the slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro, there are coffee and barley plantations, as well as dairy farms and flower cultivation. To the south, the Tanganyika Planters Company (TPC) has sugar plantations, and also the Japanese-sponsored Lower Moshi Rice Irrigation Project. Bananas, beans, and maize are the staple food crops for the indigenous people of the area.

Generally, the economy of Moshi depends on commerce, industry, small-scale cultivation and tourism. The municipality has a wide range of industries dealing with coffee curing, match production, pharmaceuticals, beverages and foodstuffs. It has good access to other towns in the country, and abroad, through roads, air links (via the Kilimanjaro International Airport) and modern communication facilities.

Education

There are 24 public primary schools and four private primary schools in Moshi Municipality. Standard one enrolment rate is 60%, of the adult population illiteracy is 2%. The drop-out rate is very low at 1%.

Health

Private and government medical facilities are found in the Municipality. Privately-owned dispensaries and pharmacies have sprung up in recent years with the liberalisation of the health sector and waiving of levies on medical supplies by the government.

Water

Water services are almost evenly distributed. The shortage can be explained by the growing size of the municipality while sources of water have remained the same for years.

Pangani District

Information for this District is particularly sparse, given that the school mapping activity has yet to be carried out here.

Location and administration

Pangani District is in the coastal strip of Tanga region. Administratively, it is divided into four divisions, 13 wards, and 23 villages.

Population

The density per sq km for Pangani is 31. The annual growth rate between 1978 – 1988 was 1.3%. The District has the lowest population growth rate as compared to other five districts in the region.

Climate

The distance to the Indian Ocean and altitude mainly determines the climate. The

4 Data from the study

coastal belt, which is 0-15m above sea level, covers the Pangani District. Average rainfall is between 1,800-1,400mm. The average temperature is approximately 30-32°C during the day and about 26-29°C during the night. However, during the cool months (May to October), temperatures are approximately 23-28°C in the day and 20–24°C in the night.

Economy

The main economic activity includes agriculture and horticulture. Dominant crops are sisal, coconuts, cashew nuts, maize, cassava and citrus fruits.

Education

Pangani District has the least number of primary schools as compared to other districts in the region. There are about 63 schools, with about 3,311 boys and 3,149 girls. More specifically, the distribution of schools, by district, in Tanga region indicates that Pangani has only 2.7% of the primary schools found in the region. There are only three secondary schools in Pangani.

4.2 Field data analysis

The field data from the various instruments and methods employed are presented in this section. A discussion of their relationships and an interpretation of the findings is then conducted in the section 5 that follows. The two major questionnaires - to headteachers and heads of households - are presented first, followed then by the children's diaries and the other interviews and focus group discussions.

Data were collected from a wide range of respondents. The numbers involved in each group of respondents were:

Respondent group	Number
Individual children interviewed in the household	62
Individual children interviewed in school	51
Children interviewed in the street	21
Children writing diaries	16
Individual interviews with household heads	75
Individual interviews with headteachers	27
Focus group discussions with teachers	51
Focus group discussions with children	50
Focus group discussions with adults	65

Headteacher questionnaire

An example of the questionnaire given to selected headteachers is to be found at Appendix 3.

A total of 27 headteachers were interviewed in the four districts distributed thus: Pangani - seven; Mufindi - seven; Moshi - eight; and Mkuranga - five.

A range of questions, relating to the general school environment, revealed that the density of primary schools and other educational provision was as might be expected, with urban Moshi and semi-urban Mufindi having more institutions within a 10 kilometre radius of the school being interviewed, than was found in the rural Pangani and Mkuranga (Q1). Similarly (Q7), the community infrastructure sees Moshi as the most well appointed area, with all the major services such as health clinics, tap water, sewerage, electricity, religious establishments, shops, playgrounds, markets, tarmac roads and post offices in relatively good supply. Most noticeably, sewerage systems do not get to within 10km of any of the schools in the other three districts studied. This is also consistent with the finding that

4 Data from the study

indicates the social economic status attributed by the heads to their catchment areas as being generally low, except for Moshi and Mufindi, with a higher incidence of middle/average rating (Q8a). This is also generally in line with the findings from the household heads' data (see below) with, possibly, the exception of Mufindi where a much higher incidence of unskilled workers was found.

All headteachers reported that they were working in areas of large and increasing populations (Q8b) and with generally large numbers of children to the age of 13 in their catchment area (Q8c).

Headteacher reports on the infrastructure and services within their schools are found in Tables 1 and 2 below.

While on the face of it, these data would seem to indicate a fairly satisfactory situation in the quantitative supply of infrastructure, they do cover a wide variety of qualitative provision and quantitative anomalies. For example, it must be remembered, as already reported, there are no sewerage systems within 10km of the schools. Although most lavatories are of permanent construction (Q10), they are all also recorded as using simple pit-hole technology, and the numbers per pupil are not necessarily of an acceptable level (see Table 3, Mkuranga, for example).

Table 1: **Headteacher report on infrastructure and services within their schools** *(N=25)*

Type of service	Pangani	Mufindi	Moshi	Mkuranga	All
Drinking water	5	4	7	0	16
Sanitation	2	3	6	0	11
Electricity	2	4	6	0	12
Health services	2	3	4	1	10
Food services	1	1	7	0	9
Play grounds	5	6	5	4	20
Security services	1	4	7	1	13
Library services	1	3	3	1	8
Sports facilities	2	6	6	2	16

Table 2: **Headteacher report on school building infrastructure** *(N=25)*

Type of building	Pangani	Mufindi	Moshi	Mkuranga	All
Classrooms	7	7	6	5	25
Teachers houses	5	6	4	2	17
Library	0	2	1	0	3
Store(s)	5	7	6	2	20
Office(s)	5	7	7	5	24
Fenced	0	1	5	0	6
Lavatories	7	7	6	5	25

4 Data from the study

Having said that, however, the physical structure of what is provided in the schools would seem to be generally acceptable. Responses to the various sections of question 10, reveal that most facilities are of some sort of permanent construction, be it red brick, concrete, cement blocks, etc, and very few headteachers report temporary buildings or ephemeral construction such a palm leaf roofs.

There is quite clearly a problem with the provision of classrooms where evidently teachers will not have sufficient classrooms in which to teach. Again, the example of Mkuranga brings this home most clearly where it would appear that the teacher/pupil ratio is half that of the pupil/classroom ratio. If the full compliment of teachers were to be employed this would be considerably exacerbated in all the schools as indicated in Table 4.

Clearly there is a shortage of teachers at nearly all levels, with the exception of Pangani, the most rural of the districts, there is predominantly a shortage of female teachers. Only Mkuranga would seem to be near complete recruitment. The National Standard of Pupil Teacher Ratio is 45:1). That suggests that Pangani has no shortage of teachers. However, National Standards require that a primary school should have at least eight teachers (four grade A teachers and four grade B, and/or C teachers). For urban schools, at least five grade A teachers are required. The distribution of grade A teachers (the most qualified) among schools is inequitable. Urban/peri-urban schools and schools in the relatively economically advantaged wards have more grade A teachers than rural schools.

All of this paints a picture of an attempt to produce an acceptable supply of resources,

Table 3: **Distribution of selected key resources** *(N=27)*

Item per pupil ratio	Pangani	Mufindi	Moshi	Mkuranga	All
Classrooms	55	57	67	77	64
Desks	3	5	3	6	4
Lavatory (pit-holes)	29	37	54	116	56
Teachers	45	37	40	30	38

Table 4: **Required and available teachers** *(N=27)*

	Pangani			Mufindi			Moshi			Mkuranga			All		
Teachers available	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
Grade A	19	15	34	17	46	63	18	128	216	12	36	48	66	225	391
Grade B	17	6	23	12	21	33	3	45	48	1	10	11	33	82	115
Grade C	4	4	8	1	20	21	0	6	6	1	11	12	6	41	47
Teachers required															
Grade A	45	21	66	5	5	10	26	76	102	4	4	8	80	106	186
Grade B	18	12	30	0	10	10	0	12	12	0	0	0	18	34	52
Grade C	2	4	6	0	0	0	2	3	5	0	0	0	4	7	11

4 Data from the study

both physical and human, but with a severe shortfall in practice. As a result the quality of school life presented to the average pupil is not one likely to encourage regular or continued attendance. With high opportunity costs involved in going to school the temptation to undertake employment is great.

To gain some insight into the availability of work and the degree to which children were employed, headteachers were also asked to provide information with regard to the nature of paid employment within their catchment area. Bearing in mind the descriptions of the four districts already provided, it is not surprising to find that the majority of work available within 10km of the schools is in the agricultural sector, either directly in cultivation of crops and animal husbandry, or in the processing of food such as cashew and coconuts, or the brewing of alcohol. Business and petty trading is also seen as a major source of employment in Moshi and Mkuranga, while only Moshi provides any outlets in the civil service (Q2).

Some of these sources of employment are continuous throughout the year, while others, particularly in the agricultural sector, are dependent upon the seasons (Q3). With that in mind, it is interesting to note that the fluctuation of employment does not correspond to the school calendar and nearly all teachers see this as an issue. (see table 5)

Interestingly, teachers indicate that the school calendar continues simultaneously with employment in a minority of cases, indicating there is a considerable conflict of interests. This is of greater significance when one also notes from Question 5 that only four teachers noted that children in their catchment area were not involved in waged labour, whilst 23 reported that they were.

The tables 6 & 7 indicate the nature of work that the headteachers believe to be the most frequently undertaken by children in their areas. This information corresponds generally with that emerging from the diaries, although the sample of children who wrote the diaries is perhaps less involved in waged work than these data indicate. The information obtained from the individual interviews with children in their homes, however, does indicate a much sharper difference in employment patterns between the various districts, with children in Pangani reporting being very much more involved in waged employment than children in the other three districts.

Table 5: **How teachers see empolyment corresponding to the school calender**

	Pangani	Mufindi	Moshi	Mkuranga	All
Employment does not correlate with the school calendar	4	6	6	3	19
School calendar rarely affected by employment	0	1	0	0	1
School calendar continues simultaneously with employment activities	3	0	2	2	7

4 Data from the study

Table 6: **Pupils involved in waged employment**

Type of waged employment	Pangani	Mufindi	Moshi	Mkuranga	All
No involvement in waged work	0	2	1	1	4
All types of waged work	3	0	0	2	5
Farm labouring	1	2	2	1	6
Coconut processing	1	0	0	0	1
Factory employment	1	2	1	0	4
Domestic duties	0	1	1	0	2
Petty trading	1	0	2	1	3

Table 7: **Pupils involved in non-waged employment**

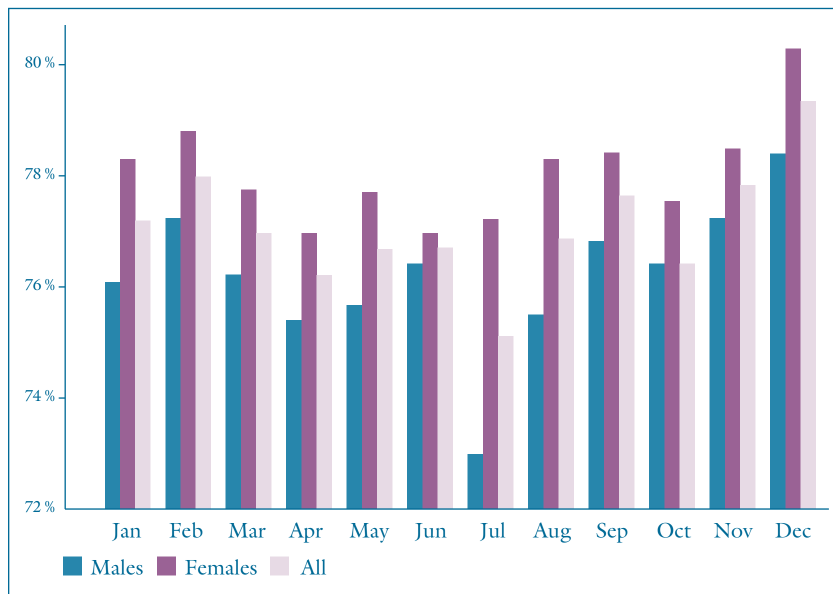
Type of non-waged employment	Pangani	Mufindi	Moshi	Mkuranga	All
Taking care of animals	2	0	1	0	3
Farm activities	1	3	3	0	7
Domestic activities	3	1	2	4	10
Self-reliance activities at school	1	0	0	0	1

Pupil access to and participation in schooling: attendance

Data relating to the attendance and pupil flow through the schools were collected.

Graphs of pupil attendance are provided in figures 1 to 5.

Figure 1: **Mean percentage attendance for pupils in selected schools in all four districts**



4 Data from the study

Figure 2: **Mean percentage attendance for pupils in selected schools in Pangani district**

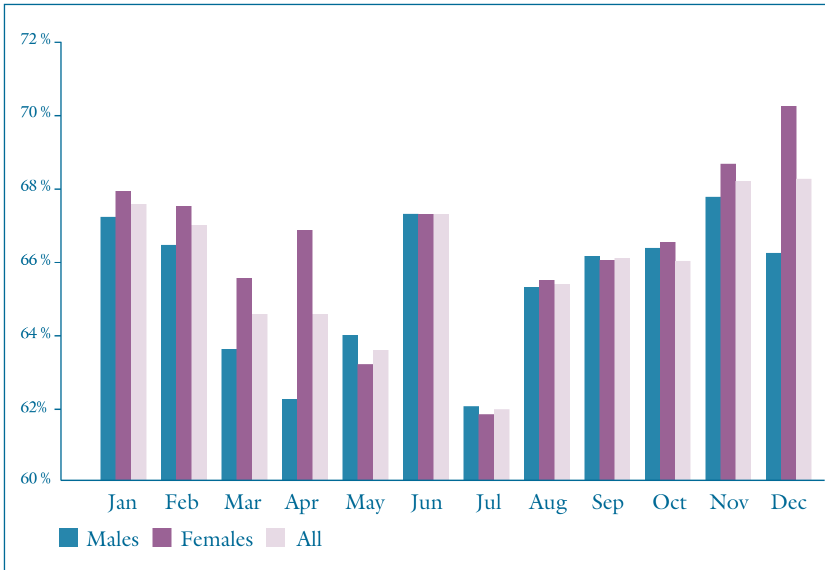
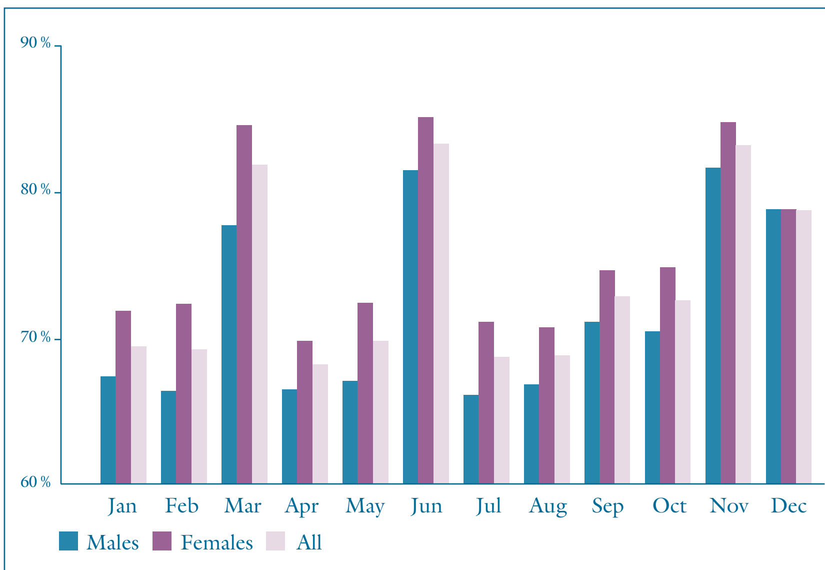


Figure 3: **Mean percentage attendance for pupils in selected schools in Mufindi district**



4 Data from the study

Figure 4: **Mean percentage attendance for pupils in selected schools in Moshi district**

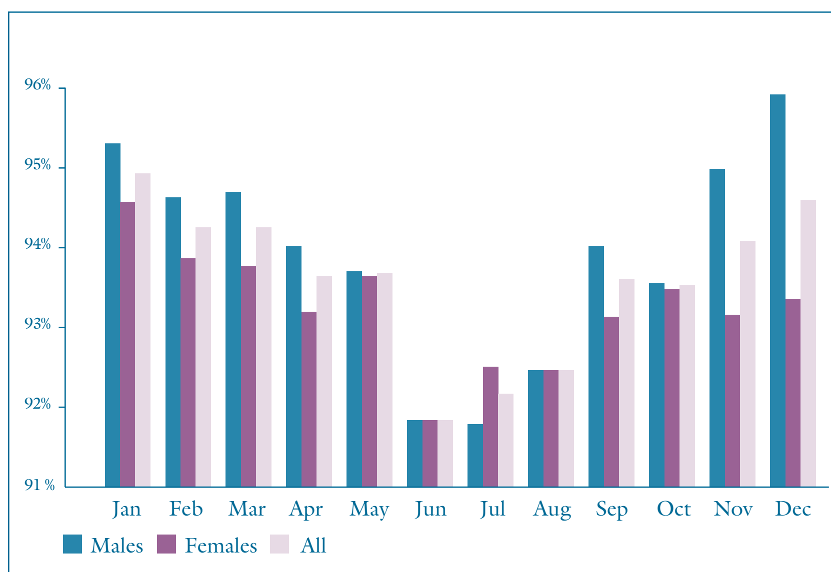
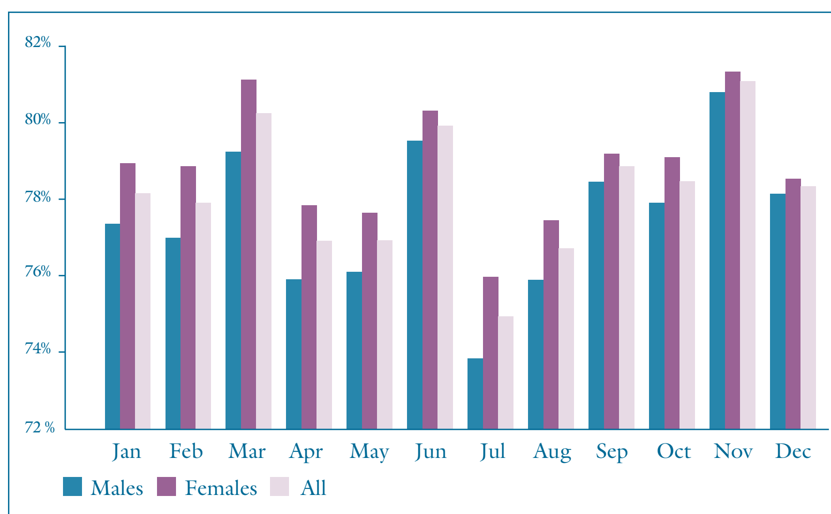


Figure 5: **Mean percentage attendance for pupils in selected schools in Mkuranga district**



From the above graphs, it is clear that, overall, with the exception of Moshi schools, girls are better attenders. However, this needs to be carefully compared with data from the diaries where girls report less time at school (see Table 23). Moshi is also the exception in that the overall average attendance at the selected schools is never less than 91%, as compared with an average for all schools combined of never more than 80%; with Pangani performing least well, with average attendance frequently as low as 60%. This is not unexpected, and

4 Data from the study

would equate well with the perception of the higher socio-economic status of the catchment areas in Moshi.

A further trend worth noting here is the seasonal fluctuation of attendance. This is generally discernible in the graph for all districts (Figure 1), with attendance being highest in November/December and lowest in July. However, with the exception again of Moshi, where attendance is generally high, a marked pattern of attendance emerges in the other districts with peaks in April, June and November/December. This can be explained when one knows that preparation for, and sitting of, examinations takes place in these months. However, why, if the desire to gain examination success is so strong, is there not an even higher attendance pattern in these crucial months?

A possible explanation for this could be that employment also peaks at these times. Although we do not have specific, detailed information to support this, it is to be inferred from the headteacher questionnaire.

Also to be noted is a suggestion made at the final workshop, where it was pointed out that many parents and children regard going to school as important not so much for the learning experience, but for the paper qualification it provides if one is successful in the examinations. Passing the exam is more important than the schooling leading up to it. A prime example of the 'diploma disease' so well described by Dore.

Table 8: **Transition rates for children in all schools combined**

		Grades					
Rate	Sex	1-2	2-3	3-4	4-5	5-6	6-7
Promotion[1]	Males	0.911	0.942	0.934	0.915	0.921	0.914
	Females	0.906	0.931	0.952	0.931	0.909	0.914
	All	0.909	0.937	0.944	0.923	0.915	0.914
Repetition[2]	Males	0.033	0.012	0.013	0.027	0.021	0.029
	Females	0.043	0.013	0.011	0.019	0.026	0.030
	All	0.038	0.013	0.012	0.023	0.024	0.029
Transfer-out[3]	Males	0.026	0.001	0.024	0.027	0.030	0.028
	Females	0.023	0.023	0.020	0.023	0.033	0.032
	All	0.024	0.022	0.022	0.025	0.031	0.030
Drop-out[4]	Males	0.030	0.045	0.028	0.031	0.028	0.029
	Females	0.028	0.033	0.017	0.027	0.032	0.024
	All	0.029	0.028	0.022	0.029	0.030	0.027

[1] Promotion rate = $\frac{\text{current enrolment minus repetition, transfer and drop-out in previous year}}{\text{enrolment in previous year}}$

[2] Repetition rate = $\frac{\text{repeaters into same grade in the subsequent year}}{\text{enrolment in previous year}}$

[3] Transfer-out rate = $\frac{\text{transfer-out for the respective year}}{\text{enrolment in respective year}}$

[4] Drop out rate = 1 minus (promotion rate plus repetition rate plus transfer-out rate)

4 Data from the study

Pupil access to and participation in schooling: participation

We were particularly interested in the passage of children through the school system and therefore data were collected on children in the various schools who were in grade one in 1995 through to those still remaining in grade seven in 2001.

Information on enrolment, drop-out, repetition and transfer-out from the school were collected which enabled us to calculate the transition rates which are produced in Tables 8 to 12. These data were calculated to represent true cohort figures and not gross figures.

Table 9: **Transition rates for children in Mkuranga district**

		Grades					
Rate	Sex	1-2	2-3	3-4	4-5	5-6	6-7
Promotion	Males	0.925	0.939	0.993	0.993	0.962	0.898
	Females	0.972	0.978	0.956	0.956	0.943	0.966
	All	0.947	0.958	0.974	0.974	0.953	0.930
Repetition	Males	0.075	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.015	0.039
	Females	0.028	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.016	0.007
	All	0.053	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.016	0.025
Transfer-out	Males	0.000	0.007	0.007	0.015	0.008	0.000
	Females	0.000	0.007	0.022	0.000	0.024	0.000
	All	0.000	0.007	0.015	0.008	0.016	0.000
Drop-out	Males	0.000	0.054	0.000	0.021	0.015	0.063
	Females	0.000	0.015	0.022	0.022	0.017	0.025
	All	0.000	0.015	0.022	0.022	0.017	0.025

Table 10: **Transition rates for children in Pangani district**

		Grades					
Rate	Sex	1-2	2-3	3-4	4-5	5-6	6-7
Promotion	Males	0.934	0.887	0.921	0.873	0.819	0.860
	Females	0.890	0.893	0.902	0.848	0.810	0.845
	All	0.902	0.890	0.911	0.861	0.814	0.853
Repetition	Males	0.020	0.033	0.029	0.048	0.068	0.054
	Females	0.025	0.036	0.041	0.059	0.073	0.048
	All	0.023	0.036	0.035	0.053	0.070	0.051
Transfer-out	Males	0.020	0.028	0.021	0.027	0.039	0.044
	Females	0.031	0.027	0.015	0.031	0.047	0.045
	All	0.025	0.027	0.018	0.029	0.043	0.045
Drop-out	Males	0.026	0.052	0.029	0.052	0.074	0.042
	Females	0.054	0.044	0.042	0.062	0.070	0.062
	All	0.050	0.048	0.036	0.057	0.073	0.051

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Table 11: **Transition rates for children in Moshi district**

		Grades					
Rate	Sex	1-2	2-3	3-4	4-5	5-6	6-7
Promotion	Males	0.853	0.949	0.948	0.958	0.930	0.963
	Females	0.876	0.960	0.965	0.929	0.947	0.966
	All	0.865	0.955	0.954	0.943	0.939	0.964
Repetition	Males	0.073	0.006	0.006	0.013	0.016	0.006
	Females	0.054	0.003	0.003	0.027	0.003	0.000
	All	0.064	0.004	0.005	0.020	0.009	0.003
Transfer-out	Males	0.040	0.018	0.025	0.012	0.030	0.026
	Females	0.038	0.014	0.032	0.024	0.029	0.014
	All	0.039	0.016	0.029	0.018	0.029	0.020
Drop-out	Males	0.034	0.027	0.021	0.017	0.024	0.005
	Females	0.032	0.023	0.031	0.020	0.021	0.008
	All	0.033	0.025	0.025	0.019	0.023	0.007

Table 12: **Transition rates for children in Mufindi district**

		Grades					
Rate	Sex	1-2	2-3	3-4	4-5	5-6	6-7
Promotion	Males	1.000	0.961	0.977	0.947	0.957	0.912
	Females	1.000	0.963	0.973	0.951	0.984	0.908
	All	1.000	0.962	0.975	0.949	0.970	0.910
Repetition	Males	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.023
	Females	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.023
	All	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.023
Transfer-out	Males	0.000	0.030	0.014	0.041	0.040	0.042
	Females	0.000	0.032	0.021	0.040	0.016	0.049
	All	0.000	0.031	0.018	0.041	0.028	0.046
Drop-out	Males	0.000	0.009	0.009	0.012	0.003	0.023
	Females	0.000	0.005	0.006	0.008	0.000	0.020
	All	0.000	0.007	0.007	0.010	0.002	0.021

The picture presented here of participation in education, as represented by the two key indicators of repetition and drop-out, is complex. Overall, the data indicate that both pose a substantial problem in that they represent a high degree of wastage of talent and incomplete participation over the period of primary education.

Taking each indicator in turn and considering the differences between the four districts, we can see that repetition is not a problem in Mufindi and after an initial problem in the first year, a similar pattern was found for Mkuranga. Such figures would warrant further, more detailed investigation. Moshi also suffers an initial high incidence of repetition but

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thereafter it falls off. Only in Pangani is there a sustained pattern of repetition of between two and 7% each year. It is also interesting to note that girls are more likely to repeat in Pangani, while it is boys in Moshi.

In looking at the drop-out rates, we can again note that this is a substantial problem overall there being close to 3% drop-out year on year. Again the district with the lowest incidence is Mufindi. Moshi has a high initial drop-out in the first year and thereafter it slows, while the reverse is generally true for Mkuranga. Once again the poor rural area of Pangani has the biggest, and substantial problem, with up to 7% dropping out. Any difference between boys and girls is difficult to discern, but clearly girls in Pangani are the most likely not to complete their schooling.

The evidence from Pangani is strong, pointing to the poor rural children, and particularly girls, having meagre participation. This is also important to bear in mind when considering the absenteeism patterns noted above and elsewhere which will further complicate and exacerbate the quality of any child's participation.

A word of caution must be entered at this point. While the evidence presented above is generally concurrent with what is found within the general literature, we cannot say that these data represent any general trends, as they have been gathered from one cohort which may be unrepresentative.

As well as the numerical data provided above on the enrolment, and flow of pupils, the head teachers' opinions and explanations for the situation pertaining in their schools were also sought. This was to provide some indication as to the general atmosphere generated within the school by headteacher policy and attitudes towards, and understanding of, the situation in their schools and area.

When asked about enrolment problems and absenteeism, most headteachers were agreed that poverty and associated economic issues were the root causes of children not attending school. This would seem to indicate a realistic and sympathetic understanding of the situation. However, it is difficult to understand how 11 of the 25 teachers reported that absenteeism is a rare problem. The evidence from their own schools presented in Figures 1–5 above clearly indicate this to be a major issue. One can only surmise that either they are concerned not to be projecting a problem, or casting their own school in a bad light, or that they accept the situation as something to be lived with and therefore not a particular or acute problem to be dealt with. Such a chronic situation they may see as being beyond their powers to solve and that all they can do is apply whatever rules and sanctions they have to hand.

When dealing with absenteeism, the usual way reported by headteachers is to resort to bureaucratic means through the school committee – to sue the truants or, most likely, resort to punishment. Almost half the schools say that they provide remedial or catch-up classes for children who miss their classes.

When asked about what might be done to alleviate drop-out and absenteeism (Questions 28a & b), a number of suggestions were made. Again, there was a substantial number who though that the enforcement of existing legal measures was essential. Creating an attractive

school environment was also mentioned. The importance of educating both parents and children about the importance of education was heavily supported as was the need to meet regularly with parents and provide strong follow-up when children missed out on school. A number also thought that the prohibition of child migration and child labour was essential.

A final set of questions to the headteachers related to non-academic work in the school and academic work out of school hours. Nearly the all the respondents (22) indicated that children are required to carry out cleaning and self-reliance activities within the school, but out of their class hours

Similarly, 24 of the 27 respondents indicated that they required homework of the children and that this is done by the children balancing their various other activities in the home, such as domestic duties, and leisure activities. This is of interest, given the responses provided in the children's diaries and other interviews, where it would appear that homework is not seen as a very important activity.

The household head questionnaire

The definition of household can be defined in simple economic terms as a group of people living together with shared expenses and income (Black 1997). However, a more inclusive definition is that provided by Casley and Lury (1987: 163):

> A household comprises a person, or a group of persons, generally bound by ties of kinship, who live together under a single roof or within a single compound, and who share a community of life, in that they are all answerable to the same head and share a common source of food … (quoted in Dachi 2000).

It is this definition that has been used in the present study when considering who should be included in the relevant interviews and the data provided.

An example of the questionnaire for household heads is provided at Appendix 3.

A total of 75 household heads were interviewed, 19 in Pangani, 11 in Mufindi, 21 in Moshi and 24 in Mkuranga. The aim of these interviews was to provide further contextual data relating to the socio-economic status of the homes from which pupils in the various districts came from, and to provide a further perspective on such issues as the importance of education, and the role of child work, in the household economy.

Of the 75 households, 49 were headed by men and 26 by women. Only 12 were

Table 13: **Households heads' occupation** *(N=73)*

Occupation	Pangani	Mufindi	Moshi	Mkuranga	All
Professional	4	0	2	0	6
Self-employed	5	1	10	8	24
Salaried	2	1	2	1	6
Skilled	1	1	4	4	10
Unskilled	7	8	2	10	27

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widowed and, even if single parent (three), divorced (one) and unmarried (two), household heads were all women, this still leaves at least nine households headed by a women where there is adult male partner. Over half were in the age group 30 –49 years of age.

The occupation of the household heads is provided in Table 13.

Quite clearly the majority of the household heads are either self-employed or unskilled workers, with very few being professionals or salaried, which would place them generally in a low socio-economic category – very much in line with the judgement of the headteachers (see above). However, it is difficult to discern any other pattern. It is not surprising that the majority of the self-employed come from Moshi where the opportunity for such work is possibly the greatest, but the full representation of all types of employment coming from the poorest region of Pangani might not have been predicted. However, this does relate to the work of Dachi (2000), who found there to be a wide range of household wealth and status even within the poorest of rural areas. This is further confirmed when the earnings of rural household heads is compared with that of urban homes. Although a slightly higher percentage of urban homes report earnings in the highest brackets (between 40,000 and 100,000Tsh per month) there is no statistically significant difference between them.

A similar breakdown of earnings by sex reveals that women household heads have earnings in the full range reported (1 – 100,000 Tsh) per month and that there was no difference between men and women and their earning capacity. It must, of course, be borne in mind here that the sample of women household heads was small (15).

These findings, however, provide us with a timely warning not to glibly label all children and households simply on the basis of the general socio-economic status of their district, or by the gender of their major bread winner.

The level of education enjoyed by the majority of household heads indicates that a significant proportion have received no education or did not wish to reveal what level they had reached. Most have attained only primary

Table 14: **Households heads' level of education**

Level	Pangani	Mufindi	Moshi	Mkuranga	All
Diploma	1	0	0	0	1
Form 4	4	0	4	1	9
Form 1	0	0	1	0	1
Standard 8	2	0	2	1	5
Standard 7	9	0	7	11	27
Standard 5	0	1	2	0	3
Standard 4	2	0	1	2	5
Madrasa	0	0	0	1	1

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level and only 11 of the 52 responding to this question had attained any level of secondary, or higher, education. Despite this, as the previous data have indicated, many of them were able to hold down skilled or even professional jobs, or to work successfully at self employed businesses. This could well be a strong influence on the attitude of such people as to the value of education and its cost benefits (see later discussion of preferred levels of education for boys and girls, etc).

Such a position is strengthen even further when earnings are analysed by household heads' level of education. This provides a clear indication that those with higher levels of education enjoy higher salaries (see Table 14 and 15).

Similar information regarding the household head's partners' education and occupation reveals in general that the partner is more likely to be unskilled and to have had only primary education up to standard 7.

A range of further data relating to the detailed socio-economic status of the household, such as the value of the house, the quality of its

Table 15: **Households heads' earnings by level of education**

Earnings in - *Tsh per month*	**Household heads' education**			**Total**
	Non-formal	**Primary**	**Secondary**	
1-10000		5 15.6%		5 11.9
10001-20000		7 21.9%		7 16.7%
20001-30000	1 100%	7 21.9%		8 19.0%
30001-40000			1 11.1%	1 2.4%
40001-50000		4 12.5%	1 11.1%	5 11.9%
50001-60000		5 15.6%	3 33.3%	8 19.0%
60001-70000				0 0.0%
70001-80000			2 22.2%	2 4.8%
80001-90000		1 3.1%	1 11.1%	2 4.8%
90001-100000		3 9.4%	1 11.1%	4 9.5%
Total	**1 100%**	**32 100%**	**9 100%**	**42 100%**

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construction, the ownership of durable consumer goods, the type of farming activity undertaken, and the household earnings per month, all confirm the general descriptions of the districts already provided above.

Education related findings however, do provide some interesting insights. One particular set of statistics confirms what has already been noted in the district profiles that in Mukuranga, for example, the distance to school is high with the average distance being 4 km. The other districts all have average distances well below 1.5 km.

As the following table indicates quite clearly, most respondents believe that education is important to the family in that it provides a basis for improved earning and more generally for future development of both the individual and the family in general.

We also asked what the preferred maximum and minimum levels of education should be for boys and girls. There is a tendency among parents to accept lower maximum and minimum levels of education for their girls, although this is not statistically significant. When the data were disaggregated by sex, there was some indication that the men might be more likely to accept an equal minimum for boys and girls, whilst women were, more likely to accept this for the maximum level of education.

When the household heads' earnings were taken into account this did not seem to have any effect, that is to say the expectation of

Table 16: **Importance of education to the family**

Factor	Pangani	Mufindi	Moshi	Mkuranga	All
Education is important for economic liberation	4	1	1	1	7
Education enables one to be employed	6	0	2	7	15
Education is a tool for co-operating with others	1	1	0	0	2
Education is for future life	3	1	8	5	17
Education is the base for any development	4	2	8	3	17
Education is just important	0	5	0	0	5
Education is not important	0	0	0	1	1
Don't know	0	0	0	1	1
Education eliminates ignorance and enhances performance	11	1	2	1	15

Table 17: **Support for children with homework and other school work**

Support	Pangani	Mufindi	Moshi	Mkuranga	All
Yes	15	10	19	7	51
No	4	1	1	9	15

maximum and minimum educational levels bore no relationship to the level of earnings enjoyed by the head of the house, irrespective of the sex of the child,. What is very clear is that by far the greater majority of household heads aspire to their children attending university, be they girls or boys.

In support of their children's education most parents claim to help with homework (table 17) How that support is provided is indicated in Table 18.

Quite clearly a number of parents actively support their children in their homework. Understandably, this is not usually in any financial way. The level of support does not differ with the households heads' gender but those with only primary education themselves are least likely to provide support for their children. Similarly, unskilled workers are less likely to provide support. This could well indicate a lack of confidence and the need for some formal help in this situation.

There is also some evidence that those household heads that earn the least tend not to support their children with homework, although there are more who do than don't.

Another interesting finding with respect to the support provided for children in the household relates to the number of household members. Up to 17 different categories of people make up the household and most have over eight people in the home, although a large number of these can be dependants (naught to18 years), with five or more not being unusual. When there are low numbers in the household some support is offered to children, but, as table 19 indicates, five people seems to be the critical point

Table 18: **Type of support provided for children with their homework and other school work**

Support	Pangani	Mufindi	Moshi	Mkuranga	All
Remedial teaching	5	1	4	5	15
Support tuition financially	1	0	3	0	4
Supervise homework	0	1	0	1	2
Encourage children to study	0	1	1	0	2
Conduct remedial teaching: private tuition	0	0	1	0	1
Inspecting books and providing remedial teaching	3	1	3	0	7
Inspecting books and correcting mistakes	2	0	0	0	2
Inspecting books and providing private tuition	0	0	1	0	1
Inspecting books and encouraging children to study	5	5	6	0	16
Buying books and remedial teaching	0	0	0	1	1
Supervise homework and encourage children to study	0	1	0	0	1

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with only 50% of these households saying they provide support for children doing their homework. With six household members and above, there is a dramatic change with almost all of these larger households reporting that they provide support. This would seem to indicate that there is a critical mass of adults above which there is spare capacity to provide support for children doing their homework. Both of these situations will be further examined in the discussion section as it might hold one of the keys to the provision of improved education.

A final series of questions related to the financial aspects of sending children to school and the role of work in the child's life (Qs 24-32).

Virtually all households responding said the main barrier to sending children to school was financial and their inability to pay. Hardly any cited a negative attitude towards school on the part of the children themselves, or that the school itself was unattractive.

There was an almost universally positive attitude towards children having to undertake some form of household chores. In line with findings from other parts of the study, they saw this as contributing to the finances of the home, and informal education for children; learning essential survival and adult skills (Qs 25a & 26a). Again, in line with findings from other parts of the study, there was no distinction made between the expectations from boys and girls, other than the boys should help their fathers, and the girls their mothers (Qs 27 & 28).

When asked if children should undertake paid work outside the home, there was a less clear response, although a majority of household heads thought it detrimental to their children's studies and behaviour. Those in favour, saw it simply as a means of boosting the family finances (Qs 25b, 26b & 29). With regard to the amount of time that should be reasonably spent on work each day there was a majority position that this should be one to two hours per day (table 20). There is also some evidence to suggest that those household heads who earn the least think that their children should be required to work longer hours. There is also an indication that some parents think girls should be expected to work longer than boys but the evidence for these last two observations is not strong and perhaps more work is required in this area.

Table 19: **Number of people in household by number of those who report supporting children with homework**

Number of people in the household	Support children	No support	Total
2 or below	2	0	2
3	5	1	6
4	7	3	10
5	8	8	16
6	15	1	16
7 or above	14	2	16

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Table 20: **Household heads' consideration of reasonable time for children to work each day**

Time	Pangani	Mufindi	Moshi	Mkuranga	All
Boys					
1-2 hours	12	9	20	7	48
3-4 hours	4	2	0	2	8
More than 6 hours	0	0	0	2	2
Girls					
1-2 hours	6	6	19	9	40
3-4 hours	6	5	0	2	13
5-6 hours	1	0	0	0	1
More than 6 hours	0	0	0	1	1

Very few households reported children working outside the home and most of these were in Pangani District (Q30). It is difficult to reconcile this finding with other data in the study and it may well be that parents were reluctant to tell us that their children had to engage in waged employment.

Parents were very much aware of the need for, and importance of, play for their children. They recognise its relevance for both physical and cognitive development (Q 31).

The pupil diaries

A wide ranging and complex set of data pose the problem of how best to present the findings from this facet of the investigation. One way is to use the child as the focus and to tell the story of the 'representative child' from each geographical area based upon the diaries recording the daily events over a period of approximately one month. It is of course necessary to add a strong word of caution with regard to these diaries. As has been noted in the methodology section, these are subjective records of what each individual child perceived as important in their daily routine and what they remembered to record, together with an attempt to estimate an approximate amount of time spent on each activity. However, the general points raised will therefore be cross-checked and verified where possible against the data from other children's interviews in the home, school and the street together with information from the Headteacher interviews, focus group reports and the household heads' questionnaire.

General daily activities

The participants, two boys and two girls from each of the four districts studied, were asked to record on a daily basis all their activities and to estimate the amount of time spent on each activity. The frequency of each activity being reported was recorded.

The first general impression gained is that the four children from each of the rural areas report being involved in many more activities than their urban and peri-urban counterparts (table 21).

At first sight this might indicate that rural children lead much richer lives full of a wide variety of activities, or that they are working harder, or both. Alternatively it could be that

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Table 21: **Number of different activities reported by children in their diaries**

Mkuranga *(rural)*			**Pangani** *(rural)*			**Mufindi** *(peri-urban)*			**Moshi** *(urban)*		
Total	F	M	Total	F	M	Total	F	M	Total	F	M
37	30	22	36	25	28	21	11	18	18	14	17

the rural children were much more diligent in keeping their diaries, conscientiously reporting the details of their lives with greater care than their more urban counterparts (see Appendix 4 for full lists of activities reported).

A further observation at this stage is that, with the exception of the two Mkuranga girls, the boys all reported being involved in more activities than the girls. Does this mean boys have more free time available than the girls, or spend less time on each activity?

Numbers of activities - part of this can be explain by the idiosyncratic nature of the reports. The peri-urban children of Mufindi, for example, do not report any time spent on sleeping, though it must be supposed that they do!

Categories of activities - it is convenient to think of all the various activities under seven broad headings, viz *essential activities* – eating, sleeping, personal hygiene; *recreation, cultural activities* – religious duties, visiting friends and family; *educational activities* – getting to school, attendance at school, homework, personal and tutored study; *household chores* – cleaning and washing, fetching water, preparation of meals (cooking, pounding cassava, preparing tea, etc), general errands such as shopping, splitting logs, *non-waged work*, and *waged work*.

Not all children from the four areas reported all of these activities. For example, the urban children reported no involvement with waged work and there was a very low incidence of this being done by the peri-urban children. Only in the Mkuranga rural district did it feature prominently (see Appendix 4 for full details).

What is important to note is that all children reported school attendance and associated education as playing a prominent role in their lives (although even here the urban children were rather spare in their reporting of this activity). All groups of children reported considerable time spent on private study, while the urban and peri-urban groups also reported time spent on private tuition; something not available it would seem to the two groups of rural children. An important issue is that of homework. The peri-urban group does not mention it at all and it does not feature particularly prominently for the urban group. Both rural groups note it as a very unimportant feature of their daily lives. Given that all groups spend a lot of time on private study and therefore have time for additional work outside the school, it would seem that the schools are probably not taking the advantage of helping children with structured additional work outside the classroom.

The raw frequencies of the reporting of the various activities across all the districts are possibly indicative of their perceived importance for the children, although not necessarily of the time they consume.

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It is interesting to note at this juncture that non-waged and waged work, do not feature in this list. It has to be born in mind however, that the sample of children asked to complete a diary were regularly in school.

To return to the point already raised, namely that of the differences between boys and girls activities in each of the areas studied, a more detailed scrutiny of the reported incidences of the various activities reveals some interesting comparisons.

We will take first of all the 'key indicators' as noted below (Table 22) and look at gender and regional differences in the two educational areas of schooling and private study before considering the household chores, or what might be termed work indicators.

Table 22: **Most highly reported activities in children's diaries**

Activity	Frequency of reporting by all children
Taking meals	922
Individual cleanliness – washing etc	516
Attending school	492*
Cleaning compound/house/shed	476*
Private study	406*
Sleeping	333
Preparing and cooking food	333*
Washing utensils	317*
Fetching water	235*

*(The activities indicated with an * will be followed in more detail as they may be taken as key education and work indicators)*

Educational indicators

Table 23: **Comparison between boys and girls of the frequency and time spent attending school**

Time spent attending school	Frequency of activity	
	Female	Male
0-1 hour	25	39
2-3 hours	10	96
4-5 hours	67	13
6-7 hours	72	119
8 or over hours	-	51
Total	**174** (35%)	**318** (65%)

The time recorded between naught and one hour probably represents time taken to travel to school – usually walking. So excluding this time, clearly boys have noted that they spend more time engaged in school activities than the girls with the exception of the four to five hour time slot. This, together with the claim from boys that they frequently spend eight or more hours at school, may indicate an over estimation by them, or that

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Table 24: **Comparison between boys and girls of the frequency and time spent on private study**

Time spent on private study	**Frequency of activity**	
	Female	**Male**
0-1 hour	112	111
2-3 hours	43	110
4-5 hours	3	37
6-7 hours	-	-
8 or over hours	-	-
Total	**158** (39%)	**248** (61%)

they spend time on the school premises on non-educational activities (eg playing football.) The registration by girls of a shorter number of hours in school may be as a result of more realistic estimation of time by them, or that they tend to leave earlier in order to undertake other activities such as domestic chores (see discussion below).

Those reported as being devoted to private study tells a similar story to that for school with boys spending more and longer times on some sort of study. It must be noted at this juncture that this does not include homework, which was separately reported and is virtually non existent. Again, one has to ask if this is due to differences in estimating times or does it indicate that girls are involved in other things that might prevent them from undertaking some educational activities?

Work indicators - Taking each of the work indicators as noted above.

Table 25: **Comparison between boys and girls of the frequency and time spent on several work indicators**

Time spent on activity	**Frequency of activity**	
	Female	**Male**
Cleaning compound, house and shed		
0-1 hour	322	154
Preparing and cooking food		
0-1 hour	278	52
2-3 hours	3	-
Washing utensils		
0-1 hour	314	3
Fetching water		
0-1 hour	80	77
2-3 hours	-	77
4-5 hours	-	1

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Clearly there are gender differences in the reporting by children of these household chores. Even though both boys and girls help with the cleaning of the house, girls are reporting twice as many times as boys, although neither groups would seem to spend more than an hour on these tasks and possibly considerably less. When it comes to preparing and cooking food, and the associated washing-up, these are predominantly female activities. Boys do report some time spent in the preparing of food, but this hardly ever involves cooking and is almost exclusively confined to lunch, not the evening meal. Therefore, it is quite possible that this is confined to the simple laying out of prepared food or the making of a sandwich, etc, for their own consumption. Full-scale preparation of family meals is always a female task.

We need therefore to consider when these activities take place. The preparation and cooking of food, and the resultant washing up, are time-bound activities in the sense that they have to be done at a fixed time around the family mealtime. Together with the time taken to consume the meal, this will mean that girls are involved in chores over a substantial; period in the late afternoon/evening when they might otherwise be engaged in learning activities. Equally important to note here is that engagement in such work may require them to leave school promptly or even early in order to be in the home in time to carry out their tasks. This may then account for the fact that girls report spending shorter time attending school.

Of the four major household chores, fetching water is the only activity boys report carrying out more frequently than girls and on which they spend considerably more time than do the girls. This might well be explained by the location of the water supply. If it is close at hand, parents will not mind if either a girl or a boy is involved, however, if, as is often the case particularly in rural areas, the water supply is at some considerable distance from the house, then for reasons of safety it is probably more likely that a boy will be sent (cf the similar comments made below on shopping).

It is also of interest to note that, in contrast to the female tasks of cooking and washing up as discussed above, the fetching of water need not be time bound. Assuming that there is sufficient water storage facility in the household, it may be gathered at any convenient time, thus making it much more easy to fit it in around other activities such as studying.

Other activities

A range of other activities is carried out by the children but with a significantly lower frequency of reporting. These may be thought of under three broad headings, namely those providing for relaxation or social activities, education and work.

Relaxation

While all children report having had some time for relaxation, or social intercourse, none of these activities would appear to be major features in their daily lives. Both boys and girls report having time for 'resting', with boys estimating that they spend more time on this than girls. Listening to the radio or watching television and playing were also reported by both sexes, again with boys reporting that they spend much more time

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on both activities. Almost exclusively, it was boys who reported that they spent time visiting friends and relatives, while watching football is a totally male preoccupation. Involvement in religious activities was reported by both sexes, but again boys were engaged for considerably longer periods of time. This possibly reflects weekend activities rather than a daily observance of rituals.

Other educational activities
Private tuition was reported only by urban children and with a very low frequency. Similarly very low frequencies of homework were reported (girls 18; boys 5). This will be discussed later.

Work
Paid work such as collecting cashews and farm work was reported almost equally by boys and girls, and from the very low frequency of reporting and time spent on these activities, they would not seem to play a particularly significant role in the lives of the children who wrote diaries for us.

Collecting firewood was similarly an unimportant activity being reported only on very few occasions. It is interesting to note, however, that shopping was reported much more frequently by boys than by girls. Girls reported only 25 instances of shopping lasting up to one hour whilst boys claimed to have been shopping 76 times for up to one hour and 19 times for between two and three hours. This might be a comparable situation with that noted for fetching water. Boys might be sent on longer shopping trips in preference to the girls for fear of their possible molestation, or because it is felt by parents that boys may be less vulnerable than girls when carrying relatively large sums of money or valuable purchases with them.

A word of warning with regard to the low frequency of reporting of these latter activities must also be borne in mind and too much significance must not be read into them.

The general picture that emerges from these diaries is one of both boys and girls sharing household work, but with the boys providing more of a supporting role for the girls. Furthermore, it also seems that girls work much more to a tight schedule each day, being involved in the preparation of food and other tasks that we might call 'time-bound' activities.

Another general impression is that of hard working rural children, involved in a wide variety of tasks, leading very full lives, but still able to balance their lives with some time to spend on their own work and for leisure activities. The urban child would seem to be less involved in work and, despite perhaps having more disposable time, still did not involve themselves as completely in the diary activity as did the harder working rural children.

All children seem to have time for homework, this, however, is reported as not being provided on a regular basis or with little structure or supportive framework that would help either the children or their parents.

Interviews were conducted in a series of different locations with a view to obtaining a richer description of the work and schooling of children and to provide a means of cross-

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checking the picture that has been drawn from the diaries.

These other settings for individual interviews with children were in the:
- household
- school
- street

Individual interviews with children in the household (not the houses of the diary children)
All children in the selected households were interviewed if they were between the ages of seven to 14 years. An example of the instrument used is to be found at Appendix 3.

Educational factors [attendance patterns]
Looking at educational issues first and in particular at data that describe the attendance of the children at school, the general information is shown in Table 27

A fairly clear picture emerges from these household interviews that was not discernable from that produced from an analysis of the diaries, which it must be remembered, were all from children who were currently attending school. In Moshi, the urban area, all children were in school; none of the interviewees had dropped out of school, and only two admitted to having repeated a grade. This indeed would appear to be common across the districts and might be interpreted as repetition not being a big issue (cf with data obtained from headteachers; see Tables 8-12), or that we happened on a non-representative sample, or that children are not prepared to reveal that they have had to repeat a year. In the two rural districts, however, 22% of the children interviewed in Pangani did not go to school; all having previously attended but dropped out and in Mkuranga 56% of those interviewed were not in school, with only one of these having dropped out, the rest never having been to school.

The urban/rural (and poor rural) split is clearly demonstrated here. This is not to say that there will be no urban children who do not attend school, but it is less likely because

Table 26: **Number of children interviewed in each district**

	Moshi	Pangani	Mkuranga	Mufindi*
Female	10	10	13	1
Male	7	8	12	1
Total	17	18	25	2

** Mufindi excluded from further analysis because of the low level of data*

Table 27: **Frequency of reported school attendance, drop-out and repetition**

Factor	Moshi		Pangani		Mkuranga	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
Go to school (Yes)	10	7	7	7	7	4
Go to school (No)	0	0	3	1	6	8
Drop-out	0	0	3	1	1	0
Repetition of year	1	1	1	1	1	1

4 Data from the study

of the relative wealth and the support of their families.

One observation that was not expected is that over all, more boys than girls had never attended school. We need to ask why the children drop out from school or do not go at all.

With the small sample of children interviewed, it is not possible to generalise, but it is interesting to note that in Pangani district, girls dropped out earlier than boys and the reasons tend to be economic – lack of fees and school uniform, although one girl did admit to not being a good student. Only one of the girls had any desire and plans to return to school.

In Mkuranga, among those who had never been to school, most would actually like to have the opportunity of attending (three girls and seven boys); all the girls and four of the boys actually think that there are plans to send them at some time in the future. Only three (two girls and one boy) stated that they had no desire to attend school. This is, nevertheless, a large proportion of non-attendees who do not see school as either important, or attainable.

For those pupils still in school (interviewed in the household)

Attendance patterns do not reveal any particularly notable information. In Mkuranga, not a lot of absenteeism was recorded with only a few children noting one to two days lost dues to illness (one only through petty trading). In Moshi, five children recorded having missed school over the past four weeks, one up to eight days absent. Again illness was the main reason for this, or death of a near relative (mother/grandmother). In Pangani, seven children noted having missed up to seven days from school, five of these through sickness and two for financial reasons. What is notable here is the relative lack of financial pressures keeping children from school and only one reporting that they had to do some work that kept them away. There is no discernable urban/rural split either; illness and bereavement would seem to be evenly spread in the districts studied. This information is largely supported by the data from the diaries.

Schoolwork

The picture painted here also seems to support that provided by the diaries. Clearly homework does not feature largely on the children's agenda. Even amongst those that do report

Table 28: **Frequency of homework, time spent and available for homework**

Homework	Moshi		Pangani		Mkuranga	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
Yes	5	3	6	3	1	1
No	4	3	1	4	6	3
Number of hours every two weeks	1	0	0	0	0	0
Occasionally	4	3	6	3	0	0
Enough time - yes	6	2	3	3	1	1
Enough time - no	0	1	4	4	0	0

having homework given to them, all but one say that this is only occasionally. Most maintain that they have enough time to do their homework, but as it is not a frequent requirement and, indeed may be very minimal even when given, this is perhaps not surprising. It is interesting that girls record having received more homework than the boys, both absolutely and proportionally, but this is possibly not unexpected.

Children were asked about their general enjoyment of school, whether they were tired there and if they worked hard whilst at school. There is some evidence of tiredness, but less than might have been expected, given the work that they also have to perform at home. All state that they enjoy working at school and that they work hard when there – perhaps this last question was redundant!

Consequences of missing school

We were interested in having some picture of the degree of sensitivity to school absenteeism by the school and so asked questions relating to the attitudes of teachers with respect to absences. Only in urban Moshi did some children report that no punishment was given if a reason for the absence was provided. Most children noted that they were punished for missing school (although a large number did not answer this question and this may be indicating need for further investigation.) Again, only in Moshi were children reporting that they were asked to catch up on the work they had missed, although they did not say how this was done, and is probably a simple unguided copying of notes from a fellow pupil. Most children said that they asked for permission to be absent when this was possible.

Work carried out by children in the households

All but two of the children asked (both males) said they had to some work in the house.

The range of tasks reported is very similar to those found in the diaries. Between seven and ten different tasks were noted in each of the districts and there was little difference in terms of the *numbers* of jobs undertaken by boys and girls. In Moshi, girls performed as many different tasks as the boys; in Pangani girls reported carrying out ten types of work to only seven reported by the boys; while in Mkuranga, girls were involved in eight different tasks to nine reported by the boys. However, the *frequency* of these tasks being reported clearly shows girls spending more time working and the impression gained is very much one of the girls providing the core labour in the house with some boys providing some assistance. Only when it comes to fetching water do boys consistently provide more or equal input than the girls. Other than this, there are no clearly discernable patterns, and each district – and probably each household - have distinct work patterns (see recommendations for the need for a flexible approach).

Most children carry out household chores everyday and there is no clear pattern as to whether this is always in the morning or evenings, etc. The most time taken is up to one hour every day and this is consistent with what was seen in the diaries, but a small minority of children reported spending from two to four hours on such work with one child reporting working for 10 hours every day. This latter child is probably a house girl, although it is interesting that along with all the other children reporting that they do

4 Data from the study

household chores, none said they received any sort of payment for this work. Nearly all said the work was done to assist their mothers or close relatives. Children also reported being involved in household chores over the weekend.

Work carried out by children outside the home
Analysis of work carried out external to the household shows a clear difference between the three districts for which there are data:

- Moshi: only two children, both boys, of 17 interviewed, reported such work and this was selling food from a kiosk and clothes on the street; making up to 3000 Tsh which they both gave to their parents.
- Mkuranga: again, only two boys (out of 23) reported farm work and selling activities; earning 200 – 400 Tsh per day, money that they used for the purchase of clothing and food.
- Pangani: here there is a different picture. Eleven of the 18 children interviewed undertook paid labour (seven girls and four boys). This ranged from house-girls (two), through petty trading, working in a restaurant, to boys who worked at a long distance from the home or for neighbours. As might be expected, with a wide range of types of job, came a range of payments. Some reported earning 8000 Tsh per week, others only 5000 Tsh per month, still others reporting earning as little as 50 Tsh a day after school. Some of the higher earnings might well be explained by the house-girls who might also be getting payment in kind, certainly free lodgings and possibly food. The money earned was also put to a wide range of uses. Purchase of clothing/school uniform (five), given to mothers/grandmother (four), food (one), pens and books for school (two).

Individual interviews with children in schools
An example of the instrument used is to be found at Appendix 3.

Due to unforeseen circumstances and subsequent pressures if time, it proved impossible to gather these data from Mufindi District.

As previously noted, when considering these data, one must be alert to the possibility that

Table 29: **Number and age of children interviewed in each district**

Age	Pangani		Moshi		Mkuranga		Total
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	
8 years	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
9 years	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
10 years	0	0	1	1	0	0	2
11 years	0	0	4	4	2	0	10
12 years	1	0	3	1	1	0	6
13 years	2	2	1	2	2	3	12
14 years	1	2	3	2	6	5	19
Total	4	4	12	11	11	9*	51

** One child did not provide his age but is included in the analysis*

4 Data from the study

children will be providing answers that they think the interviewer wishes to hear. This may not necessarily be from any mischievous motive, but either simply to be helpful, or possibly from fear of retribution should responses be made known to teachers, parents or other adults. Although every attempt was made to put respondents at their ease and to assure them that their answers were not being reported to anybody else, nevertheless some caution has to be exercised in interpreting these data.

Numbers and gender of the sample

The majority of children interviewed were in the 13/14 age bracket (see table 29). The comments made above about the reliability of the data from this group may, therefore, be tempered somewhat in the belief that these respondents were likely to have understood the purpose of the questions and to have answered with accuracy.

Absences

Children were asked how many days schooling they thought they had missed during the past four weeks and this is presented in the Table 30 below.

Excluding the six children that did not report, 25 (60%) stated that they had not missed any time in school, while 16 (40%) missed some schooling. With such a small sample, it is necessary to be cautious in taking this analysis any further. However, this does seem to represent a large proportion of children who are missing out on education. Furthermore, considering that the interviews were conducted with children who were in school on the particular day, it is quite possible that more habitual absentees were missed, thus making this a rather conservative estimate of the problem.

Attendance patterns at school

Table 30: **Days absent from school during the last four weeks**

Days	**Pangani**		**Moshi**		**Mkuranga**	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
None	0	1	7	7	7	3
1	1	1	0	1	0	1
2	1	0	1	0	0	2
3	1	0	0	0	2	0
4	0	0	1	0	0	0
5	0	0	0	0	1	0
6	0	0	0	0	0	0
7	0	0	0	0	1	1
8	0	0	0	0	0	0
9	0	0	0	0	0	0
10	0	0	0	0	0	1
Several	1	1	1	0	0	0
No data	0	0	2	3	0	1

4 Data from the study

A further observation to be made is the greater number of days missed by the children in the poorer Mkuranga District. A higher proportion of children were absent from school than in the other two districts and seven children missed a total of 41 days out of their estimated possible total of 140 days.

The predominant reason offered by pupils for missing school, was that of personal illness. Thereafter no one reason prevails from among helping at home, parental illness, looking after siblings, and lack of uniform. No overall pattern emerges between girls and boys with both seeming to be equally absent.

Late arrival and consequences

Although we did not ask children to estimate how many times they were late for school, we did ask them what happened to those that turned up late. An interesting set of answers were revealed.

Most children from the sample did answer this question. Quite clearly the most frequent reaction of teachers to absentees is to punish them. What that punishment consisted of was not followed up by the field researchers, although it was probably of the type indicated in the group interviews – see below.

Copying out was also the most common response to the missed work. It is interesting to note, however, that at least one teacher asked pupils to team up together to help each other with lost work and also provided extra help and remedial classes. This is uncommon and probably represents the efforts of one teacher with the skills and experience to provide such assistance rather than it reflecting a general trend. Again, this is something that could have been fruitfully explored further.

It is also interesting to note that it would appear that parents are very rarely called in to discuss the problem or that warnings are issued to children or parents.

Schooling profile

Repetition of grades

The children were asked if they had repeated any grades. The vast majority in all districts claimed not to have repeated grades with the exception of Pangani District schools where half the sample, of eight pupils, had repeated at least once. The reasons offered were

Table 31: **Teachers' responses to late arrivals**

Teachers response	**Pangani**		**Moshi**		**Mkuranga**	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
Punishment	2	2	6	10	7	5
Copy work	1	0	4	1	5	0
Parents called for discussion	0	1	0	1	0	0
Warning issued	0	0	1	0	0	0
Extra help/special classes	0	0	0	0	4	4
Team up with other students	0	0	0	0	1	1
No response	1	1	3	1	0	0

4 Data from the study

generally of an educational nature (too young for the course or failed examinations), or that the family had moved to an area without a school. Only one child had had to work to help support a sick mother and younger siblings with the subsequent impact on their schooling.

These data would seem to support the previous findings from the headteachers which would indicate that repetition is not a particularly important issue.

Homework

When asked if they received homework, all the Mkuranga pupils reported that they did, as did 18 of 23 in Moshi, while of the eight pupils interviewed in Pangani, five said they did not get homework. Similarly the same proportion of pupils in Mkuranga and Moshi felt they had sufficient time to do the work, while only half the Pangani sample did.

Very few pupils reported being tired in school and virtually all said they enjoyed school and feel they work hard there.

Working at home

Apart from three pupils in the Mkuranga District (two girls and one boy), all said that they had work to do in the house. The most commonly reported length of time spent on this work was two hours of housework per day. Only one girl indicated that she had to work up to five hours daily. Again, it is difficult to project from such small samples, but two hours is a considerable amount of time for a young person to be spending on hard physical housework. This may be defensible in the context, but once the amount of time exceeds this, then one has to consider if the boundary between work and labour has been crossed.

It is, of course, difficult, as noted previously, to say how accurate such responses are, but once more they are consistent with what other children have told us. The types of tasks too are familiar from the analysis already reported above - shopping, washing, fetching water and cleaning, etc. Again, it would seem that boys work as much as girls, but with the latter being involved in a greater variety of tasks.

Working outside the home

Children were asked if they were involved in working outside the home.

Table 32: **Children report involvement in working outside the home**

Working	Pangani		Moshi		Mkuranga		Total
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	
Yes	1	1	2	2	10	7	23
No	2	2	7	7	1	2	21
No response	1	1	3	2	0	0	7

4 Data from the study

It is interesting to note that the number of children working outside the home is little more than those who report that they are not involved with such work. However, the bulk of these extra-home workers are to be found in the rural district of Mkuranga. Again, no real gender bias can be detected in this small sample.

What the children do, as might be expected, reflects the areas they come from. Children in Mkuranga who work, do so on the family farm or on plots of land in rural Pangani, whilst in urban Moshi, when children work, they are more likely to be employed in vending.

When is the work done?

We asked the children to tell us when they were employed outside the home.

When children do work outside the home, then the clearest trend is for this to be undertaken at the weekends and/or in the holiday periods. Clearly the rural children in Mkuranga, as we have already seen, are involved in housework during the school week and are only required to work on the farms at the weekends, with no gender bias apparent. It is noticeable that in the other districts, it is the girls who report doing this sort of work more than the boys and that they are often expected to do some of it before and after school hours.

Payment for work

The vast majority of children report that they are providing this work on an unpaid basis. Only one boy in Mkuranga reported being paid, as does one girl in Moshi and one boy and girl in Pangani. Those that are paid receive between 500 Tsh and 3,000 Tsh and use the money to purchase food, soap and/or items required for school.

Children interviewed in the street

An example of the instrument used is to be found at Appendix 3.

A number of children working on the street were interviewed in each district. In the time available and given the difficult circumstances for interviewing, the number of cases is limited. These are presented in Table 34 and show a range of ages from eight to 14 years, representing the full range of what we have defined as children. As might be expected, the greater numbers are clustered at the older end, with most being aged 13 and, as might also be expected, only three girls, from a total of 21 children who were interviewed, were working on the street.

Table 33: **When out-of-home work is done**

When employed	Pangani		Moshi		Mkuranga	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
Before school	1	1	3	0	0	0
After school	1	0	1	0	0	0
Weekends	1	2	2	1	10	6
Not applicable	1	1	4	8	1	1
No response	0	0	3	2	0	2

4 Data from the study

Table 34: **Number and age of children interviewed in each district**

Age	Moshi		Mufindi		Mkuranga		Pangani		
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Total
8 years	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
9 years	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
10 years	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	3
11 years	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
12 years	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	1	4
13 years	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	3	6
14 years	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	2	5
Total	2	4	0	2	0	6	1	6	21

** One other child from Pangani, did not provide its age but is included in the analysis*

Table 35: **Work carried out by street children by district**

Activity		Moshi	Mufindi	Mkuranga	Pangani
Begging		1			
Selling:	General	1			
	Newspapers	2			
	Rubbish	1			
	Hats	1		6	4
	Foodstuffs			6	4
Washing cars			2		
Portering			2		1
Errands			2		
Fishing					1
Fetching water					1
Working at milling machine					1
Collecting firewood					1
Minding animals					1
Making local brew					1

The nature of the work carried out by these street children would seem to be not as varied as that carried out in the home. Vending predominates and the selling of foodstuffs by far the most common activity. This possibly reflects the fact that many of the children work for themselves, or their family, and the preparation of food for sale is probably the business that requires least additional investment in equipment and where considerable skills are also available in the home.

Some regional differences are to be noted in work patterns, with the rural children of Pangani being involved in a greater variety of activities and the urban children of Moshi only being involved in selling. These differences, however, may be of no significance, given

4 Data from the study

the small samples of children interviewed and the likelihood of children encountered on the street in Moshi are going to be involved in trading with passers-by and passing vehicles. In Mufindi, the two boys interviewed were obviously undertaking a range of different activities in order to earn sufficient money. There is also evidence from rural Pangani that children undertake multiple tasks to maintain their earning capacity.

When we asked for whom the children worked, a number were employed by small businesses, such as newspaper agencies and petty traders, who had hired the children's services. As noted earlier, some were also involved in family run enterprises and two even reported that they were trading independently.

The number of hours the children spend working obviously varies. The four who reported working for up to three hours a day correspond to the four children who also attended school (see below). Of the others, they all put in long days of at least six hours and one reported working for up to 15 hours a day.

Such variety in working hours and activities also has an impact on the earnings. Some children reported working for as little as 100Tsh a day, but nevertheless evidently thought it worthwhile. These tended to be those who were in school. One child reported earning 1000Tsh, although the average is around 700Tsh per day.

Other children reported their earnings on a monthly basis and these ranged from as little as 30,000Tsh to 55,000Tsh, but the most frequently quoted income was 5,000Tsh per month.

The money earned by the children is nearly always given directly to the family – usually the mother and, notably, never to the father – and either used for general food, clothing, soap, etc for the family, or to support the child itself, particularly those who were also attending school. One informant did report that the money was kept for him by his employer, but this was not followed up and we do not know what this means.

The informants were asked if they had missed work over the previous four weeks. Most reported that they had not. Those who did report absence from work had not missed more than two days, and this was as a result of illness, or just taking a day off. What was

Table 36: **Time spent by street children at work**

Hours per week	Moshi	Mufindi	Mkuranga	Pangani
0 - 1	1	0	0	1
2 - 3	0	1	0	1
4 - 5	0	0	0	0
6 - 7	0	0	2	0
8 - 9	0	0	0	2
10 - 11	2	0	4	0
12+	3	1	0	1
15	0	0	0	1

4 Data from the study

not clear, but might be implied from the findings, was that these working children do not usually distinguish between the working week and the weekend or 'rest' days. This was a weakness of the research and should be followed up in a study that explores in more detail the working conditions of these street children.

We were concerned to know if the children had, or still did, attend school. Only four in the whole sample said that they went to school and in Pangani, none of the respondents attended any form of schooling. Of the remaining 16 children, 11 of them had been to school, but had dropped out between standards one and five, and five had never been to school at all. The reasons for drop-out were always due to financial circumstances in the family, being unable to pay fees or sustain the other costs of education. While not mentioning lack of financial resources directly, others reported that they were forced to earn because of the death of one or more parents, or abandonment by the father. Only one child was working because he could not see the importance of school.

There was only a limited desire to go, or return, to school and certainly a considerable number could not see any benefit in so doing. We asked them what they thought schools might provide them with in the form of skills and we received very few and unimaginative replies. Many did not answer this question and the impression gained was that they did not think school had very much to offer other than teaching the basics of reading, writing, drawing and, for two, mechanics. It is interesting to note that none of the children mentioned arithmetic as something important that schools might teach them and generally did not see formal education as having anything of particular value to offer them in the way of improving their lives.

Focus group discussions

An example of the instrument used is to be found at Appendix 3.

Another source of data comes from a series of focus group discussions with both groups of pupils and teachers and local community leaders.

The problem with group interviews is that a few people can dominate and minority views may not be expressed by either adults or children, and yet there is a temptation to suggest that these groups reflect a majority of opinion, or to give it more weight than it deserves. To balance this concern, it should be remembered that such meetings sometimes assist in bringing people together and to spur each other to think more deeply about an issue.

Three separate groups of people were brought together in various districts and their views sought on a number of issues (see Appendix 3 for details of the interview schedules).

Focus group discussions with children

These discussions were held with children to provide additional data that would add to that already collected through the diaries and individual interviews, either to provide confirming evidence, or to enrich the existing data and deepen the discussion and understanding.

4 Data from the study

These meetings were held at three schools in Mufindi district, with 16 children, and with about 30 children in five schools in Pangani. All the children were aged between 11 and 14 years of age and in both districts an equal number of boys and girls were involved.

Although the urban perspective is not captured, these data do add to the general picture that can be built up of the working child who goes to school. Furthermore, as has been noted already, the data from this technique is susceptible to the criticism that it can represent the overview of a group and may not reflect differences among that group. This is particularly a problem with youngsters who may be dominated by a strong character within a group. On the other hand, this consensus view is also a strength of the technique. The data here, therefore, are used to compare with that which has already been noted and to provide illustrative examples or insights into particular situations.

We find, therefore, that these group discussions support what has already emerged from the diaries kept by other children and the more formal individual interviews. Very few children say that they miss school and those that do all cite personal illness as the reason for their absence. Repetition of grades was also not reported as being a particular noticeable problem, although they *'knew of some others'* who had repeated. This would suggest that perhaps this is under reported, either because repeaters were, for some reason, not fully represented in our samples, or because children do not want to admit to being a repeater because of the stigma attached to it.

The provision of homework again reflects what we have already seen. It is set by teachers in a very haphazard fashion, with many children not getting any at all, and those that do saying that it is not set regularly. Most children report that they can cope with the demands of homework, either by doing it at school before returning home, or fitting it into their busy home-life schedules. Homework is frequently done after household chores have been accomplished, from about 7 pm onwards. One child said that she did her homework after everybody else was asleep - after 9 pm. Homework, therefore, is not a priority – or at least not a time-bound activity as are other tasks, such as preparing and cooking meals, and consequently fitted in as and when possible.

None of the children complained that they did not have time to do their homework. One must however, assume that if homework were to be more regular, of greater intellectual demand and more time consuming, then it would be beyond the capacity of many children to fit it in with their other tasks.

A lot of children admit to being sleepy in class, and again to knowing of *'others who are tired'* in class. Some also noted that they worked hard on the farms and that they find school work easy and that they *'feel better at school than at home'* (Mufindi). Again, it is quite possible that fatigue is an under-reported phenomenon.

As with previous findings, it is almost needless to note a universally positive attitude to their enjoyment of school and that they feel they work hard there.

4 Data from the study

In general, when absent from school, children reported that they were punished. This punishment normally consists of such things as caning (three strokes mentioned on several occasions), digging rubbish pits and working on the school garden. Copying out work was also regarded as punishment by some of the pupils. Occasionally, it was noted by the children, the teacher would help them to catch up with their work. The only time pupils would seem to ask for permission to be absent from school would be for illness or death of a family member. The more usual pattern was to absent themselves and explain later.

The picture that emerges from these interviews of the working child is again consistent with that emanating from the previous data. All the children reported having to do some work at home which may be as little as 15 minutes or as much as three hours a day. The chores may be done before going to school in the morning (some report rising as early as 5.30 am), but more frequently the work is carried out after school. The types of tasks the children are set at home are the same as we have already noted. Typically they are fetching and carrying – water, wood, groceries – and cleaning and washing, Some are involved in petty trading, usually within the family, for which they may be paid and, if so, the money is used to buy essentials for the family (food, soap) or to support their studies through the purchase of school materials.

An important point to note is that made by some children, who said that when the money to be earned is good this becomes a temptation to both the child and their family and that they might then drop-out from school in order to continue earning. This is echoed in some of the focus group discussions held with teachers and other adults (see below).

These discussion groups provided some illuminating examples of the working day of some children. Some examples are provided below.

A 14 year-old boy (Pangani) carries out domestic duties after school hours - cleaning the chicken shed and weeding the vegetable garden, three times a week. After 5.30 pm, he gets some time for play.

At the other extreme:
A 13 year-old boy (Pangani), from Monday to Friday, between 4 and 10 pm, sells goods in the family shop.
On Saturday and Sunday, he runs family errands.

Focus group discussions with teachers and other adults

An example of the instrument used is to be found at Appendix 3.

These discussions were held in all the districts to provide an additional perspective on the situation and to provide a check on the veracity of the data being gleaned from the children.

The guideline questions used in these discussions are to be found at Appendix 3, but the sessions were semi-structured and issues were followed up as necessary.

Those taking part were mainly teachers, but other local professionals and business people were often present.

4 Data from the study

When asked why they thought families needed their children to work, three main reasons clearly emerge:

- Economic reasons - this is regarded as the single most important issue. The family's financial situation frequently makes it imperative for children to be engaged in some sort of work, either to assist adults as wage earners or to provide additional earnings in the household. One group even noted that this drove some families to 'export' their daughters to Dar es Salaam to work as house-girls. There is certainly a local 'trade' between richer families, who can employ young children from poorer households as house-girls or in petty trading, thus enabling members of the richer household to be employed in the higher waged market and/or to allow children in the household to attend school (we interviewed some of these children in the households). There is some indication that this relationship is rather more prevalent in the Moshi District, where there is a significant number of internal immigrant households that have moved to the urban area seeking unskilled work The importance of this on the local economy requires further detailed investigation. Many children are also orphans who need to work to support siblings. Another point raised was that some families see little or no worth in education, with petty trading being given more value, although it was acknowledged that this was a minority view. These families probably see the opportunity costs of primary education as being higher than the actual and perceived benefits. This attitude might explain the low priority given to homework as noted above. Children are also seen as major source of cheap, reliable labour, available at all times.
- Cultural reasons - although this is frequently cited as important, with the need for children to be engaged in work regarded as vital in the absorption of traditional/cultural knowledge, norms and values. Respondents did not expand upon this or give specific details.
- Educational reasons - most groups saw work as educating children for life in some way, particularly as a preparation for adulthood and parenthood, although one or two respondents could see no educational value in work.

In general, it was agreed that work was good for children to undertake as long as it was in moderation and that it needed to be balanced with play and relaxation. No suggestions were provided, however, as to what that balance should be. Some respondents noted that some children did not work and spent too much time watching television. This was regarded as bad for the child and that some element of work should be included in every child's daily routine. Others also noted that if children are prevented from working, then the likelihood is that they will migrate to where they can work. The important issue is striking the appropriate balance between work, schooling and recreation.

A number of both positive and negative aspects of children working were noted and these are presented opposite in no particular order of priority.

4 Data from the study

Table 37: **Negative and positive aspects of working children**

Positive aspects	Negative aspects
• Development of self-reliance, sense of responsibility, independence and general character formation. • Stimulates the mind, mental growth, and thinking capacity. • Skills are acquired for future life. • Learning of cultural ways of life. • Providing physical exercise and change of activity from academic work. • Provides an understanding of the environment in which the child lives. • Necessary for the economy of the child and its family. • Reduces temptation to join bad groups. • The world of work and adulthood is brought home to the child.	• Children work more than they should and become too fatigued to work well in school. • Some parents insist on children working at the expense of school and play. • Thwarted attainment and children become poor achievers, do not do homework, neglect private study. • Exposed to health risks (eg HIV/AIDS), mental and physical growth stunted. • Absenteeism grows and temptation from paid work to abscond and drop-out. • Girls tend to be overworked and children often exploited in inappropriate work (eg beer brewing, selling in pubs or late at night, heavy manual labour). • There might be an association between working and children involvement in undesirable behaviour; delinquency, promiscuity and prostitution.

It is interesting to note that only the household economy was considered and, at least not explicitly, the local and national economy and the role working children play in it was not thought about. This is an aspect that the present study has not explored sufficiently and needs to be given attention in any future work.

All respondents agreed that play/recreation is important for children and some regarded it as a right. It was also seen as important for the building up of physical strength and developing co-operation.

We also asked the focus groups what the schools, and system, do and ought to do, for the working child and those who have a poor attendance pattern due to working.

An interesting pattern of responses emerged from these questions. Most responses were in the areas of what the schools actually do, and what the system ought to do. No responses could be directly classified as being what the system actually does, although by implication, it might seen as having policy and laws in place. Similarly, very few suggestions were made as to what the schools should be trying to do. This might be interpreted as teachers and local leaders regarding the system as doing little and ought to do more, while we, the schools do our best and cannot really do much more.

What do schools do?

We asked the focus groups what schools actually do when children are absent from school. These responses are in some order of frequency of reporting, with the first three

4 Data from the study

being by far the most repeated comments:

- Parents contacted and child absence discussed; threat of, or actual, legal action taken if they persist.
- Punishment of the children if absent without permission. It was not stated what this punishment was (cf pupils reporting above), although one did note that 'productive' punishment amounted to copying out work.
- Teachers dealt with the pupils on an individual basis as there was no overall policy.
- Remedial classes were given (although some schools reported that they were not provided because of constraints of time and training of teachers)
- School committee informed, particularly of persistent offenders.
- A very few noted that children were provided with counselling.
- Some admitted to having no policy in place.
- One school reported it was considering a policy of fining parents if children were absent for no good reason.
- One school reported that there was no problem with absenteeism and therefore did nothing.

Three suggestions were made as to what schools should or could do to improve the situation:

- Keeping of better records and strict follow-up with parents.
- Proving of properly organized remedial classes to help children keep up.
- Ensure that schools are made more child-friendly

A considerable number of suggestions were made as to what the system might do to improve the situation. Again, the list is provided in some order of priority but there was not as marked an order as that found for what schools do:

- Encourage parents to work closely with schools and improve parental/community school relationships.
- Provide help for families in economic hardship.
- Educate the whole community on the importance of education – particularly that of girls
- Make schools more child-friendly – ask the children what they want.
- Provide meals and nutritional programmes in schools.
- Consider a special educational programme for wage earning children
- Cut class sizes to allow teachers more opportunity to provide specialist help for children.
- Government to enforce attendance laws.
- Need for government policy to allow children time off work.
- Reduce distance between schools and communities.
- Have single school sessions rather than double.

What has not been considered here is how some of these things might be done. It looks more like a wish list, without any consideration of the practicalities of putting them into place.

5 Analysis/discussion

The previous section has provided a distillation of the large volume of data collected from the different sources sampled by the various research instruments employed. Each group of respondents provides its own perspective on the type of work in which children are involved, the necessity of such work, or otherwise, and its impact on the child's education. In the section that follows, we will synthesise the information that comes out from these data and attempt to answer the nine questions originally posed in the research proposal. Thereafter, a discussion of this picture will examine the implications that emerge, make suggestions for further research that could be conducted, and offer for consideration some policy options that might help alleviate the situation of the working child.

Before looking at the specific questions, however, we should make some important general remarks concerning the working child. These have clearly emerged either directly from the answers from the various respondents, or, almost subliminally, from the overall tone of the attitudes of the adults and children alike who have taken part in the investigation. We must also emphasise again the fact that the study was deliberately biased towards obtaining information about, and from, children who are attending school. Apart from the few children interviewed on the street, we were not seeking to concentrate upon labouring children employed in factories, mines and other worse forms of labour.

While the vast majority of the adults and children interviewed recognise the value of education, and are prepared to invest their time and money heavily in it, that investment has to be balanced with the other demands that are placed upon the household. One of these needs is for the children to work as part of the general functioning of the home. And the greater the economic pressures are on the home, the greater will be the demand for children to work. Working children and poverty are inextricably linked and cannot be separated. Legislation, rules, and demands for children to regularly access and participate in education, will always be tempered by financial pressures on the household. Until poverty has been eliminated, the demand for child labour amongst the poorest will remain.

While the Education Act No 10 (1995b) is an essential piece of legislation, it represents an ideal situation where every child is enrolled in primary education. However, we must accept the fact of child labour and the associated impact on education has in terms of absenteeism, drop-out and poor completion rates. This situation cannot be satisfactorily resolved until the basic underlying problem of poverty is resolved. This does not mean **condone,** it means **accommodate.** This, in turn, requires finding alternatives to punishment and providing more supportive strategies to help children take fuller advantage of the educational opportunities offered them.

We can say that we found the need for child work to be clear and understandable. Indeed, we found no evidence of perverse reasons for children having to work – although the amount and type of work often demanded of them may be described as inappropriate and excessive, particularly given the ages of the children concerned. We have only little evidence of children being 'sold' into work

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and also of an internal, market in the districts for children's labour. This is most clearly seen in the evidence from children interviewed in the households where, obviously, some children are employed as house-girls, undertaking full-time employment in the homes and not accessing education.

We turn now to consider the specific research questions.

Question 1:
What are child labour practices in terms of type, quantity and quality?
The prime origin, and probably the most authentic source of information relating to this question, comes from the diaries written by the children themselves and the interviews in schools with groups of children. Although, as has already been noted above, these were small samples and for other reasons the data need to be regarded as fragile, the picture drawn by the children is amply corroborated by the other data from interviews and focus group discussions with the adults.

The picture that emerges is one of most children being engaged in work, and spending most of that time on a limited range of important household chores. Cleaning in and around the home, preparing and cooking food, washing and washing-up, and fetching water. A range of other tasks are also carried out regularly including, gathering firewood, shopping, tending crops and livestock, caring for siblings and assisting parents in petty trading and family-run businesses. The quality of the work is difficult to comment on. Preparing and cooking food and the attendant washing-up for a large family is a major task. It involves planning and timing, careful calculations and a range of physical skills. Carrying water from the local pump or well may be physically demanding but little more. Either job may be totally inappropriate, however, for very young children.

While at first sight the data would seem to indicate little difference between boys and girls, a more careful reading of the information produces a more subtle picture. Girls, particularly rural girls, perform a wider range of jobs than boys and are almost exclusively involved in the most intellectually demanding tasks, such as food preparation and sibling care, as well as their share of the physically exigent work. Girls in general are also more likely to be involved in what we call 'time-bound' activities, thus giving them less flexibility to negotiate the conflicting demands of work, study and relaxation. Boys spend as much time almost as girls on work, but the impression is much more of them providing a supporting role to the girls in their household. Thus, they will carry water or wood over longer distances and carry out shopping if this is a long distance and/or very time consuming. The boys, however, are less involved with time-bound and intellectually demanding tasks, thus they have greater flexibility of response.

From the evidence provided in the diaries and other sources, girls would seem to have fuller, more occupied lives, with more demands being made of them. They have less time for relaxation. However, they also seem to able to cope well and to organise their time, fitting in all the tasks they have to do. This may well be at a price, however (see discussion of question 5 on access and participation).

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The time spent by children on work is typically between one and three hours daily, although some children and parents report a totally unacceptable six and a quarter hours per day. It is interesting to note that the vast majority of parents would see one to two hours as a reasonable time, although many regard three to four hours as acceptable. More parents are prepared to see girls work longer hours than boys. Parents in urban areas clearly do not see more than two hours as being reasonable. As has already been noted in the data, this can not be put down simply to there being richer parents in the urban areas. The type of work may also be different and less time consuming, for example, the distances required to carry shopping, or water, are considerable less than in the rural districts.

Other explanations may be related to family size. Although we do not have sufficient data to test such a speculation it is possible the single household heads (eg widows), because of the lack of support from another adult, need more help from their children.

It is possible to present a quick summary of the differences and similarities of boys' and girls' work and this is given in the table below.

Question 2:
What is the impact of child labour on the local economy?

This question can be considered from the point of view of the very localised economy of the home and the slightly wider local area and any direct, or indirect impact, children's work has. Whether the work is waged or not is also an important variable to take into account.

Considering the immediate household economy, the working child is of great importance. In conducting the numerous and substantial chores around the home, the children are frequently doing work that adults would otherwise be undertaking. Although we have very little direct evidence that this work is, therefore, releasing the adults to undertake more direct economic activity, the presumption has to be that this is what is happening.

If we then consider work other than household chores, we find children involved in work outside the home. This is either waged or unwaged work for their parents, other family members' businesses, or in local industries. With about half the children saying that they are involved in this sort of work,

Table 38: **A comparison of girls and boys work**

Girls	Boys
• More varied tasks	• Less varied tasks
• Intellectually demanding tasks	• Less intellectually demanding tasks
• Physically demanding tasks	• Physically demanding tasks
• Work is time-bound	• Work is less time-bound
• High parental expectation	• Lower parental expectations
• Rural girls very hard working	• Urban boys work least hard
	• Boys support girls

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they are clearly making important contributions to both the home and local economies. Whether they receive payment for their work or not they are a crucial factor in the production and flow of goods, and provision of services within their communities. Any attempted reduction in their involvement therefore has to be very carefully planned and its impact taken into account.

When payment is involved, the sums of money earned are not large, but they are important and almost entirely used to purchase essentials for the family in general, or to support education (eg the buying of paper, books, etc). It must be noted here that the working children may not be supporting themselves but other siblings in the family. The children working on the streets as vendors, etc, are also frequently working to support themselves in their education.

It is important to recognise, however, that, while the children are making a substantial contribution to the local economy, this is all in the informal sector. The degree to which the informal sector is crucial to the survival of people and the relationship with the formal economy has not been explored, but it is an issue of great importance to be recognised and examined in the overall campaign to eliminate poverty. In this context, it must be borne in mind also that much of the waged work reportedly takes place at weekends and in holiday time. The impact on education, nevertheless, and both the public and private cost benefits, needs careful consideration.

Question 3:
Why are children involved in labour?
The clearest set of answers in the whole study relate to this question. In order of priority the need for children to be involved in work are: economic, socio-cultural and educational reasons. The economic reasons and their importance have already been discussed in the answer to question one above. The socio-cultural importance of getting children to be responsible for aspects of work around the house was also stressed by many parents. Gender roles were seen as being learned by the girls working with their mothers and boys with their fathers. This informal educational function of work was regarded as crucial for learning about adulthood and parenting. Not so many parents could see any educational role for work, indeed some said specifically that it had not got an educational role, other than the traditional ones mentioned already.

It is also important to note here that adults also see very serious drawbacks to children undertaking employment, particularly the risks of exposing them to health and moral hazards. It is noticeable that parents were not too concerned about the effects of hard physical labour on the growth and development of the child.

Question 4:
What is the relevant importance of parental education, income, health, socio-economic status and attitude towards education in explaining household demand for child labour?
The attitude of parents to the formal education of their children was generally very positive and supportive. This support was often more than just a verbal recognition of the importance of education for children, and the potential that it could unlock in terms of improved employment

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prospects, with many parents saying they actively helped their children with their school work. It is interesting that children did not report this from their parents, but we did not ask this question specifically of them.

The picture of the sort of support provided, however, is complex depending on a number of factors. Thus, those parents with only primary level education themselves are the least likely to provide help at home for their children. This is probably because they are unable, or lack the confidence, to help with work that they themselves barely covered while at school.

Unskilled parents are also less likely to help their children and one can speculate that this is probably because of the lack of education they have. However, they themselves may have to work very long hours and, therefore, have little or no time available to provide such help. It must be remembered that many homes have no regular lighting and, therefore, work involving reading and writing can only be conducted during daylight hours when many parents are not available.

Parents with low educational expectations for their children are also less likely to provide help. The investment of their time in the educational enterprise is presumably not seen as being particularly profitable.

It is interesting that male household heads are more likely to provide support for their children. As has been noted already, women household heads are more likely to be single and, therefore, unsupported by another adult in the household leaving them with much less time to provide such support for their children. Indeed, this hypothesis is further supported when the numbers of adults in the household is considered. A dramatic rise in the support for children with their homework is reported once the number of adults in the household rises to six or more.

Such a complicated set of factors points to the need for teachers to be as informed as possible as to the home situation of their pupils, if they are to use parental support to its fullest and to effectively manage the learning of the children in their care.

Question 5:
How do demands for child labour affect children's access and participation in schooling?
This study can not offer much insight into access given that the majority of children interviewed were in fact attending school. However, those children on the street indicated that they had frequently not attended school because of financial pressures. Many of them could see no point in education, in that it could provide little for them in the way of relevant skills or knowledge that would improve their way of life. Some had dropped out and would like to take up their education again, but thought this would be unlikely. Indeed many teachers and adults blamed the lure of, or need for, waged employment as a major cause of children dropping out from school.

Although we know access to be a serious issue, we can only comment on the financial imperative that probably stops children going to school and a perceived lack of relevance of formal education, in helping the child earn the money it so desperately needs for it and its families survival.

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Once children have registered in school, however, we can offer some insights into the degree to which they take advantage of the learning that is provided for them.

At the very basic level, there is clearly a problem of absenteeism. Overall attendance at school hard ever rises above 80%, although it is better in the urban areas (Moshi over 91%) but is considerably worse in rural Pangani (never above 68%). There is a variable pattern of attendance throughout the year with some fairly clear trends that need to be understood. The observed peaks of attendance in March, June and November/December would seem to coincide with the examination periods. This may indicate more of an anxiety to pass examinations – rather than a concern to learn. If this is so, however, there is still an anomaly to be explained. Attendance registers show children absent on all days and yet the examination failure and repetition rates are low.

Irrespective of whether the children do attempt to attend better near to examinations, we still need to understand why it is they are absent for so much of their schooling in the first place. When asked, children will, on the whole, say that their absence from school is caused by personal illness or illness within the family and rarely say it is due to working. Some teachers on the other hand point to the need for children to work as the prime cause of absenteeism. It is probably both of these reasons and, while we do not have any direct evidence to support such a statement, it is probably true to say that children are absent from school for good reason; illness for example, or for other perfectly understandable reasons, such as financial necessities. The issue of western style truanting for lack of interest in school is probably not a phenomenon that had any serious impact on the attendance patterns. The fluctuation of attendance patterns may simply reflect the delicate balancing act many children have to perform between the conflicting demands of school and the household economy.

Despite the evidence from their attendance registers, many teachers indicated that they thought there was no problem with absenteeism. It is difficult to understand why they make such a statement. It is possible that they are concerned not to admit that they have a problem. Despite the assurances given to them, they may be unsure as to who will see the results of the study and whether schools will be identified. On the other hand, it may be that their reality is that absenteeism is genuinely not a problem, simply a fact of life and something that has to be lived with, and accommodated.

While only half the teachers believe employment to be the cause of absenteeism, nearly all think that the employment cycle does not correlate with either the schools' daily pattern or the yearly education cycle.

A further pattern in attendance was noted. Overall, girls attend school more regularly than boys. Other evidence from the diaries, however, suggests that girls spend less time than boys in school. This again lends some support to the idea that girls are more constrained by the demands placed upon them such as the time-bound work they have to carry out (noted above), and the wider variety of tasks they have to perform. It also possibly points to the girls being

forced to manage their time more effectively. What we do not have any evidence for is whether this restricted time at school is having an impact on what they do there, or if it merely means that they leave promptly.

Much of the absenteeism of boys can be put down to the fact that they are more likely to be removed from school to undertake waged employment.

The impact of work on participation is obviously complex. However, absenteeism is but a part of the concept of participation. The quality of work being undertaken and the attention pupils are able to give to their studies both in school and homework all need to be more fully understood. This study does provide some evidence that children are less attentive if they have been working hard out side school. More detailed classroom observations need to be carried out and case studies of individual children performed to illuminate these questions.

Question 6:

What are the conflicting values between traditional socialisation systems in relation to household division of labour and the modern formal education system and the consequences of these for boys and girls?

Very few parents or teachers specifically mention traditional education or religious education as being more important than formal schooling. However, it is clear that work, both within and outside the home, is regarded as important in the imparting of traditional skills and knowledge.

As has already been noted above, there are differences of expectations from and treatment of boys and girls with respect to the amount and quality of work they should undertake in the home and beyond. However, these differences were not as marked as anticipated.

Question 7:

How is the school climate and management sensitive to the conflicting demands for child labour and a need for education?

Apart from the apparently unrealistic stance of some teachers, already noted, who seem to think that there is not a problem with regard to absenteeism, teachers on the whole seem to understand the problems that their pupils face. They fully appreciate that many children have to work hard in their homes and at paid work outside the home. This understanding, however, seems only to be at the intellectual level. There is little evidence of teachers providing a supportive climate for their pupils. There is a realisation by a number of teachers that remedial classes need to be provided for children to enable them to catch up with their work. This, however, is almost invariably copying out the work missed from their classmates, hardly a valuable learning experience.

Homework could, if use in an imaginative manner, be a flexible vehicle for learning, allowing children to work at times more convenient to their other commitments, there is certainly strong evidence that pupils do have the time for such work and that they will try to do it when set. The evidence we have for the use of homework is conflicting. Teachers frequently say they provide it; pupils note that it is irregular and infrequent. There is also considerable evidence from this study that parents are concerned for their children to work hard at school and that they will,

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when they have the time and confidence, provide help for them at home. Evidently there is considerable potential here and the experience of the Escuela Nueva programme offered in to rural primary schools in Colombia is certainly some thing to be considered in this regard (McEwan 1998).

It is unfair to criticise the teachers for their lack of inventiveness in the provision of support for working children. There is a need for considerable investment of time effort and retraining before any radical programmes needed to assist with this problem can be put into place. This is a task for the system as a whole.

Another issue, that probably needs to be addressed centrally, is the penal and bureaucratic attitude adopted by so many teachers in their treatment of absentees. The main resort towards children who are absent is one of punishment and threats of disciplinary action against parents. There are some notable attempts to involve parents in the education of their children and to help them see the importance of schooling for their children, but this needs to considerably extended.

Question 8:
What is the importance of supporting inputs in determining children's access and participation?
The evidence available from this study is that the formal legal structures, recognising the importance of education and the requirements of parents to send their children to school, are firmly in place. This, however, needs to be supplemented by a local, supportive structure that recognises the need for child work. Two important areas that need to be addressed are those of the curriculum and teacher attitudes. At the level of the curriculum, there is a need for it to be both locally relevant in terms of content and locally flexible in terms of provision. Thus the curriculum should provide a stimulus for children and their parents, being clearly of added value for daily life. It should also accommodate the demands of the local and household economies on children and the requirement of their labour on a daily and seasonal basis.

Question 9:
How do contextual factors influence access and participation?
As noted in question 8, above, the local economy has a considerable impact on children's access and participation, and there is a need for such local contextual factors to be accommodated by a devolved and flexible education system.

6 Conclusions and Policy recommendations

It must be remembered that this study should be regarded as a preliminary investigation into the work commitments of children and the impact this is having on their education. As such, therefore, it throws up issues for which further investigation is called for. Equally, any recommendations made must be regarded as tentative.

It has already been noted that the hard working young is not a phenomenon that will quickly be eliminated from a country such as Tanzania. Children will be required to contribute to the local informal economy in a substantial way for a long time to come. The micro-economic determinants for the supply and demand for child labour, as discussed in section three, will continue as long as there is endemic poverty. Furthermore, as long as people support themselves through low level, subsistence farming, the need for formal education will not be crucial, as Psacharopoulos and Woodhall (1985) have pointed out.

Added to this, the demographic distribution of the population will ensure that children will be required to work. With over 50% of the population under the age of 18, and even higher in some districts, it is inevitable that the adult population alone will be unable to supply the manpower required to support the basic needs of the whole population. Some of the workforce, therefore, will inevitably have to come from the younger members of the population. To some extent, education will exacerbate this situation in the short term, with more highly educated individuals seeking employment in non-agricultural sectors (see Lanjouw and Feder 2002). Yet the right to education for the individual, and the need for education as the key to sustained development, is absolutely clear and fundamental (eg The Dakar Framework for Action 2000, Oxfam International 1999, Maguire 2001).

The medium to long term requirement for child labour is further complicated by the impact of HIV/AIDS in the adult work force. Children, as a household resource, have increasingly to take care of their parents /guardians suffering from HIV/AIDS and related diseases. In addition, deaths in the households are further decreasing the pool of the adult labour force and individual household incomes. Children will, therefore, increasingly have to work to fill the gap.

Poverty and the need for children to work are obviously inextricably linked. Similarly, providing education is a key element in the battle to eliminate poverty. Thus children who work and are denied their education, or whose participation in education is compromised, are contributing to the continuation of poverty.

The elimination of child labour, however, is too simplistic and unachievable in the short term. While there is poverty, children must work to help with their own and their families' subsistence. While we must do all we can to reduce the more damaging and demanding aspects of child work, we must, at the same time, adopt and adapt education to accommodate the work they inevitably must carry out. There has to be a parallel approach. One that simultaneously tackles the more unacceptable elements of the

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working child, while, at the same time, providing a flexible education system designed to meet their needs.

This study has supported the work of Amman *et al* (2000) and Eldring *et al* (2000) and the idea that children who do not access education, that is to say, never attend school, are in this position because they are forced to work. The opportunity costs for them or their families are far too high. The immediate needs of poverty outweigh totally any longer term returns and, therefore, investment in education is just not an option. Moreover, the few children interviewed in this category, saw education as having little relevance for them and their situation.

The main focus of this study, however, was the child in school. Here we have strong evidence that child work, as opposed to child labour, as defined above, has a significant impact on the children's participation in education. It is an important, and probably the major, factor behind absenteeism, repetition and drop-out. Indeed, it is possibly exclusively responsible for the latter. We do also have some evidence to suggest that health problems also are linked particularly to absenteeism.

The impact of work, however, is varied and could be diminished. All children work and yet most of them would seem to be able to find time for academic study out of school. Equally, most households do recognise the importance of education and the overall benefit it provides for the children. They are also often prepared to help and actively support children with their work when circumstances allow.

The need, therefore, is to minimise the impact of the necessary work children do on their education. It is also necessary to provide support for the children, their parents and their teachers in a co-ordinated manner. To accommodate the differing needs of these various stakeholders and the local economies in which they operate, a flexible approach is called for.

Serious child work is a necessary fact of life and will be required for the foreseeable future. In a poor country with a demographic profile hugely skewed to young children, the need for children to work will remain a necessity. Failing any substantial technological assistance, the adults alone are not sufficient to provide the basic needs of the population.

Given that the life of the child in Tanzania is closer to that of an adult than it is in metropolitan societies, it is, therefore, sensible to look at the techniques that have been developed for working adults to assist them in accessing further education, rather than solely trying to emulate Western style school education. It is, therefore, suggested that we need to adopt and adapt the techniques of flexible attendance, short, intensive classes, distance education techniques and self-study approaches, to the special needs of working children.

In doing this, it is also important to provide encouragement and assistance for parents in the support they provide for their children, and training for teachers and heads of schools in the provision of effective and efficient education. Such a system may also facilitate the education of those who do not currently access education.

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The working child, therefore, has to be accepted and, while not condoning the activity, it is necessary to ensure that

- the child has initial access to education;
- they are supported in such a way that they move as efficiently as possible through the system to successful completion of at least the primary phase;
- a climate is provided to support and accommodate children who, due the pressures of work:
  - have erratic attendance at school;
  - repeat years;
  - drop-out.

In doing this it is also necessary to develop criteria as to what:

- constitutes acceptable work;
- are acceptable periods of work;
- should be the expectation of the child to free time/play.

Furthermore, this should considered for the child:

- at different ages;
- in different socio-economic areas.

In doing this, the delicate local economy of children from poorer homes working in those of the relatively richer families; may also have to be taken into account and a balance struck between the needs of both and the rights of the children to their education. How can part of the deal be that the working children are sent to school?

It is hoped that these ideas are concurrent with the work currently being developed by the Education Sector Development Plan and PEDP (2002-2006) and, in particular, the strategies being designed to address the back-log of unschooled young people and drop-outs being piloted by the Complementary Basic Education and Training Programme.

Policy suggestions

What then are the possible ways forward for providing the support to the working child that this study has identified? In particular, what can be done to enhance the policy laid out by the government (URT 1999) and the macro-economic policy to create an enabling environment, and remain in line with the local government reform programme (URT 2001a).

Providing a supportive school climate for children, who miss out on their schooling because of work, can be done in a number of ways.

- A supportive rather than punitive atmosphere needs to be cultivated with adequate remedial work being provided for absentees;
- The development of a more flexible approach to learning through:
  - Flexible school days that enable children to attend school at more convenient times.
  - Flexible school year that respects the rhythm of the agricultural year and the subsequent demands for child work. Both of these suggestions for flexibility require the decentralisation of schooling with responsibility being given to local administration. It also requires that an intimate knowledge of the demands being made on the working child in each district be understood so that what is provided is tailored to meet their needs.
  - Better use to be made of home learning, done with the development of self-learning materials. This can be of use to both the regular attender and the

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habitual absentee. Such materials should not result in a greater burden for the teacher. They can be designed as self-instructional learning or peer-tutored guides, suitable for both individual and group work. The experience of the Colombian Escuela Nueva could well be explored in this respect.
- Development of home learning or distance learning for children who have dropped out of school and to provide flexible teacher support for them.
- Support to be provided to help parents to be more effective when assisting their children with their work.

- Redevelopment of the school curriculum to ensure:
  - It is locally relevant and, therefore, attractive for parents to send their children to school;
  - Relevant to the working child;
  - It is used effectively and efficiently. The school curriculum could be built around the needs of the community and the working child. One can argue that when children are in school, then parents are released to go to work. This might be facilitated, for example, by the school offering a crèche/play school facility, where older boys and girls bring their younger siblings. The crèche is then run by these older children as part of their social studies and skills studies curriculum. Both groups of children benefit. The younger ones in having organised pre-school education; the older ones in being relieved from child-care duties that might keep them at home, and in learning good parenting skills.
- More training to be provided for teachers and headteachers in particular:
  - to work more effectively with parents in encouraging children to stay at school and to understand the different needs of such as single parents, and the illiterate parent;
  - to develop a partnership with parents and learning contracts, whereby parents undertake more involvement with the school and commitment to the ideals of the education system;
  - to recognise the effects of overwork on children and to provide the specialist help some children require, eg children from the poorer homes.

Further research

This research project has considered and measured the concept of participation only in terms of the relatively simplistic factors of absenteeism, repetition and drop-out rates. However, participation in schooling is more than just attending and being present in the classroom. The involvement of the child in the educational experience is crucial. This finer grained information was not available to us and further work in this area needs to be carried out.

The study also provides some evidence that the health of the children and their families plays a significant role, particularly in absenteeism. Greater detailed information is required to understand the links between health and work and the impact on education. How much is the poor health of parents preventing children from working? How far is the health of the children themselves preventing attendance at school and how is their health linked to work? We need to understand to what extent the work that children undertake is damaging their health

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and impinging upon their ability to take advantage of education.

At another, more subtle level, is the need to understand parents' attitudes towards the physical and intellectual capacities of their children and how this relates to the work they are given and the opportunities they have to access, and participate in, education. Are children with physical and intellectual disabilities discriminated against by their families and given more work to do? Children who are poorly sighted, hard of hearing, or have limited concentration, for example, may be perceived by their parents to be a poor educational investment. As they perform badly in school, then they may be removed more frequently to work, leaving only those with better chances of deriving benefits from the education system in the school.

The following are areas where further research would be useful:

- More detailed study of individual children throughout the whole day, to get a more accurate picture of their day.
- Classroom observation of the school work provided for children, with particular reference to remedial work.
- Identification of what sort of help can/would parents provide.
- More detailed investigation of the links between health, work and education.
- More detailed study of the links between work, disability and education.
- The identification of good practice, particularly in supportive strategies and policies adopted by schools to help working children.

We must finally note the importance of the collaborative approach adopted throughout this study and the great value that has been gained from the total involvement of colleagues from both Dar es Salaam and Bristol. The mutual learning that has taken place is invaluable and such truly international research initiatives should be encouraged.

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Appendix 1

8.1 **The research team:** *The research team consisted of:*

Dr H A Dachi –
lead researcher, University of Dar es Salaam

Dr R M Garrett –
lead researcher, University of Bristol

Dr Ndibalema Alphonce –
field researcher, University of Dar es Salaam

Dr Eustella Bhalalusesa –
field researcher, University of Dar es Salaam

Dr Willy Komba –
University of Dar es Salaam

Prof J C J Galabawa –
Adviser, University of Dar es Salaam

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Appendix 2

8.2 Details of workshop programmes

Programme for the Launch Workshop

Child Labour and its Impact on Children's Access and Participation in Primary Education:
a Case Study from Tanzania 1st March 2001 – Belinda Ocean Resort, Dar es Salaam

Time	Activity	Responsible Person
08.30 - 09.00	Registration	All participants
09.00 - 09.15	Welcome	Dr H A Dachi
09.15 - 09.30	Opening Remarks	The Dean, Faculty of Education
09.30 - 10.30	DFID Research Programme	Dr R M Garrett
10.30 - 11.00	Coffee/tea Break	All participants
11.00 - 12.30	The Project	Dr R M Garrett & Dr H A Dachi
12.30 - 14.00	Lunch Break	All participants
14.00 - 15.00	Discussion in Groups	All participants
15.00 - 15.15	Tea/coffee Break	All participants
15.15 - 16.15	Plenary Session	All participants
16.15 - 16.30	Closing Remarks	

Programme for the Final Workshop

Faculty of Education, Educational Planning and Administration

Child Labour and its Impact on Children's Access and Participation in Primary Education:
a Case Study from Tanzania 12th July 2002, New Africa Hotel, Dar es Salaam

Time	Activity	Responsible Person
09.00 - 09.30	Registration	Organising Committee
09.30 - 09.40	General Welcome	Facilitator
09.40 - 10.00	Welcoming Note	Dean, Faculty of Education
10.00 - 10.40	Health Break & Refreshments	New Africa Hotel Management
10.40 - 11.10	Setting the Workshop in Context	Dr R M Garrett & Dr H A Dachi
11.10 - 11.30	Fieldwork Experiences	Dr N R Alphonce, Dr E P Bhalalusesa, & Dr H A Dachi
11.30 - 12.00	Plenary Discussion	Facilitator
12.00 - 13.00	Preliminary Research Findings	Dr R M Garrett & Dr H A Dachi
13.00 - 14.00	Lunch Break	New Africa Hotel Management
14.00 - 14.30	Preliminary Research Findings and Policy Implications (cont.)	Dr R M Garrett & Dr H A Dachi
14.30 - 15.00	Discussion in Groups	Group Chair Persons
15.00 - 15.30	Reporting and Discussion	Group Secretaries
15.30 - 16.00	Health Break & Refreshments	New Africa Hotel Management
16.00 - 16.45	Recommendations	Facilitator
16.45 - 17.00	Closing	Head, Department of Educational Planning & Administration

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Appendix 3

8.3 Examples of the research instruments employed

- Household head questionnaire
- Headteacher questionnaire
- Semi-structured interview schedule for children
- Semi-structured interview schedule for teachers
- Semi-structured interview schedule for street children
- Interview schedule for children in the household

INTERVIEWS WITH HOUSEHOLD HEADS

Members of the household

Name	Tribe	Position in household	Age	Sex	Marital status	Education	Employment	Health

Material possessions (socio/economic status)

Does the home possess the following?

- Durable consumer goods:
  - Fridge/freezer - Cooker - TV - VCR
  - Car for private use - Commercial vehicle

- Quality of housing:
  Roofing: - Thatch - Corrugated iron - Tiles
  Walls: - Mud - Brick - Poles
  Floor: - Earth - Stone - Concrete

- Farm:
  Size: - Activities (cash crops, etc)
  - Livestock ownership
  Ownership of: - Machines - Business premises
  - Commercial plots

Attitudes towards education

- How important is education for your family?
- What is the highest level of education you want for your boys?
- What is the highest level of education you want for your girls?
- What is the minimum level of education you want for your boys?
- What is the minimum level of education you want for your girls?
- Do you support your children with their homework or other school work? If so how?

- What is the main barrier to sending your children to school?
  - Financial
  Work demands: - Household chores - Waged work - Other work outside the home
  - Illness - Other

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- Do you think a necessary part of child's education is undertaking:
  - Household chores?
  - Paid work outside the home?

- How important to your household is the work undertaken by the children?
  - Household chores
  - Paid work outside the home

- What sort of household chores do the boys do?

- What sort of household chores do the girls do?

- If a child works for money where does the money go?
  - Into a general household budget
  - As payment towards that child's education
  - For other special purposes

- Is there any child from your household who is working away from here?

- What do you think is a reasonable amount of time for a child to work each day?

	Boys	Girls
1-2 hours		
3-4 hours		
5-6 hours		
More		

- How important do you think play is for a child?

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INTERVIEWS WITH HEADTEACHERS

School Name ______________________

District ______________________

1. Other schools within a radius of 10k of the school

Primary

Secondary

Vocational Institutions

2. What are the major sources of employment within 10k of the school?

____

____

____

____

3. Does the type of employment change during the year?
If so how?

4. How does the timing of employment correspond to:

- the school day ?
- the yearly school calendar?

5. Do school aged children in the school catchment area work?

6. What type of work do children undertake?

- For waged employment?
- For non-waged employment?

7. What community infrastructure is available within 10k of the school?

- Hospitals
- Clinics
- Tap water
- Sanitation
- Electricity
- Churches
- Other

8. How would you describe the catchment area of the school in terms of:

- Socio/economic status
- Size
- Number of children in the area

9. What services are available at the school?

- Water
- Sanitation
- Electricity
- Health
- Food
- Playgrounds
- Security
- Libraries
- Sports facilities

10. What buildings are present?

	Number	Type of construction
Classrooms		
Teachers' houses		
Library		
Storage		
Offices		
Fencing		
Lavatories		

11. Do the classrooms have:

- Desks for all the children?
- Chairs for all the children?
- A blackboard?
- Teacher's desk and chair?
- Storage facilities?

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12. Staff:

What are the number of staff and their qualifications?

Group	Male		Female	
	required	actual	required	actual
A				
B				
C				
Total				

13. What is the teacher/pupil ratio?

14. What is the enrollment of pupils over the past years?

1993		1994		1995		1996		1997		1998		1999		2000		2001	
M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F

15. What is the drop out rate in your school?

1993		1994		1995		1996		1997		1998		1999		2000		2001	
M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F

16. What is the repetition rate in your school?

1993		1994		1995		1996		1997		1998		1999		2000		2001	
M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F

17. What is the transfer in and out of your school?

1993		1994		1995		1996		1997		1998		1999		2000		2001	
M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F

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18. What was the average attendance rate for the year 2000? - For Boys

Class	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D
1												
2												
3												
4												
5												
6												
7												

For Girls

Class	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D
1												
2												
3												
4												
5												
6												
7												

19. What charges are made by the school?

20. What do you do about non-payment?

21. How do you explain non-enrollment in the school?

22. Do you have a problem with absenteeism in your school?

23. Do you have a policy relating to absenteeism/irregular attendance/ late arrival at the school?

24. Do parents have to request permission for absenting children from the school?

25. Do you provide any remedial/catch-up classes for children who may have missed school?

26. How do you explain absenteeism from the school?

27. How do you explain the drop-out rate from the school?

28. What could you do to alleviate these problems?

29. Do children have any non-academic duties to do within the school?

    If so, when do they do them?

30. Do children have out-of-school academic work?

    When do they do it?

    How much do they have?

27. Do children manage to do this work and, if not, why?

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CHILDREN'S INTERVIEWS IN THE SCHOOL

Interviews to be conducted only with 7-14 year-olds
Questions and notes to be used with the Child Record Sheet.
Please modify the language of the questions to suit the age and understanding of the children.

1. Where was the information gathered?

2. Age and sex of child?

3. How many days have you missed school in the last four weeks?

4. What were the reasons?

5. Have you repeated any grades?

6. What were the reasons?

7. Do you get homework? *(How much?)*

8. Do you have time to do it at home?

9. Do you feel tired at school? *(Probe for work related fatigue.)*

10. Do you enjoy school?

11. Do you work hard at school?

12. What does the teacher do if you are absent or late for school? *(Probe for both punishment and positive remedial classes or work to help child catch up with lost work.)*

13. Do you ever ask for permission to be absent from school?

14. Do you have work to do in the house? *(Specify type and number of different tasks. Probe for regularity, eg every morning, and irregularity, eg 'when my mum is ill'.)*

15. How long do these tasks take? *(Per day, per week, etc?)*

16. Do you work outside the house? *(Specify where and what, eg 'on my dad's plot', petty trading at the traffic lights, etc.)*

17. When do you do this work? *(Probe for regularity, eg every evening, weekends, etc, and irregularity, eg 'when my dad can't go to work', etc.)*

18. Do you get paid for this work?

19. How much money do you earn in a day/week?

20. What do you do with the money?

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TEACHER FOCUS GROUP QUESTIONS

(People to be invited should include teachers representing classes 1 - 7)

What is the need for children to work for:

- The household/local economy?
- The local community?
- The social fabric of the community?
- The health of the household/local community?
- Their special skills?
- Their education in itself?
- The school? *(Probe for ESR.)*

Why do families let their children work? For:

- Economic reasons?
- Social reasons?
- Cultural reasons?
- Educational reasons?

Is it good for children to work?

- At what levels/how much?
- What are the negative aspects of children having to work?
  (Probe for educational links.)
- What are the positive aspects of children having to work?
  (Probe for educational links.)
- On the whole would you prefer children to work more or less than they do?
- How important is it for a child to be able to play?

What do you do for working children?
(Probe for providing of catch-up classes, remedial work, etc.)

What does the school do for working children?
(Probe for any policy the school has to assist children who work.)

What more could/should the school/system do for children who miss school for what ever reasons?
(Probe for work and illness.)

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INTERVIEWS WITH 'STREET' CHILDREN

It is suggested that you work with a maximum of six (6) children at any one time.

1. Note where the interview was conduced.

2. Record the age and sex of the children. (Only work with children of 7-14 years of age.)

3. What work do you do? (Record type(s) of activities and for whom.)

4. How much time does your work take up in:
   - a day?
   - a week?

   (Probe here for regularity/irregularity of the work.)

5. What do you earn in a day/week?

6. How is the money used (eg, all to support the child; some or all to the family; payment to an adult 'protector')?

7. How many days did you miss work in the last four weeks?

8. Why did you miss work (illness, school, home etc)?

9. Do you currently go to school?

   If yes:
   - Why not in school today?
   - How many times have you been to school in the last four weeks?
   - Do you enjoy school?
   - Would you rather go to school than be at work?

   If no, but has attended school:
   - When did you drop-out?
   - Why did you drop-out?
   - Did you enjoy school?
   - Did you attend regularly?
   - Were you a good student?
   - Would you like to go back to school regularly?

   If never attended school
   - Why not? *(probe)*
   - Would like to attend school?
   - Does it make any difference to you that you have never been to school?
   - What would be the most important thing you would like to learn if you went to school? *(Probe for skills.)*

'STREET' CHILDREN RECORD SHEET

Interview conducted:____________________ Time: ________________________________

Child 1	Child 2	Child 3	Child 4	Child 5	Child 6

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CHILDREN INTERVIEWS IN THE HOUSEHOLD

Interviews to be conducted only with 7 – 14 year-olds.
Questions and notes to be used with the Child Record Sheet.
Please modify the language of the questions to suit the age and understanding of the children.

1. Where was the information gathered?

2. Age and sex of child.

3. Do you go to school? (Record current grade or when dropped out.)

4. If the child goes to school ask the following questions:

- How many days have you missed school in the last four weeks?
- What were the reasons?
- Have you repeated any grades?
- What were the reasons?
- Do you get homework (how much)?
- Do you have time to do it at home?
- Do you feel tired at school? *(Probe for work related fatigue.)*
- Do you enjoy school?
- Do you work hard when at school?
- What does the teacher do if you are absent or late for school? *(Probe for both punishment and positive remedial classes or work to help child catch up with lost work.)*
- Do you ever ask for permission to be absent from school?

5. If the child has dropped out of school ask the following questions:

- At what grade did you drop out of school?
- What was the reason(s)?
- Did you repeat any grades?
- Do you want to return to school?
- Are there any plans for you to return to school – if so when?

6. If the child has never attended school ask the following questions:

- Would you like to go to school?
- Is there a plan for you to go?

Questions for all children again.

7. Do you have work to do in the house? (Specify type and number of different tasks.) *(Probe for regularity, eg every morning, and irregularity, eg 'when my mum is ill'.)*

8. How long do these tasks take (per day, per week etc)?

9. Do you work outside the house? (Specify where and what, eg 'on my dad's plot', petty trading at the traffic lights, etc.)

10. When do you do this work? *(Probe for regularity eg. every evening, weekends etc and irregularity, eg 'when my dad can't go to work', etc.)*

11. Do you get paid for this work?

12. How much money do you earn in a day/week?

13. What do you do with the money?

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FAMILY/COMMUNITY FOCUS GROUP QUESTIONS

(People to be invited should include: members of households, opinion leaders, local government leaders, local business representatives, NGOs, CBOs, etc.)

What is the need for children to work for:

- The household/local economy?
- The local community?
- The social fabric of the community?
- The health of the household/local community?
- Their special skills?
- Their education in itself?
- The school? *(Probe for ESR.)*

Why do families let their children work? For:

- Economic reasons?
- Social reasons?
- Cultural reasons?
- Educational reasons?

Is it good for children to work?

- At what levels/how much?
- What are the negative aspects of children having to work? *(Probe for educational links.)*
- What are the positive aspects of children having to work? *(Probe for educational links.)*
- On the whole would you prefer children to work more or less than they do?
- How important is it for a child to be able to play?

[NB It is important to let the group construct its own social and economic circumstances, eg what do the group regard as poverty? How do they benefit from the social services, such as education, health, water and electricity.]

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Appendix 4

8.4 Full list of children's activities as reported in their diaries

Mkuranga District

Children's daily activities by gender and number of times/hours

	Frequency									
	Female					Male				
	Number of times/hours					Number of times/hours				
Activity	0-1	2-3	4-5	6-7	8<	0-1	2-3	4-5	6-7	8<
1 Tooth brushing	33	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2 Cleaning the house	66	-	-	-	-	63	-	-	-	-
3 Washing dishes	65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4 School preparation	18	-	-	-	-	22	-	-	-	-
5 Taking tea	66	-	-	-	-	30	-	-	-	-
6 School	-	-	23	22	-	-	-	-	50	-
7 Fetching/drawing water	54	-	-	-	-	31	-	-	-	-
8 Taking meals – lunch	24	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
9 Grating coconut	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
10 Taking meals – supper	21	-	-	-	-	59	-	-	-	-
11 Private study	15	35	-	-	-	59	-	-	-	-
12 Cooking/preparing lunch	13	-	-	-	-	22	-	-	-	-
13 Washing school uniforms	14	-	-	-	-	23	-	-	-	-
14 Graduation ceremony	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
15 Collecting cashew nuts	13	-	-	-	-	17	-	-	-	-
16 Doing mathematics	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
17 Farm work	6	-	-	-	-	15	5	-	-	-
18 Going to the hospital	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
19 Attending the mosque	-	-	-	-	-	8	-	-	-	-
20 Digging up cassava	-	-	-	-	-	9	-	-	-	-
21 Shopping	-	-	-	-	-	26	-	-	-	-
22 Sleeping	-	-	-	-	36	-	-	-	-	37
23 Preparation for meals	34	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
24 Cooking food for supper	34	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
25 Pounding cassava	23	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
26 Cleaning the compound	30	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
27 Taking a bath	35	-	-	-	-	57	-	-	-	-
28 Making tea	36	-	-	-	-	31	-	-	-	-
29 Cleaning around school	23	-	-	-	-	21	-	-	-	-
30 Cleaning chicken shed	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
31 Splitting logs for firewood	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
32 Weeding on the farm	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
33 Watering the garden	15	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
34 Football pitch for practice	-	-	-	-	-	21	-	-	-	-
35 Listening to the radio	-	-	-	-	-	-	22	-	-	-
36 Selling cashew nuts	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	-
37 Watching football	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-

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Moshi District

Children's daily activities by gender and number of times/hours

	Frequency									
	Female					Male				
	Number of times/hours					Number of times/hours				
Activity	0-1	2-3	4-5	6-7	8<	0-1	2-3	4-5	6-7	8<
1 Taking a bath	18	-	-	-	-	37	-	-	-	-
2 Brushing teeth	11	-	-	-	-	30	-	-	-	-
3 Taking tea – breakfast	31	-	-	-	-	14	-	-	-	-
4 Marching to school	7	-	-	-	-	11	-	-	-	-
5 Cleaning around school	7	-	-	-	-	12	-	-	-	-
6 Attending school	-	-	-	7	-	-	-	-	38	-
7 Resting	16	-	-	-	-	23	1	-	-	-
8 Private study	-	6	-	-	-	-	13	-	-	-
9 Taking meals	18	8	-	-	-	23	1	-	-	-
10 Listening to the radio	-	-	-	-	-	12	-	-	-	-
11 Sleeping	-	-	-	-	18	-	-	-	-	28
12 Mopping the floor	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
13 Private tuition	16	-	-	-	-	12	-	-	-	-
14 Watching TV	30	5	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-
15 Homework	11	1	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-
16 Ironing	-	-	-	-	-	8	-	-	-	-
17 Church services	-	-	-	-	-	4	4	-	-	-
18 Cleanliness	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-

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Mufindi District

Children's daily activities by gender and number of times/hours

	Frequency									
	Female					Male				
	Number of times/hours					Number of times/hours				
Activity	0-1	2-3	4-5	6-7	8<	0-1	2-3	4-5	6-7	8<
1 Fetching water	26	-	-	-	-	27	77	1	-	-
2 Going to the shop	6	-	-	-	-	19	1	-	-	-
3 Attending school	-	-	-	11	-	-	27	-	2	51
4 Washing utensils	65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
5 Cleaning compound	87	-	-	-	-	43	-	-	-	-
6 Washing clothes	15	-	-	-	-	20	28	1	-	-
7 Private study	27	-	-	-	-	2	72	20	-	-
8 Church services	1	10	-	-	-	1	-	12	-	-
9 Mopping the floor	23	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
10 Watching video/TV	1	-	-	-	-	42	45	1	-	-
11 Cooking	30	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
12 Going to the market	-	-	-	-	-	4	18	-	-	-
13 Playing football	-	-	-	-	-	8	16	-	-	-
14 Visits friends/relatives	-	-	-	-	-	4	5	-	-	-
15 Resting	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-
16 Preparation for school	-	-	-	-	-	-	62	-	-	-
17 Religious teachings	-	-	-	-		3	-	24	-	-
18 Watching football	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	6	-	-
19 Selling in the wood shop	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
20 Going to buy milk	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-
21 Going to the post office	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-

8 Appendices

Pangani District

Children's daily activities by gender and number of times/hours

	Frequency									
	Female					Male				
	Number of times/hours					Number of times/hours				
Activity	0-1	2-3	4-5	6-7	8<	0-1	2-3	4-5	6-7	8<
1 House cleaning/sweeping	61	-	-	-	-	8	-	-	-	-
2 Washing utensils	174	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-
3 Private study	68	2	3	-	-	47	25	7	-	-
4 Taking a bath	118	-	-	-	-	47	-	-	-	-
5 Making tea	45	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6 Taking tea/porridge	152	-	-	-	-	88	-	-	-	-
7 Preparing lunch	43	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
8 Taking lunch	123	-	-	-	-	87	-	-	-	-
9 Making porridge for baby	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
10 Resting	59	-	-	--	-	-	-	-	-	-
11 Babysitting	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
12 Sleeping	-	-	-	-	123	-	-	-	30	71
13 Watching video	3	-	-	-	-	1	5	2	-	-
14 Attending church	-	4	-	-	-	3	5	2	-	-
15 Attending school	-	10	44	32	-	6	6	13	29	-
16 Attending private tuition	20	-	-	-	-	21	-	-	-	-
17 Washing clothes	1	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-
18 Bathing the baby	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
19 Playing	46	-	-	-	-	14	8	-	-	-
20 Going to the market	19	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
21 Taking supper	93	-	-	-	-	84	-	-	-	-
22 Cleaning the compound	24	-	-	-	-	7	-	-	-	-
23 General body cleanliness	-	-	-	-	-	7	-	-	-	-
24 Praying/making prayers	-	-	-	-	-	8	-	-	-	-
25 Ironing school uniforms	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-
26 Private bible study	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-
27 Going for a walk	-	-	-	-	-	9	3	-	-	-
28 Tending the garden	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-
29 Preparing supper	15	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
30 Collecting firewood	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
31 Doing homework	1	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-
32 Fetching water	-	-	-	-	-	19	-	-	-	-
33 Shopping	-	-	-	-	-	19	-	-	-	-
34 Watching football match	-	-	-	-	-	15	-	-	-	-
35 Visiting friends	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-
36 Listening to the radio	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-